AN

Univerſal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

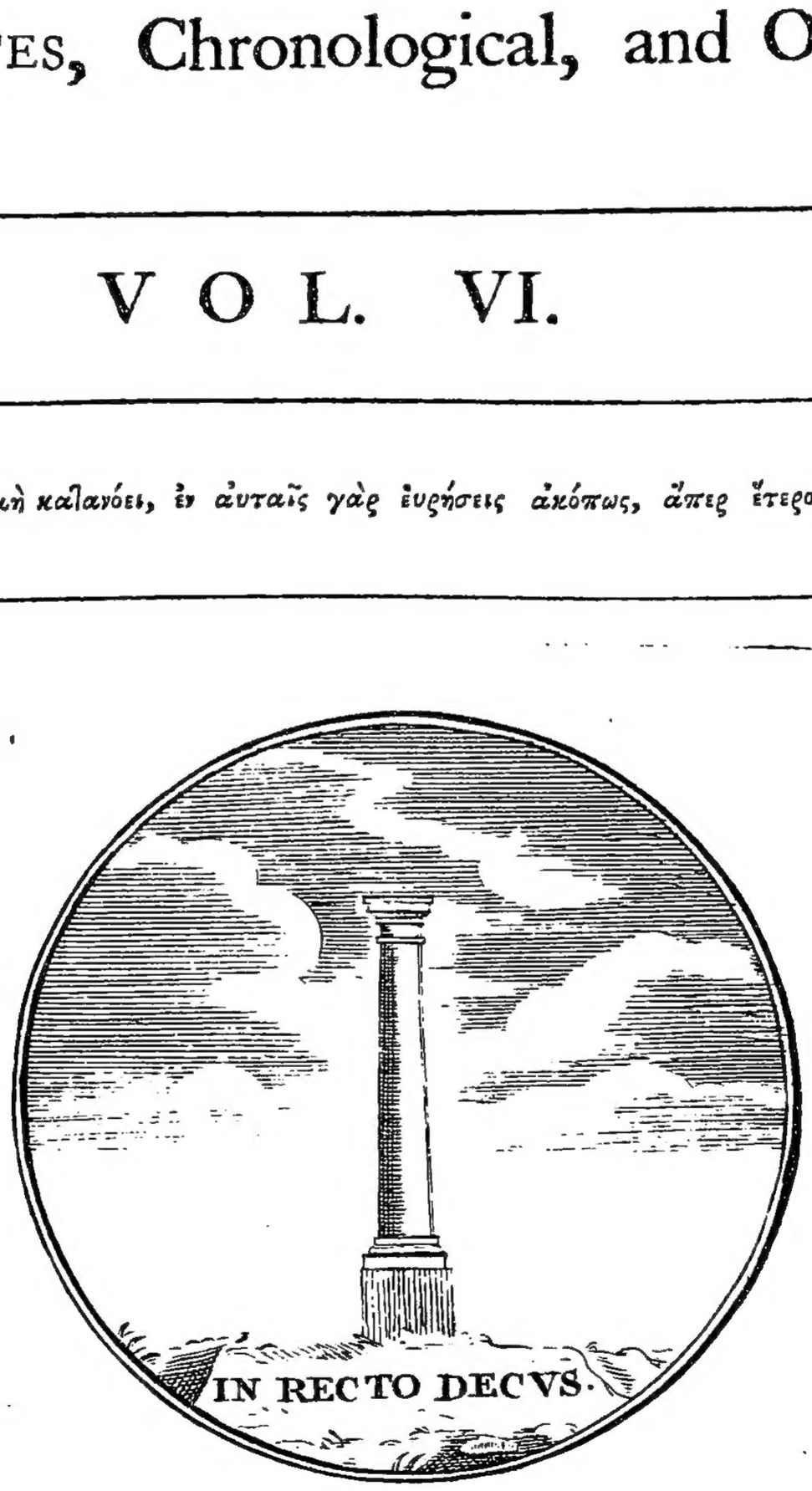
And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and Other TABLES.

VOL. VI.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν ἀυταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



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To the Right Honourable

GEORGE

Earl of *CHOLMONDELEY*,

Viſcount MALPAS and KELLS, *&c. &c.*

Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, One of the Lords of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the moſt Honourable Order of the *Bath*.

My LORD,

THE avowed Deſign of HISTORY being to commemorate the Actions of *Thoſe*, who have rendered themſelves famous both in the *Field* and *Cabinet*, To whom can the Anthors of an Univerſal Hiſtory more properly apply for Protection, than to a Nobleman deſcended from a Race of Heroes, and who has eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the moſt Venerable and Auguſt Senate in the World?

It would be the higheſt Preſumption to prefix Your Lordſhip's Name to this Volume, if we had not been honoured with the Patronage of *Some* of the moſt elevated Rank and Character; which, we humbly hope, will juſtify this Liberty, and, in ſome Degree, intitle us to Your Lordſhip's Pardon.

When

When we reflect, that we are addreſſing ourſelves to a Genius confeſſedly allowed to be refined in every Branch of Literature, and whoſe delicate Taſte in the *Belles Letters* is univerſally acknowledged, we are fearful of offending; therefore ſhall only ſubjoin,

That his Majeſty and the Kingdom may long enjoy the Benefit of Your Lordſhip's Counſels, and future Ages the Happineſs of having Your Perſonal Virtues, and great Abilities, tranſmitted to Your lateſt Poſterity, are the ſincere and ardent Wiſhes of,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

Moſt Humble and

Moſt obedient Servants,

The Authors.

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A GENERAL MAP of the ROMAN EMPIRE

Shewing the Situation of all it's Provinces *&* *ye* Seats *of ye* Barbarous Nations *on their* Frontiers.

ATLANTIC OCEAN.

Picts
Hibernia
BRITAIN
Cimbri
Angles
Saxons
Sicambri
Burgundians
Bavarians
Seine
Loire
Paris
GALLIA or GAUL
GERMANY
Sequani
Quadi
Pannonia
Goths & afterwards Huns
The European Sarmatia
The Bastarnæ
Palus Maotis
The Chersonese
Scythia
Europe
Daci
THE EUXINE S.
Lions
Provence
Gallicia
Rhone
Tarragona
Spain
Lusitania
Lisbon
Bætica
Carthagena
Cadiz
Straits of Hercules
Tingis
Mauritania Tingitana
Mauritania Cesariana
Numidia
Mount Atlas
Getulia
PART of AFRICA.
Rome
Brundusium
Tarentum
Macedonia
Thrace
Bithynia
Paphlagonia
Abidos
ASIA MINOR
Epirus
Greece
Peloponnesus
Sicily
Utica
Carthagena
Comagena
Cyprus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Phœnicia
Alexandria
Tripolitana
Cyrene
Palestine
Egypt
LIBYA.
Temple of Ammon
DESERTS of LIBYA.
The Deserts of Thebes
THE RED

SCYTHIA IN ASIA.

roygan Sarmatia

Bastarnæ

Palus Mæotis

The Cherso nese

Taurica

THE EUXINE SEA.

IBERIA

THE CASPIAN SEA

ORAL or SALT SEA

Paphlagonia

ASIA MINOR

Armenia

Araxes

Assyria

Comagena

Mesopotamia

The Tigris

Cyprus

SEA

Syria

The River Euphrates

Babylonia

Phœnicia

Palestine

ARABIA the DESERT.

Egypt

Ammon

ARABIA FELIX

THE RED SEA

THE PERSIAN GULPH

The Deserts of Thebes

J. Wheatley

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

The ROMAN *Hiſtory.*

CHAP. XX.

From the death of Domitian; *the laſt of the twelve* Cæſars, *to the death of* Trajan, *who brought the empire to its utmoſt grandeur and extent.*

a HAVING delivered in the foregoing volumes, purſuant to our plan, the hiſtory of *Rome*, from *Romulus* to the commonwealth, from the commonwealth to the empire, and continued it to the death of *Domitian*, the twelfth emperor, and the laſt of thoſe princes, who are commonly ſtyled the *twelve Cæſars*; we ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the other emperors, from the reign of *Domitian*, to the removal of the imperial ſeat to *Conſtantinople*, thence to the diviſion of the empire, and from the diviſion to the hiſtory of both empires; of the weſtern, to the taking of *Rome* by *Odoacer*, when with *Auguſtulus* fell the very name of an empire in the weſt; of the eaſtern, to the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Latins*, to its recovery by the *Greeks*; and finally, to its utter deſtruction by the *Turks*, whoſe hiſtory, from
b the firſt notice we find of them to the preſent time, will follow, as in its proper place. Theſe are the ſubjects which we deſign to purſue in the preſent volume, not doubting, but this will prove as uſeful and entertaining as any of the preceding volumes, notwithſtanding the extraordinary ſucceſs which they have met with both at home and abroad, and which we had not vanity enough to have promiſed ourſelves in ſo difficult an undertaking. The foregoing volume we cloſed with the death of *Domitian*, who was ſucceeded by *Nerva*, as was *Nerva* by *Trajan*. The reigns of theſe two excellent princes will ſupply us with matter for the preſent chapter.

THE death of *Domitian* was no ſooner divulged, than the ſenate aſſembled, and with one voice declared *M. Cocceius Nerva* emperor. He was a native of *Narnia* in
c *Umbria*; but his family came originally from the iſland of *Crete*, ſo that he was neither by birth a *Roman*, nor deſcended from an *Italian* family. However, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been honoured in *Rome* with the conſular dignity. His grandfather, *M. Cocceius Nerva*, one of the moſt learned civilians in *Rome*, was conſul in the eighth year of *Tiberius*'s reign and twenty-ſecond of the chriſtian

M. Cocceius Nerva *emperor.*

His family.

æra, accompanied that prince in his retirement, and, affected with the ſadneſs of the times, choſe, when in perfect health, a voluntary death[a]. His father, who bore the ſame name, was conſul in the fourth year of the reign of *Claudius* and fortieth of the chriſtian æra[b]. His mother, by name *Plautilla*, was deſcended from an illuſtrious family, being the daughter of one *Lænas* a conſular[c]. The emperor was born, according to *Dion Caſſius*[d], on the ſeventeenth of *March*, in the eighteenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign and thirty-ſecond of the chriſtian æra, and was by *Nero*, in the twelfth year of his reign, honoured with the prætorſhip and a ſtatue in the palace[e], having by his elegant poems (for he was one of the beſt poets of his time) gained the affection of that prince, who even inſcribed to him ſome of his poetical pieces[f]. *Pliny* ſpeaks of his epigrams and commends them[g]. He was conſul with *Veſpaſian* in the year 71, and with *Domitian* in 90[h]. He is commended by all the ancients as a prince of a moſt ſweet and humane temper, of great moderation and generoſity, and one who looked upon himſelf as raiſed to the empire, not for his own advantage, but for that of his people; and truly the happineſs and welfare of thoſe who lived under him were, during the ſhort time he reigned, his only end and purſuit. He ſeems to have been naturally timorous[i]; and ſome writers charge both him and *Trajan* with exceſſive drinking[k]. *Apollonius Tyaneus* was the firſt, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited, who ſolicited him to aſſume the ſovereignty, or at leaſt to deliver *Rome* from the tyranny of *Domitian*. *Nerva* hearkened to him; but his courage failed him, when the deſign was to be put in execution[l]. *Apollonius*, however, did not ſcruple denying the whole to *Domitian*, aſſuring him, that *Nerva*, tho' equal to the greateſt honours, was ſo far from procuring them by unlawful means, that he would not accept them, if offered, dreading nothing ſo much, on account of his infirmities and his love of retirement, as being any-ways concerned in the adminiſtration of public affairs[m]. However, *Domitian*, either acquainted with *Nerva*'s deſign, or giving credit to the aſtrologers, who adviſed him to beware of *Nerva*, ſince his nativity ſeemed to promiſe him the empire, confined him to *Tarentum* in the year 94; and would have put him to death, had not a more kind aſtrologer aſſured the emperor, that *Nerva*, who was of a weak conſtitution and ſubject to many infirmities, would die in a few days[n]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Nerva*, dreading the cruelty of *Domitian*, had retired to *Gaul*, and was there when he received the news of the tyrant's death, and his own aſſumption to the empire[o]. On the other hand, *Dion Caſſius* takes no notice of his baniſhment; but ſuppoſes him to have been at *Rome* when *Domitian* was murdered: for he tells us, that *Parthenius* and the other conſpirators offered the empire, before the aſſaſſination of *Domitian*, to ſeveral perſons; who, looking upon ſuch an offer as a ſnare laid for their deſtruction, declined it; but that at length *Nerva*, who daily expected to be ſacrificed for the jealouſy of the emperor, was prompted, by his own fear, to accept the ſovereign power, as the only means of preſerving his life[p]. *Domitian* therefore being killed on the eighteenth of *September* of the year 96, *Nerva* was the ſame day declared emperor by the ſenate, and, as ſuch, acknowledged by the prætorian guards, notwithſtanding their concern for the death of the late emperor, which they would have revenged, had they not been reſtrained by *Petronius Secundus*, one of their captains, and by *Parthenius*, *Domitian*'s chief chamberlain[q]. *Nerva* had ſcarce aſſumed the ſovereignty, when a falſe report was ſpread, that *Domitian* was ſtill alive, and the news of his death only an artifice to diſcover the deſigns of ſuch as he ſuſpected: hence dread ſeized all, and the concourſe about the new emperor diſperſed in a moment. *Nerva* himſelf, naturally wary and timorous, was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, betrayed great diſmay in his countenance, and, fallen from the higheſt hopes, waited for preſent death, till *Parthenius* aſſured him, that the report was quite groundleſs. Hereupon recovering his former temper, he went firſt to the camp of the prætorian guards, and thence, after he had ſecured them by a promiſe of the uſual donative, to the ſenate, where he was received with the greateſt marks imaginable of eſteem and affection. Many congratulatory ſpeeches were made to him on this occaſion; but that of *Arrius Antonius*, grandfather to the emperor *T. Antonius* by his mother, was

His preferments.

His humanity, generoſity, &c.

Narrowly eſcapes death under Domitian.

Is acknowledged emperor by the ſenate and ſoldiery.

[a] Tacit. annal. iv. c. 8. Aur. Vict. epit. Eutrop. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767. Front. aquæduct. p. 119. Onuph. in faſt. p. 198. [b] Onuph. ibid. [c] Gruter. p. 246. [d] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771. [e] Tacit. annal. xv. c. 7. [f] Martial. l. viii. epigr. 70. &. l. ix. epigr. 27. [g] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 8. [h] Front. aquæd. p. 219. [i] Aur. Vict. in vit. Trajan. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Philost. in vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. vii. c. 3. [m] Idem ibid. c. 14. & l. viii. c. 3. [n] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769. [o] Aur. Vict. in epit. [p] Dio. l. lxvii. p. 767. [q] Plin. panegyr. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769.

a was of a different nature from the reſt; for embracing the new emperor, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, "I am come, ſaid he, with the reſt, to congra-"tulate the ſenate, the people of *Rome*, and the provinces of the empire, upon your "advancement to this high poſt; but cannot pay the ſame compliment to you, who, "after having, by your wiſdom and virtue, happily eſcaped the rage of ſo many wicked "princes, plunge yourſelf into new dangers and troubles, being expoſed to the cenſure "and hatred both of your friends and foes, eſpecially of the former, who will not fail, "if any of their ſuits are denied, to become your moſt implacable enemies [r]". *Nerva* now confirmed in the ſovereignty both by the ſenate and ſoldiery, blended together two things, ſays *Tacitus* [s], once thought irreconcileable; public liberty and ſovereign
b power: for under him the *Romans* enjoyed all the former, and felt none of the evil effects of the latter [t]. He immediately delivered from their fears, and ſet at liberty, all thoſe who had been, under the late emperor, arraigned of treaſon, and recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed under colour of the ſame crime [u]; cauſing their lands and inheritances to be reſtored to them, without the leaſt deduction. *Pliny* mentions many illuſtrious perſons, who returned from baniſhment on this occaſion [w]; and a medal ſtruck the following year, which has reached us, bears the following legend; *exules Romæ reddîti*, that is, *the exiles reſtored to* Rome [x]. However, he would not ſuffer *Licinianus*, who had been baniſhed for debauching a veſtal, to return to *Italy*; but gave him leave to paſs the remainder of his life in *Sicily* [y]. He enacted more
c ſevere laws againſt informers, than *Titus* had done, who abhorred that race of men; and cauſed all the ſlaves and freed-men to be put to death, who had informed againſt their maſters and patrons. Beſides theſe, many other informers were publicly executed, and among them a philoſopher, by name *Seras*. At the ſame time, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding, agreeable to the ancient laws of *Rome*, a ſlave or freed-man to appear againſt his maſter in any accuſation whatſoever; and ordering, that no perſon ſhould, for the future, be accuſed of violated majeſty, or proſecuted for living after the manner of the *Jews* [z], by which words *Dion*, without all doubt, meant the *Chriſtians*. He ſolemnly ſwore, that no ſenator ſhould ever by his orders be put to death; and religiouſly obſerved his oath, tho' ſome of that body conſpired
d againſt him, as we ſhall relate anon. All the goods and effects belonging to particulars, which he found in the palace, he ordered to be immediately reſtored to the proprietors; leſſened the taxes; delivered the *Jews* from the cruelties and oppreſſions of the collectors of the public revenues; and, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Romans*, annulled the law of *Auguſtus*, ordering the twentieth part of each inheritance and legacy to be paid into the exchequer. He allowed no gold or ſilver ſtatues to be erected to him, retrenched all ſuperfluous expences, aboliſhing for that purpoſe divers ſacrifices and public ſhews; and as he ſtill wanted money wherewithal to relieve the neceſſitous citizens and reward his friends, he at laſt ſold great part of the gold and ſilver plate, and rich furniture, both of his own houſe and of the imperial palace, with
e ſeveral houſes and eſtates. In ſelling them, he was not difficult as to the price; but ſeemed overjoyed to have ſo favourable an opportunity of obliging many. He laid out a vaſt ſum upon a purchaſe of land, to be divided amongſt the poor of *Rome*, appointing ſome ſenators of known integrity, and amongſt the reſt one *Corellus*, highly eſteemed by *Pliny* [a], to divide it amongſt the moſt indigent [b]. From ſeveral medals of this year it appears, that he twice divided conſiderable ſums among the people, beſides the lands, and moreover a large quantity of corn [c]. The children of ſuch as were poor he cauſed to be brought up, in all the cities of *Italy*, at the public expence. He eaſed not only *Italy*, but all the provinces, of the heavy impoſitions with which they had been burdened by *Veſpaſian* and *Domitian*; and utterly aboliſhed the tribute
f upon all carriages, which was generally looked upon as an inſufferable grievance: hence the ſenate cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck, to perpetuate by that means the remembrance of ſo great a favour [d]. Of the many inſtances of his diſintereſtedneſs taken notice of by the ancients, we ſhall only relate the following: *Atticus*, a citizen of *Athens*, father to the famous *Herodes Atticus*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the reign of *T. Antoninus*, having diſcovered in his houſe a large treaſure, wrote to *Nerva*, deſiring to know how he ſhould diſpoſe of it. The emperor, who had no biaſs to avarice,

The Romans *happy under him.*

Puniſhes all informers.

Aboliſhes the law of majeſty.

Redreſſes grievances.

His generoſity towards the people.

His diſintereſtedneſs.

[r] Aur. Vict. in epit. [s] Tacit. vit. Agrip. c 3. [t] Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13. [u] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769. [w] Plin. l. iv. epiſt. 11. [x] Birag. numiſ. p. 144. [y] Euseb. l. iii. c. 20. [z] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 769. [a] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 31. [b] Dio, ibid. p. 770. Zonar. p. 199. Chron. Alexand. [c] Birag. numiſ. p. 143. [d] Idem, p. 144.

avarice, anſwered, *Utere, Uſe it*; but *Atticus*, not thinking himſelf yet ſecure, wrote to him a ſecond letter, acquainting him, that the treaſure was too great for a private perſon, and that he was thence afraid to uſe it. To this the generous prince replied in two words, *Ergo abutere, Then abuſe it*, ſignifying thereby, that the treaſure was his without reſerve, and that he might diſpoſe of it as he thought fit [d]. *Nerva* renewed the law of *Domitian*, forbidding the caſtration of children [e]; and by one edict con-

Some of his laws.

firmed all the grants of that prince. He publiſhed a law forbidding any one to marry his niece, which was firſt allowed in the reign of *Claudius* [f]; applied himſelf with great care to the reformation of manners; was aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and, in ſhort, behaved in ſuch manner towards all, that he uſed to ſay, he believed he might reſign the empire, and return with ſafety to a private life, not being conſcious to himſelf of having done the leaſt thing that could give any man juſt motive of offence [g]. He was perhaps too kind to ſuch as were altogether unworthy of his favours; which gave occaſion to ſome perſons to complain of his lenity and indul-

His too great lenity and indulgence.

gence. Having one day invited to his table, beſides many other perſons of diſtinction, *Junius Mauricus*, who had been baniſhed by *Domitian*, and *Fabricius Veiento*, a conſular, who, with his ſecret informations, had occaſioned the ruin of many illuſtrious citizens in the preceding reign, one of the gueſts happened to mention *Catullus Meſſalinus*, a noted informer under *Domitian*, when the emperor, hearing him named, *What would* Catullus *do*, ſaid he, *were he alive now? If he were alive now*, replied *Mauricus* with great freedom, *he would be at table with us*; which was a gentle reflection on the emperor's lenity and kindneſs to *Veiento* and others, whom he ought rather to have puniſhed than careſſed [h]. As ſoon as, by the death of *Domitian* and aſſumption of *Nerva*, public liberty was reſtored, to uſe the expreſſion of *Pliny* [i], all who had ſuffered by falſe accuſations flocked to the ſenate, demanding, that condign puniſhment might be forthwith inflicted on ſuch as had informed againſt them. The ſenate hearkened to their requeſt, and puniſhed ſome with death, others with baniſhment; but not without great partiality, ſparing thoſe of their own body. Hereupon *Pliny* boldly undertook the accuſation of *Publicus Certus*, who was not only of the ſenatorial order, but had been by *Domitian* named to the conſulſhip with *Vectius Proculus*. The ſenate, having firſt attempted in vain to perſuade *Pliny* to drop the proſecution, referred in the end the whole affair to the emperor, who contented himſelf with confirming the conſulſhip to *Vectius*, and naming another to that dignity in the room of *Certus*, who died ſoon after of grief [k]. *Nerva* did not think it adviſeable to condemn him, as was then commonly believed, becauſe he lived in great friendſhip with the governor of *Syria*, who was at the head of a powerful army; which gave no ſmall umbrage to *Nerva* [l]. Beſides, in the heat of the firſt proſecutions, ſome perſons, among the reſt the philoſopher *Seras*, had been puniſhed with death as informers, and afterwards found innocent; which gave the good-natured emperor great uneaſineſs [m].

On the calends of *January Nerva* entered upon his third conſulſhip, which was the firſt after his acceſſion to the empire, and choſe for his collegue *L Virginius Rufus*, to whom the ſoldiers had often offered the empire. As *Virginius* was riſing, after he had aſſumed the faſces, to pronounce a ſpeech in praiſe of the emperor, according to the cuſtom which then obtained, he let a book drop out of his hand, and as he ſtooped to take it up, fell himſelf, and had the misfortune to break his leg; which, as he was then in the eighty-third year of his age, occaſioned his death. He was, by the emperor's orders, buried with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, the hiſtorian, whom *Nerva* named to the conſulate in his room, pronounced his funeral oration [n]. *Pliny* wrote another panegyric upon him, in a letter which he ſent to one of his friends, acquainting him with the death of that illuſtrious citizen [o].

Virginius Rufus dies.

This year, *Calpurnius Craſſus*, deſcended from the ancient and illuſtrious family of the *Craſſi*, conſpired with ſome others againſt *Nerva*; who, being immediately informed of their wicked deſigns, ſent for them, and carrying them with him to the public theatre, placed them next to himſelf, and preſented to them, as *Titus* had done on the like occaſion, the ſwords of the gladiators, which were always brought to and viewed by the emperor [p]. We are not told what effect this inſtance of generoſity had upon the conſpirators. All we know is, that *Craſſus*, having owned his crime, was, with his wife,

Calpurnius Craſſus conſpires againſt Nerva.

[d] Philost. in vit. ſophiſt. p. 546. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 770. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Vict. epit. Plin. l. iv. epiſt. 22. [i] Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13. [k] Idem ibid. Dio, p. 769. [l] Plin. ibid. [m] Dio, ibid. [n] Plin. l. ii. epiſt. 1. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Dio, p. 770, Vict. ibid.

a wife, baniſhed to *Tarentum.* The ſenate were for condemning both him and his accomplices to death: but the emperor, alledging the oath he had taken not to ſpill the blood of any ſenator, checked their zeal. Whereupon *Fronto*, to whom *Nerva* had reſigned the faſces, offended at the prince's unſeaſonable clemency, as he ſtyled it, ſaid boldly, that *it was a great misfortune to have a prince, under whom all things were criminal and forbidden; but a ſtill greater to be governed by one, under whom all things were allowed* [q]. The emperor was ſo far from reſenting this freedom, that thenceforth he acted with ſomewhat more ſeverity, taking for his counſellors ſuch of the ſenators as were perſons of great experience and known integrity, and diſpatching, with their advice, all matters of conſequence. The ſame year, the prætorian

b guards, headed by *Ælianus Caſperius* their commander, occaſioned diſturbances in the city, under colour of revenging the death of *Domitian*; flew to the palace, and there beſieged *Nerva*, demanding with great boldneſs, that all thoſe who had been anyways concerned in the aſſaſſination of the late emperor, might be forthwith delivered up to them, or publicly executed. *Nerva*, tho' naturally timorous, behaved on this occaſion with incredible firmneſs; for, offering his bare neck to the incenſed ſoldiery, he begged they would be ſatisfied with his life, and ſpare thoſe, to whom he was indebted for the empire, and whom, on that account, he could not in honour abandon. But his reſolution was to no effect; he was in the end conſtrained, as *Pliny* writes [r], to condemn thoſe, whom he ſtudied to preſerve at the expence of

c of his own life; for the ſoldiers, without being in the leaſt awed or moved by him, cut in pieces *Petronius Secundus*, *Parthenius*, and the other conſpirators, as we read in *Victor the younger*, or, as he is by ſome ſtyled, *Victorinus* [s]. Neither did the mutinous ſoldiery ſtop here, but obliged the emperor to return them public thanks before the people, for putting to death the worſt and moſt wicked of men [t]. This inſolence and boldneſs of the ſoldiery proved in the end very advantagious to the empire; for *Nerva*, finding himſelf deſpiſed on account of his infirmities and old age, reſolved to name ſome perſon for his ſucceſſor, who ſhould be able, both to ſupport him, and to govern with equity and moderation after his death. He was not without many relations and friends of his own; but, as he had more at heart the welfare

d of the empire, than the grandeur of his family, he overlooked them, and choſe *Ulpius Trajan*, the greateſt and moſt deſerving perſon of that age, for his ſucceſſor, and at the ſame time adopted him in the capitol, declaring his adoption with a loud voice thus: *With my hearty wiſhes for the proſperity of the ſenate and people of* Rome, *and that what I do may prove fortunate to them and myſelf, I declare* Marcus Ulpius Trajan *my ſon.* He afterwards gave him the title of *Cæſar*, with that of *Germanicus*, which he himſelf ſeems to have aſſumed about this time, inveſted him with the tribunitial power, and even honoured him with the title of *emperor*; ſo that he created him not only his ſucceſſor, but his partner in the empire: at the ſame time, he named him conſul for the enſuing year [u]. The adoption of *Trajan*, which was received with

e great joy both by the ſenate and people, put a ſtop to the diſorders committed by the ſoldiery, who immediately returned to their duty. As *Trajan* was then at the head of a powerful army in *Lower Germany*, *Nerva* ſent him a diamond of great value, and wrote to him with his own hand, acquainting him with his preferment, and leaving to him the revenging of the affront put upon him by the prætorian guards and their commander. Some time after, *Trajan* ſent for *Caſperius* and thoſe of his party, under colour of employing them in ſome expedition; but, inſtead of making uſe of them, diſcharged them all with ignominy [w], or, as ſome write, put them to death. Towards the cloſe of this year, *Nerva* took upon him the title of *imperator*, on account of a victory gained over the *Germans* in *Pannonia* [x], of which we know

f not the particulars.

Who pardons him.

The prætorian guards raiſe a tumult.

Nerva *is obliged to comply with their unjuſt demands.*

He adopts Ulpius Trajan.

THE following year, he entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Ulpius Trajan*, now the ſecond time conſul, for his collegue; but died ſoon after, according to ſome, on the twenty-firſt, according to others, on the twenty-ſeventh, of *January*. For having heated himſelf in chiding with great acrimony the celebrated informer *Aquilius Regulus*, he was ſeized with a fever, which as he was weak, and ſtricken in

The death of Nerva.

[q] DIO, p. 769. [r] PLIN. panegyr. [s] VICT. in epit. [t] Idem ibid. [u] VICT. ibid. SID. car. vii. ver. 114. PLIN. panegyr. DIO, l. lxix. p. 770. [w] DIO, ibid. [x] PLIN. panegyr. BIRAG. numiſm. p. 145.

in years, ſoon put an end to his life, after he had reigned ſixteen months and a eight, or at moſt nine, days. He had lived, according to *Dion Caſſius* [x], ſixty-five years, ten months, and as many days; according to *Eutropius*, ſeventy-one; and according to St. *Jerom*, ſeventy-three years [y]. He died in the *Salluſtian* gardens, whence his body was carried by the ſenate to the tomb of *Auguſtus* [z]. He was ranked amongſt the gods, and *Trajan* out of gratitude cauſed ſeveral temples to be erected to him, both in *Rome* and the provinces [a]. He was, no doubt, a prince of great wiſdom, generoſity, and moderation; but ſome of the provinces were more griev ouſly oppreſſed in his reign than in that of *Domitian*, the governors, who dreaded *Domitian*, preſuming upon the lenity and goodneſs of his ſucceſſor, to inrich themſelves at the expence of the unhappy people, committed to their care. Theſe b grievances *Nerva* would not have failed to redreſs, had he lived long enough to know them.

Is ranked amongſt the gods.

Trajan. *Trajan* was a *Spaniard* both by birth and extraction, deſcended rather of an antient than an illuſtrious family, born in *Italica*, near *Seville*, now known, according to ſome, by the name of *Old Seville*, according to others, by that of *Alcala del Rio* [b]. His father, named alſo *Trajan*, had been honoured with the conſulſhip, diſtinguiſhed with triumphal ornaments, and raiſed, no doubt, by *Veſpaſian* to the rank of a patrician [c]. *Trajan*, commander of the tenth legion, who ſignalized himſelf at the taking of *Japha*, as we read in *Joſephus* [d], was, we conjecture, father to the preſent emperor, who was born, accnrding to moſt writers, in the twelfth year c of the reign of *Claudius* and fifty-ſecond of the chriſtian æra [e]. He followed the profeſſion of arms from his early youth, and ſerved ten years in quality of tribune [f]. He checked the pride of the *Parthians*, ſays his panegyriſt, while he was yet very young, and defeated their meaſures with the bare fame of his name [g]. But he then commanded, in all likelihood, under his father, to whom he gave, when emperor, the title of *Parthicus*, as appears from various medals [h]. He was prætor in the year 86. and conſul in 91. with *Acilius Glabrio*. Soon after his conſulſhip, he withdrew to *Spain*, dreading the cruelty of *Domitian*, and there led a retired life, till he was by that prince recalled, and appointed governor of *Lower Germany* [i]; which muſt have been after the revolt and defeat of *Antoninus* in 88. for had he had d any ſhare in that victory, *Pliny* would have mentioned it in his panegyric. While he was governor of *Germany*, he performed nothing which his panegyriſt thought worth mentioning, ſince he only ſays, that while he governed *Germany*, he gained the affections of the ſoldiery; but, notwithſtanding their inviolable attachment, never entertained the leaſt thought of revolting from the worſt of princes, to whom he had ſworn allegiance, and ſeizing, as he might, the empire for himſelf [k]. He was ſtill governor of *Germany*, when *Nerva* adopted him for his ſon, appointed him his ſucceſſor, and took him for his partner in the empire, as we have related above, To this choice *Nerva* was directed by the extraordinary merit of *Trajan*, and a ſincere deſire of continuing to all the nations ſubject to the empire e that happineſs which they enjoyed in his reign. And truly *Trajan* poſſeſſed in an eminent degree all thoſe qualities which form a great, an excellent prince. He was, when preferred to the empire, in the forty-ſecond, or, as ſome will have it, the forty-fifth, year of his age, and conſequently neither ſubject to the vices of youth, raſhneſs, and precipitation, nor to the weakneſs and indolence attending old age. His body was robuſt and inured to fatigue; his countenance comely and majeſtic; his ſtature regular and tall; and his behaviour extremely engaging [l]. He was not himſelf a man of learning, having from his childhood been brought up in the camp; but favoured the learned, and encouraged in others what he himſelf wanted. As to military affairs, he was, without diſpute, the beſt commander of his age, and f equal to the greateſt generals of antiquity. In every duty of war he was indefatigable; he marched always on foot at the head of the army, even after he was emperor, and croſſed immenſe countries without ever once mounting on horſe-back, or ſuffering himſelf to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot or litter. His diet was ſuch as chance preſented. In his garb and general dreſs he little varied from a common ſoldier. Upon conſultations and diſpatches he

His family, anceſtors and preferments.

Is adopted by Nerva.

Trajan *an excellent commander.*

[x] Dio, ibid. [y] Euseb. chron. [z] Vict. epit. [a] Plin. panegyr. Eutrop. Sid. car. vii. ver. 113. [b] Vide Baudr. p. 394. [c] Plin. pan. Eutrop. [d] Joseph. bell. Jud. c. 11. [e] Eutrop, Goltz. Gruter. &c. [f] Plin. pan. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Spanh. l. vii. p. 851. [i] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Spartian. p. 1, 8. Plin. pan. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Plin. ibid.

a he beſtowed nights and days. He never retired to his tent till he had viſited the whole camp, and was always the firſt in the field when the uſual exerciſes were to be performed. He was acquainted with all the old ſoldiers, called them by their names, remembered their exploits, and familiarly converſed with them; but at the ſame time knew how to keep them to their duty [m]. He was great in war, and equally great in peace. When he firſt aſſumed the ſovereign power, he publicly profeſſed, that he did not think himſelf in that high ſtation more exempt from the obſervance of the laws, than the meaneſt of the populace; and accordingly took an oath to obey them, which he religiouſly obſerved; and thence *Pliny* ſays, that all the emperors before him had made the ſame profeſſions, but their profeſſions
b were not believed. What they had promiſed to be, *Trajan* was; for he poſſeſſed the place of a lawful prince, only to prevent the exerciſe of lawleſs power [n]. He delighted to ſee his people happy, and had nothing ſo much at heart as to make them ſo. To accompliſh this, he chearfully leſſened his revenue, leſſened his authority, and reſtrained his prerogative, where it ſeemed in the leaſt to interfere with the intereſt and happineſs of his people. He was aware, that over-bearing pride was not the means to win affection or eſteem, and that condeſcenſion in a prince is not irreconcileable with his dignity, but rather a ſure way to raiſe it: he therefore lived with his people rather like a father with his children, than a prince with his ſubjects [o]. He advanced none but the moſt virtuous and worthy; and
c ſuch as were otherwiſe, he choſe to reform and reclaim rather with gentleneſs and clemency, than with rigor and ſeverity. On his taking upon him the empire, he declared in full ſenate, that no good man ſhould ever be put to death by his orders, which he confirmed by a ſolemn oath, and religiouſly obſerved it. He ſuffered but few ſtatues to be erected to him, checked ſuch as offered to flatter him, and would not allow any extraordinary honours to be conferred upon him. His palace was conſtantly open to perſons of all ranks, whom he received with extraordinary kindneſs, heard with great patience, and ſtrove, as far as in him lay, to diſmiſs none from his preſence diſſatisfied; looking upon himſelf as raiſed to that high poſt, not for his own advantage, but for that of others. To his other great
d qualities, he added that of veracity, acting in council, in public negociations, and with private men, without thoſe little artifices which wiſe men deſpiſe, and none but the apes of wiſe men practiſe. He would never ſuffer any one to be condemned upon ſuſpicions, however ſtrong and well-grounded, ſaying, it was better a thouſand criminals ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, than one innocent perſon be condemned [p]. When he appointed *Suburanus* captain of his guards, in preſenting him, according to cuſtom, with a drawn ſword, the badge of his office, he uſed theſe memorable words; *Pro me; ſi merear, in me: Employ this ſword for me; but turn it, if I deſerve it, againſt me* [q]. He allowed none of his freed-men any ſhare in the adminiſtration, telling them, that he, and not they, was inveſted with the ſovereign power, and
e therefore warning them not to aſſume any authority inconſiſtent with their rank. Some perſons having a ſuit with one of them, by name *Eurythmus*, and ſeeming to fear the imperial freed-man, *Trajan* aſſured them, that the cauſe ſhould be heard, diſcuſſed, and decided acording to the ſtricteſt laws of juſtice; adding, *For neither is he* Polycletus, *nor I* Nero. *Polycletus*, of whom we ſpoke in the reign of *Nero*, was that prince's favourite freed-man. *Trajan* is ſaid to have excelled even *Nerva* himſelf in generoſity, and all the preceding princes in the largeſſes with which he relieved, not only the citizens of *Rome*, but the indigent people in all the provinces of the empire: whence he was by all nations looked upon as a common father, and as ſuch loved and revered [r]. However, he was not without ſome faults: he was
f addicted to wine. This fault *Dion Caſſius* owns, but adds, that he never drank to exceſs [s]. On the other hand, *Aurelius Victor* aſſures us, that he injoined all his officers not to put in execution ſuch orders as he ſhould give at or after his banquets [t]; and *Julian*, ſurnamed the *apoſtate*, writes, that *Trajan* had a talent for eloquence, and would have applied himſelf with ſucceſs to that ſtudy, had he not by immoderate drinking impaired his natural capacity [v]. *Pliny* extols his chaſtity [w], but *Dion* owns, that he abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous and unnatural practices [x]; and

His moderation, affability, generoſity, and other virtues.

His faults.

[m] PLIN. ibid. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 772. [n] PLIN. ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] PLIN. pan. VICT. epit. [q] DIO, p. 778. AUR. VICTOR. [r] DIO, p. 771. DIO, p. 773. VICT. in epit. & PLIN. ibid. [s] DIO, p. 772. [t] AUR. VICT. in Adrian, p. 2. [u] JULIAN. CÆSAR, p. 30. [w] PLIN. pan, p. 36. [x] DIO, ibid.

and agrees therein both with *Spartian* [y] and the emperor *Julian* [z], who likewiſe charges him with lazineſs, for ſuffering *Sura* to write moſt of his letters [a]. He loved gay amuſements and diverſions; but from hence aroſe no neglect or relaxation in his conducting public affairs. He was ſomewhat ambitious, and more deſirous of extending the confines of the empire, than was conſiſtent with juſtice. When he affirmed any thing for certain, he uſed to add; *So may I ſee* Dacia *reduced to a province, and paſs the* Euphrates *and the* Danube *on bridges built by myſelf* [b]. He ſuffered his name to be placed on the buildings which he had only repaired, as if they had been founded by him. Whence he was nick-named *parietarius*, which name is common to all plants growing on walls [c]. How his lenity, mildneſs, and good-nature, ſo much cried up by the ancients, were conſiſtent with his perſecuting the chriſtians, is what we cannot eaſily conceive. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſtyled *lord*, as appears from *Pliny*'s epiſtles to him; a title, which other good emperors, and *Auguſtus* himſelf, had conſtantly refuſed, and he ſeems at firſt to have declined [d]. He likewiſe allowed ſacrifices to be offered to his ſtatues, and people to ſwear by his life and eternity, as moſt ſacred things [e]. We ſhall now purſue the hiſtory of his reign, according to the order of time.

Trajan commanded, as we have related above, a powerful army in *Lower Germany*, when he was adopted by *Nerva* and declared his ſucceſſor, which happened about the latter end of the year 97. He declined at firſt accepting that high poſt, but was ſoon prevailed upon, by the officers of his own army, and the deputies diſpatched to him from the armies in *Upper Germany* and in *Mœſia*, to yield, and aſſume the title of *Cæſar*. He did not ſeem in the leaſt elated with his new dignity, chuſing rather to be looked upon by his ſoldiers as their general, than their emperor [f]. *Nerva* dying ſoon after, that is, on the twenty-firſt or twenty-ſeventh of *January* of the following year, tidings of his death were firſt brought to him by *Adrian* his couſin. Hereupon *Trajan*, who was then at *Cologn*, immediately aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus*, and was acknowledged as ſuch by the armies in *Germany* and *Mœſia*, who with great joy ſwore allegiance to him [g]. He had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he wrote to the ſenate, aſſuring them upon his oath, that no man of probity ſhould ever by his orders be either put to death or injured in his fortune [h]. He did not immediately leave *Germany*, but continued there all this and part of the following year; for the time of his conſulſhip was expired, as *Pliny* informs us [i], before he ſet out for *Rome*. All the *German* nations ſent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his acceſſion to the empire; and the barbarians, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and uſed, during the winter, to paſs that river on the ice, and commit great devaſtations on the *Roman* territories, hearing that *Trajan* was created emperor, refrained from all hoſtilities, not daring to provoke ſo great a commander, now at liberty to chaſtiſe them [k]. *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, in his book *of the cuſtoms of the* Germans, marks the years to the ſecond conſulate of *Trajan*; whence ſome have concluded, that the ſaid book was compoſed this year, *Trajan* being now conſul the ſecond time. He ſpeaks there of the expulſion of the *Bructerians* by the *Chamavians* and *Angrivarians*, as a thing lately happened; and adds, that the gods vouchſafed to gratify the *Romans* with the ſight of a battle fought by the barbarians, in which, ſays our hiſtorian, there fell above ſixty thouſand ſouls, without a blow ſtruck by us; and, what is a circumſtance ſtill more glorious, they fell to furniſh us with a ſpectacle of joy and recreation. May the gods, concludes *Tacitus*, perpetuate amongſt theſe nations, if not love for us, yet by all means hatred towards each other, ſince they cannot more ſignally befriend us, than by ſowing diviſions amongſt our foes [l]! The *Bructerians*, who were thus expulſed, and, as *Tacitus* writes, utterly extirpated, are thought to have inhabited the country about *Rees* and *Emmerik* in the dutchy of *Cleves* [m]. However, the *Bructerians* were not utterly exterminated, as *Tacitus* ſeems to ſuppoſe; but being driven with great ſlaughter from their ancient habitations, they ſettled in the preſent county of *Naſſau*, where they gave the *Romans* no ſmall trouble, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory. *Pliny* tells us, that *Trajan* cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to *Veſtricius Spurinna* for having conſtrained the *Bructerians*, notwithſtanding their fierceneſs

He accepts the title of Cæſar, *and the empire.*

The Barbarians awed by his preſence.

The Bructerians *driven out by other* German *nations.*

[y] Spart. in Adrian. [z] Julian. ibid. p. 12. [a] Idem, p. 38. [b] Ammian. l. xvi. [c] Idem, l. xxvii. [d] Plin. panegyr. p. 4, & 106. [e] Plin. l. x. epiſt. 102, & 89. [f] Plin. pan. [g] Idem, l. x. epiſt. 53. [h] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771. [i] Plin. pan. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Tacit. de Ger. c. 37. [m] Buch. Belg. l. v. c. 1.

a fierceneſs and arrogance, to receive their king [n], whom, it ſeems, they had driven out. But this muſt have happened before the battle and defeat mentioned by *Tacitus*.

THE next conſuls were *Aulus Cornelius Palma* and *Caius Soſius Senecio*, to whom *Plutarch* inſcribed ſeveral of the lives he wrote, and ſome of his moral works. The ſenate had offered the conſulate to *Trajan*; but he declining it, tho' all the emperors, ever ſince the time of *Claudius*, had aſſumed that dignity the year after their acceſſion to the empire, *Palma* and *Senecio*, his two chief favourites, were appointed in his room [o]. This year *Trajan* left *Germany* and ſet out for *Rome*: his march proved no-ways burdenſome to the provinces through which he paſſed, no man being
b injured either in his perſon or fortune, by the emperor or his numerous attendance. He cauſed the expences of his march, and that of *Domitian* when he went into *Gaul*, to be computed and inſerted in the public regiſters, that his ſucceſſors might thence learn how to conduct themſelves on the like occaſion [p]. He entered *Rome* on foot, and was there received by perſons of all ranks with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, the people of *Rome* promiſing themſelves complete happineſs under ſo good and ſo great a prince. He tenderly embraced his old friends, who came to meet him, and would not be treated by them as their ſovereign, but as a friend, aſſuring them, that ſuch they ſhould find him on all occaſions. He went ſtrait to the capitol, attended by the ſenate and the whole city, and thence to the palace [q].
c His wife *Pompeia Plotina*, who accompanied him, turning to the people as ſhe mounted the ſteps of the palace, *I hope*, ſaid ſhe, *to come out the ſame as I go in*: and truly, during the whole time of her huſband's reign, her conduct was without reproach; nay, ſhe acquainted the emperor with ſeveral diſorders, occaſioned by his too great indulgence; and by that means put a ſtop to them [r]. She is mightily cried up by *Pliny* on account of her modeſt behaviour and extraordinary kindneſs to the emperor's ſiſter [s], by name *Marciana*, as appears from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions [t]. The ſenate offered to both the title of *Auguſta*, which they declined, ſo long as *Trajan* refuſed that of *the father of his country*, which he ſeems to have accepted towards the end of this year, the ſecond of his reign. *Plotina* proved al-
d ways very favourable to *Adrian*; for, by her means and at her recommendation, he was adopted by *Trajan* [u]. In an inſcription of the year 116, which was the nineteenth of *Trajan*'s reign, *Marciana* is ſtyled goddeſs; whence it is evident, that ſhe was then dead [w]. From her the metropolis of *Lower Mœſia* took the name of *Marcianopolis*. She had a daughter, named *Matidies*, mother to another *Matidies*, and to *Julia Sabina*, the wife of the emperor *Adrian*. *Pliny* obſerves, that *Silius Italicus*, who had withdrawn into *Campania*, did not quit his retirement to come to *Rome*, and congratulate the emperor upon his arrival; which, ſays that writer, greatly redounded to the glory of both, of *Trajan* for granting him that liberty, of *Silius* for daring to demand it [x]. The ſenate decreed the emperor ſoon after his
e arrival the title of *Optimus*, which he willingly accepted, and ſeemed to value above all thoſe which were afterwards conferred upon him on account of his victories [y]. However, we do not find it in any inſcription amongſt his other titles, till the year 110, the thirteenth of his reign [z]. This year he paid part of the donative, which he had promiſed according to cuſtom, to the ſoldiery, and made large diſtributions both of money and corn amongſt the *Roman* people, extending his generoſity to ſuch as were abſent, and even to children, who had been hitherto excluded from any ſhare in ſuch largeſſes till eleven years old [a]. By means of theſe largeſſes, which he frequently renewed, he is ſaid to have ſupported near two millions of ſouls [b].
f He did not confine the effects of his good-nature to *Rome* alone, but appointed very conſiderable ſums to be paid yearly out of the exchequer for the maintenance of children, whom their indigent parents could not without great difficulty bring up and ſupport. To this unbounded generoſity allude, no doubt, ſeveral medals ſtruck this or the following year, which repreſent *Trajan* diſtributing corn to children with the following legend, *He nouriſhes* Italy [c]. He took great care that *Rome* ſhould be ſupplied

Trajan *ſets out for* Rome.

How received there.

His wife Pompeia Plotina.

The title of Optimus *decreed to the emperor.*

His largeſſes.

[n] PLIN. l. ii. epiſt. 7. [o] PLIN. pan. p. 110——115. [p] Idem ibid. p. 37. [q] Idem ibid. p. 38, 39. [r] DIO, l. lxviii p. 771. VICT. epit. vit. Conſtant. [s] PLIN. ibid. p. 150, 151. [t] BIRAG. numiſm. p. 166. [u] SPART. in vit. Adrian. [w] VELSARII monum. Auguſtina. lapide 35. [x] PLIN. l. iii. epiſt. 7. [y] DIO, p. 781. [z] Vide FABRETTI de column. Trajan. c. 9. [a] PLIN. pan. p. 44 BIRAG. p. 149. SPART. p. 16. [b] Vide SPART. not. Caſaubon. p. 122. [c] OCCONIS numiſm. p. 202, 205.

ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, eſpecially with corn, which during the whole a
time of his reign, was ſold at a very low rate: he exhibited ſeveral ſhews and a
combat of gladiators, to ſatisfy the populace, fond of ſuch diverſions; but drove out
of *Rome* the players, who had been baniſhed by *Domitian*, but, at the requeſt of
Is an enemy to informers. the people, recalled by *Nerva*. He publiſhed ſeveral laws againſt informers, and
confined to the iſland, ſuch of that tribe as had been ſpared by *Nerva*, utterly abo-
liſhing the ſo much hated law of majeſty. He repaired, at a vaſt charge, ſeveral
His modeſty. old buildings, and inlarged the circus; but would not ſuffer the people to return
him thanks for his public works; nay, he iſſued an edict, forbidding his name to
be mentioned either in the circus or the theatre, which, till then, had reſounded,
ſays *Pliny*, with the praiſes of wicked princes [c]. All theſe things are related by b
Pliny as happening in the ſecond year of *Trajan*'s reign, before the time appointed
for the electing of conſuls. The people had, it ſeems, recovered their ancient pri-
vilege of creating magiſtrates; for *Trajan*, whom the ſenate had preſſed to accept
a third conſulſhip, appeared amongſt the other candidates, begging like a private
citizen the ſuffrages of the tribes [d]. He choſe for his collegue *Fronto*, according to
ſome; *Frontinus*, according to others; for both *M. Julius Fronto* and *Sextus Ju-
lius Frontinus*, who wrote a treatiſe on aqueducts, lived at this time. In the ſame
aſſembly, *Pliny* and *Tertullus Cornutus* were appointed to ſucceed *Trajan* and *Fronto*
or *Frontinus*, and others to ſucceed them; for at this time few conſuls held that
dignity above three months. In the beginning of the year, *Trajan* had no ſooner c
aſſumed the faſces, than he aſcended the roſtra, and, in the preſence of the people,
Binds himſelf by a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws. bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to obſerve the laws, declaring, that what was for-
bidden to private citizens was equally forbidden to good princes, who, as they are
not above the laws, are no leſs bound than the meaneſt of the populace to conform
to them: hence to the public vows, which were in the beginning of each year
offered for the health and proſperity of the emperor, he added theſe conditions; *If
he obſerves the laws*; *if he governs the republic as he ought*; *if he procures the happi-
neſs of his people* [e]. Before *Trajan* reſigned the faſces, the cauſe of *Marius Priſcus*,
accuſed, by a city of *Africa* and by ſeveral particular perſons, of extortion during
his proconſulate, was heard by the emperor and ſenate. *Pliny* and *Tacitus* the d
Marius Priſcus *tried and condemned.* hiſtorian pleaded for the *Africans*; and the trial laſted three days, the emperor heark-
ening the whole time with great attention to the reaſons alledged on both ſides, with-
out ever betraying the leaſt biaſs to either. In the end, *Priſcus* was degraded from
the rank of ſenator and baniſhed *Italy:* at the ſame time, *Hoſtilius Firminus*, his
lieutenant and accomplice, was declared incapable of holding any employment in
the empire [f]. This is, no doubt, the *Marius*, who, in ſpite of the angry gods, en-
joyed, as we read in *Juvenal* [g], even in exile, the immenſe wealth which he had
accumulated by the moſt wicked means; while *Africa* bewailed, without redreſs,
the loſſes it had ſuſtained by his avarice: hence the poet calls his condemnation *an
empty judgment*. The condemnation of *Marius Priſcus* was followed by that of *Claſſi-* e
The trial of Claſſicus. *cus*, proconſul of *Bætica*, or rather of his accomplices; for *Claſſicus*, finding himſelf
accuſed of extortion by the whole province, laid violent hands on himſelf before
the time appointed for his trial. However, the province purſued their action againſt
his accomplices, who had ſhared in his rapines, and they were, by means of *Pliny*,
who pleaded in behalf of the province, all condemned. The eſtate, which *Claſſicus*
poſſeſſed before he was ſent into *Spain*, was adjudged to his daughter; but the reſt
was diſtributed amongſt theſe whom he had plundered during his adminiſtration:
Bæbius Probus and *Fabius Hiſpanus*, the miniſters of his rapines, were baniſhed for
five years, tho' they alledged in their defence, that they were obliged blindly to
obey the orders of the proconſul, *Stillonius Priſcus*, who had commanded a cohort f
under *Claſſicus*, was baniſhed *Italy* for two years: the daughter of *Claſſicus* was like-
wiſe accuſed by the province; but *Pliny*, judging her innocent, declined pleading a-
gainſt her; whence the proſecution was dropped [h]. *Norbanus Licinianus*, who had
been lieutenant to *Claſſicus*, but his declared enemy, was at the ſame time condemned
for other crimes, not mentioned by hiſtorians, and confined to one of the iſlands in
the *Archipelago* [i].

For

[c] Plin. pan. p. 74. & l. x. epiſt. 88. Dio in excerpt. Val. p 709. [d] Plin. ibid. p. 120. [e] Plin. ibid. p 134. [f] Plin. l. x. epiſt. 4. l. ii. ep. 11. l. vi. ep. 29. l. iii. ep. 9. [g] Juvenal. ſat. 1. ver. 49. & ſat. 10. ver. 120. [h] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 4, & 9. [i] Idem, l. iii. epiſt. 9.

a FOR what we have hitherto related of *Trajan*'s adminiſtration, we are chiefly indebted to *Pliny*, from whoſe panegyric on that prince we have copied it. *Pliny* pronounced his ſpeech in the ſenate, when he entered upon his conſulſhip, having compoſed it before at the requeſt of the ſenators. After he had delivered it in full ſenate, he added, as he himſelf informs us, many things to it, that it might ſerve as a model for other princes. Before he publiſhed it, he rehearſed it before ſome of his friends, who for three days together heard him with great attention; which he aſcribes, not to the elegance or beauties of his performance, but to their being perſuaded, that the praiſes which he beſtowed on *Trajan*, were a ſincere encomium on that prince, and altogether free from flattery. *Pliny* himſelf aſſures us, that ſuch paſſages in his

b diſcourſe, as were the leaſt ſtudied, pleaſed moſt; which gave him no ſmall ſatisfaction: for thence he began to entertain hopes of ſeeing the true taſte revive, and the maſculine eloquence of the antients again admired. He ſent his diſcourſe, which he ſtyles a book, to one of his friends, begging him to mark what he diſliked in it, that he might by that means be ſure he approved of the reſt [k]. About this time, *Largius Macedo*, who, for his extraordinary parts, had been raiſed from a very mean condition (for he was the ſon of a freedman) to the prætorian dignity, was inhumanly murdered by his ſlaves, whom, forgetful of his origin, he treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. They fell upon him while he was bathing at one of his country-houſes, and left him for dead; but he afterwards returned to himſelf, and lived a few days,

c during which he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing all thoſe crucified, who had been anyways concerned in the attempt [l]. Towards the end of this year *Julia Sabina*, granddaughter to *Marciana* the emperor's ſiſter, was married to *Adrian*, the ſon of *Ælius Adrian Afer*, couſin to *Trajan*. This match, which in the end proved unhappy to both, was concluded by the empreſs *Plotina*, who had a particular kindneſs for *Adrian*, the emperor himſelf rather conſenting to it, than approving it [m].

THE following year, *Trajan*, at the earneſt requeſt of the ſenate, entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having for his collegue, according to ſome [n], *Sextus Articuleius Pætus*, according to others [o], *P. Orfitus*. The ſame year, *Bæbius Macer*, *Cæpio Hiſpo*, *Valerius Paulinus*, and *Caius Cæcilius Strabo* were honoured with the conſular dignity [p].

d *Adrian* was this year quæſtor, and charged with the care of the regiſters of the ſenate [q]; which employment he ſoon reſigned, to attend the emperor in the war he undertook againſt the *Dacians*. *Decebalus*, king of the *Dacians*, obliged *Domitian*, as we have related in the foregoing volume, to purchaſe a peace with a large ſum; which he engaged to pay yearly to *Decebalus*. To this tribute *Trajan* would not ſubmit, alledging, that he had not been conquered by *Decebalus*. Beſides, the *Dacians* grew daily more formidable, and their king maintained a good underſtanding with *Pacorus* king of the *Parthians*, whom *Decebalus* had preſented with one *Callidromus*, who had been made priſoner in *Mœſia* by *Suzagues*, one of his lieutenants, during the war with *Domitian*. The good underſtanding between theſe two powers gave *Trajan* no ſmall

e jealouſy. Whereupon the *Dacians* having paſſed the *Danube*, and committed ſome hoſtilities in the *Roman* territories, he was glad of that pretence to make war upon them, and humble an enemy, whoſe power he began to fear. Having therefore drawn together a mighty army, he marched with incredible expedition to the banks of the *Danube*, paſſed that river without oppoſition, *Decebalus* not being appriſed of his arrival, and entered *Dacia*, committing every-where dreadful devaſtations. *Decebalus*, however, was not in the leaſt diſmayed; he armed all the youth of the country, and boldly advanced to meet the *Romans*, pitching his camp at a ſmall diſtance from their intrenchments. *Trajan* immediately drew out his men, in order to offer the enemy

f battle. As he advanced to the place where they lay, a large muſhroom was found, and brought to him, with the following words in *Latin* cut upon it: *Your allies, eſpecially the* Byrrhi, *adviſe you to conclude a peace with the* Dacians, *and to retire. Trajan*, deſpiſing that advice, continued advancing in order of battle, till he diſcovered *Decebalus*, at the head of a powerful army, coming full march to meet him. He then halted to encourage his men, which he did in a few words, and then ordered the trumpets to ſound the charge. All we know of this action is, that great numbers of the enemy fell, and that the *Romans* gained the victory; which, however, coſt them dear, the wounded on their ſide being ſo numerous, that they wanted linen to bind up their wounds; whereupon *Trajan* tore his own robes to ſupply that want. Such as

Pliny *pronounces his panegyric in the ſenate.*

Largius Macedo *murdered by his ſlaves.*

Adrian *marries* Julia Sabina.

Trajan's *war with* Dacians.

The Dacians *defeated.*

Trajan's *humanity to the wounded.*

[k] Idem, l. iii. epiſt. 13, 18. [l] Idem ibid. epiſt. 14. [m] SPART. in Adrian. [n] IDAT. in faſt. [o] ONUPH. in faſt. [p] PLIN. l. iv. epiſt. 3, 12, 17. [q] SPART. in Adrian.

as fell in the battle he cauſed to be interred with great ſolemnity, and ordered an altar a
to be built on the ſpot, and ſacrifices to be yearly offered in honour of the deceaſed [r].
Trajan, purſuing the advantage of his victory, followed the enemy cloſe; and, without giving them time to levy new forces, haraſſed them without intermiſſion to ſuch a degree, that *Decebalus*, reduced almoſt to deſpair, ſent ſome of the chief lords of his court with propoſals of peace. *Trajan* appointed *Licinius Sura* and *Claudius Libianus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, *Trajan* continued his ravages, advancing from one hill to another, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Zermizegethuſa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. On the other ſide, *Maximus*, one of the *Roman* generals, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, in one of which he took the ſiſter of *Decebalus* priſoner, b
and recovered a *Roman* ſtandard, which had been loſt when *Fuſcus* was defeated and killed in the reign of *Domitian*. At length *Decebalus*, no longer able to withſtand the *Romans*, and dreading the deſtruction of his capital, which would be attended with the loſs of his whole kingdom, diſpatched anew embaſſadors to *Trajan*, offering to accept ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to impoſe. Accordingly *Trajan* granted him a peace upon the following terms: 1. That he ſhould ſurrender the territories which he had unjuſtly taken from the neighbouring nations. 2. That he ſhould deliver up his arms, his warlike engines, and the artificers who made them, with all the *Roman* deſerters. 3. That, for the future, he ſhould entertain no deſerters, nor take into his ſervice the natives of any country ſubject to *Rome*. 4. That c
he ſhould diſmantle all his fortreſſes, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds. And, laſtly, That he ſhould have the ſame friends and foes with the people of *Rome*. With theſe articles *Decebalus* complied, tho' much againſt his will; and having ſworn to obſerve them, he was introduced to *Trajan*, before whom he threw himſelf on the ground, acknowledging himſelf his vaſſal. *Trajan* commanded him to ſend deputies to the ſenate for the ratification of the peace; which he did accordingly. The war being thus ended, *Trajan*, having placed gariſons in moſt of the cities of *Dacia*, returned to *Rome*; which he entered in triumph, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, and took the ſurname of *Dacicus*, being the firſt *Roman* who had ever triumphed over that nation [s]. His triumph was followed by a combat of gladiators d
and the diverſions of the ſtage, in which one *Pylades* gained the applauſe of the people, and the emperor's favour. *Trajan* had but two years before driven all the players out of *Rome*; but, as he took great pleaſure in ſuch entertainments, he recalled them on this occaſion, tho' he did not abandon himſelf to theſe amuſements in ſuch manner as to neglect the diſpatch of buſineſs; for he diſcharged with great care and application all the duties of a prince, was aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and aſſiſted in perſon at all the cauſes of any importance, that were pleaded either in the ſenate or the forum [t]. This year *Julius Baſſus*, who had been accuſed under *Trajan*, and, after a long trial, declared innocent, was again accuſed of extortion by the *Bithynians*; for he had been by *Nerva* appointed proconſul of *Bithynia*. *Pliny*, who e
pleaded in his behalf, owns, that he failed rather through imprudence than avarice, in accepting ſome preſents, which was, by ſome late laws, forbidden to all governors of provinces, under ſevere penalties. However, *Pliny* prevailed upon the ſenate, inclined to condemn him as guilty of extortion, to be ſatisfied with obliging him to reſtore the value of the preſents to thoſe, of whom he had imprudently accepted them [u].

The following year, one *Suranus*, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory, and *L. Licinius Sura*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Suras*, were choſen conſuls. *Sura* was *Trajan*'s chief favourite, and had employed all his intereſt with *Nerva* in his behalf; whence to him chiefly, after *Nerva*, *Trajan* acknowledged himſelf indebted for his adoption and preferment [w]. He was, as *Gruter* conjectures from ſeveral ancient f
inſcriptions [x], a native of *Spain*, born either in *Tarragon* or *Barcelona*, extremely rich, and thence envied by many even of *Trajan*'s friends, who by falſe inſinuations, ſtrove to eſtrange the prince's mind from him, as if he harboured evil deſigns. But *Trajan*, who repoſed an intire confidence in him, inſtead of hearkening to his enemies, went one night to ſup with him, without being invited; and, diſmiſſing his guards, ordered *Sura*'s ſurgeon to apply a remedy to his eyes; truſted himſelf to his barber, who ſhaved him; then bathed, and ſupped with *Sura*, without ever betraying the leaſt

Decebalus *king of the* Dacians *ſues for peace.*

Which is granted him upon hard terms.

Trajan *the firſt who triumphed over the* Dacians.

Licinius Sura *the emperor's chief favourite.*

[r] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771.—774. [s] Dio, p. 710. Spart. in Adrian. Goltz. p. 646. Euseb. in chron. p. 341. [t] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 774. [u] Plin. l. iv. epiſt. 9. l. vi. epiſt. 29. & l. x. epiſt. 14.
[w] Vict. in epit. [x] Gruter. p. 249.

a leaſt diffidence or fear. The next morning, he told thoſe about him, who were always ſuggeſting ſomething againſt *Sura*, If he entertained any evil deſigns againſt me, he would have put them in execution laſt night[y]. *Sura* was ſtill alive in the year 109, the twelfth of *Trajan*'s reign, when *Adrian*, whom he had always favoured, was conſul; but died ſoon after, having aſſured *Adrian* before he died, that *Trajan* would in the end adopt him[z]. *Trajan* cauſed his funerals to be performed with the utmoſt magnificence, erected a ſtatue to him, and called certain ſplendid baths, which he built, after his name. This year *Trajan*, at the requeſt of the ſenate and at the motion of *Nigrinus*, tribune of the people, publiſhed an edict, ſubjecting ſuch pleaders as received fees from their clients, to the penalties of the law againſt extor-

Pleaders forbidden to receive fees.

b tion; and *Licinius Nepos*, prætor, upon his taking poſſeſſion of that office, procured a decree from the ſenate, commanding the parties, before their cauſe began to be tried, to ſwear, that they had neither given nor promiſed any fee, preſent, or reward to thoſe who were to plead in their behalf. *Pliny* takes notice of this law, and declares, that he was pleaſed to ſee that forbidden to others, which he had never practiſed himſelf[a]. Towards the end of the year, *Trajan* aſſumed twice the title of emperor[b], for victories which were gained by ſome of his lieutenants, (for he himſelf continued the whole year at *Rome*) but are not mentioned by any hiſtorian.

THE next conſuls were *Trajan*, the fifth time, and *Lucius Appius Maximus*, who had ſignalized himſelf in the *Dacian* war. This year *Trajan* began, and finiſhed two

The port of Centumcellæ.

e years after, a magnificent and convenient harbour at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, which he called after his own name, *The harbour of* Trajan[c]. It is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and deſcribed by *Rutilius* in his poem[d]. *Pliny* was this year ſent to govern *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, not in quality of proconſul, as others had been, but of lieute-

Pliny *appointed governor of* Pontus *and* Bithynia.

nant and propretor, with conſular authority; that is, he was not appointed governor of that province by the ſenate, but by the emperor, tho' the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* belonged to the ſenate. As there were many abuſes in that province to reform, the emperor ſent *Pliny* thither with an extraordinary authority as his lieutenant; but afterwards allowed the ſenate to appoint the governors as formerly, *Adrian* being the firſt who took the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* from the ſenate, and gave

d them *Pamphylia* in the room of it[e]. *Pliny* was particularly commiſſioned to examine the revenues and expences of the cities within his juriſdiction, and to retrench all unneceſſary charges[f]; but the emperor would not impower him to recall ſuch as had been baniſhed by other governors[g], nor even thoſe whom he himſelf ſhould think fit to baniſh[h]. *Pliny* wrote an account of his journey to the emperor, whence it appears, that he arrived in *Bithynia* on the ſeventeenth of *September*, and *Servilius Pudens* his lieutenant on the twenty-fourth of *November*[i].

THE following year, *L. Licinius Sura* and *M. Marcellus* being conſuls, *Sauromates*, king of *Boſporus*, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Trajan*, and entered into an alliance with him and the *Roman* people[k]. Soon after, *Decebalus* king of the *Dacians*, not

Decebalus *violates the articles of the treaty.*

e able to live in ſubjection and ſervitude, (for ſo he called the peace which *Trajan* had granted him) began, contrary to the late treaty, to raiſe men, provide arms, entertain deſerters, fortify his caſtles, and invite the neighbouring nations to join him againſt the *Romans* as a common enemy. The *Scythians* hearkened to his ſolicitations; but the *Iazyges* refuſing to bear arms againſt *Rome*, he invaded their country, and ſeized that part of it which bordered on the *Danube*. Hereupon *Decebalus* was by the ſenate declared an enemy; and *Trajan*, not caring to commit the management of the war to another, marched againſt him in perſon. *Decebalus*, not finding himſelf in a condition to withſtand him by open force, had recourſe to deceit and

His treachery.

f treachery, ſending aſſaſſins, under the name of deſerters, to murder him; but one of theſe, being apprehended upon ſuſpicion and put to the torture, diſcovered the whole plot, and named his accomplices, who were immediately ſeized and executed. *Decebalus*, failing in this attempt, invited *Longinus*, one of *Trajan*'s favourites and chief commanders, to a conference, as if he deſigned to put an end to the war, by ſubmitting to the articles of the former treaty, with ſome ſmall alteration. *Longinus*, not ſuſpecting any treachery, complied with the invitation. But *Decebalus* immediately ſeized him; and after having attempted in vain to make him diſcover the deſigns of

[y] DIO, ibid. p. 777. [z] SPART. in Adrian. [a] PLIN. l. v. epiſt. 14. [b] GOLTZ. p. 64. [c] PLIN. l. vi. epiſt. 31. Occo. numiſm. p. 212. [d] RUTIL. p. 132. [e] DIO, in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 714. [f] PLIN. l. x. epiſt. 19. [g] Idem ibid. epiſt. 44. [h] Idem ibid. epiſt. 57. [i] Idem ibid. epiſt. 17, 18, 26, 34. [k] Idem l. x. epiſt 68, 69, 73, 74.

of the emperor, he wrote to *Trajan*, offering to ſet *Longinus* at liberty, upon condi- a
tion that he would grant him an honourable peace, reſtore the country bordering on the *Danube*, and defray all the charges of the war; adding, that if theſe conditions were not complied with, he would inſtantly put *Longinus* to death. *Trajan* returned him a judicious anſwer, neither ſeeming to undervalue the life of his favourite, nor yet make ſuch account of it, as to purchaſe it at too high a rate. But while *Decebalus* was deliberating with himſelf, and in ſuſpence about the meaſures he ſhould purſue, *Longinus*, by a doſe of poiſon, which was privately conveyed to him by a freed-man, put an end to his life. *Decebalus* immediately diſpatched to *Trajan* a centurion taken with *Longinus*, offering him the body of the deceaſed general, with ten captives, pro- b
vided he would deliver up the freed-man, whom *Longinus* had ſent, before he took the poiſon to the emperor, under colour of negotiating a treaty: but *Trajan* would neither hearken to the propoſal, nor even ſuffer the centurion to return. In the mean time, *Trajan*, that his troops might with more eaſe paſs the *Danube*, built a bridge over that ſpacious river, which, by the ancients, is ſtyled the moſt magnificent and wonderful of all his works, and the moſt ſtately fabric of that nature in the univerſe. It was all of ſquare ſtone, and contained twenty arches, each of them one hundred and fifty feet above the foundation, and ſixty feet in breadth, all diſtant from each other one hundred and ſeventy feet. It was built where the river was narroweſt, and conſequently where the ſtream was ſtrongeſt and moſt rapid; which renders the fabric ſtill more ſtupendous and amazing, on account of the almoſt unſurmountable c
difficulties they muſt have met with in laying ſo large a foundation[l]. The architect employed on this occaſion was one *Apollodorus* of *Damaſcus*, who, it ſeems, left a deſcription of his great work[m]. *Trajan* ordered two caſtles to be built to guard the bridge, one on the *Roman*, the other on the *Dacian* ſide of the river. *Pliny* mentions this bridge in the ſhort account he gives us of the *Dacian* war[n]; and ſeveral medals repreſenting it have reached our times[o]. It was built in the *Upper Mœſia*, which, in the time of *Aurelian*, began to be called *Dacia*[p]. We are told, that ſome remains of it are ſtill to be ſeen near *Zerevin* in *Lower Hungary*[q]. *Trajan* built it, that the *Roman* forces might with eaſe and readineſs paſs the *Danube*, and fall upon the barbarians in their own country; but *Adrian*, fearing the barbarians might make uſe of d
it to invade the *Roman* territories, broke down the arches, but the piers were ſtill ſtanding in *Dion Caſſius*'s time; that is, one hundred and twenty years after, tho' they ſerved then only to ſhew, ſays that writer, the utmoſt extent of human power[r]. When they were by time intirely demoliſhed, the river was ſo choaked with the ruins, that it was not navigable till turned into another channel[s]. This ſtupendous fabric was begun and ended this ſummer; but *Trajan*, not thinking it adviſeable to enter *Dacia* upon the approach of winter, contented himſelf with making the neceſſary preparations for vigorouſly attacking the enemy early in the ſpring.

Trajan *builds a bridge over the* Danube.

In the mean time, the following conſuls were choſen at *Rome*, *Tiberius Julius Candidus* and *Aulus Julius Quadratus*, both the ſecond time. This year, the eighth of e
Trajan's reign, a dreadful earthquake overturned in *Aſia* the cities of *Elea*, *Myrine*, *Pitame*, and *Cumæ*; and in *Greece* the cities of *Opus* and *Oritæ*[t]. *Adrian* diſcharged for ſome time the office of tribune of the people, and then went to attend *Trajan* in the war againſt the *Dacians*. The emperor, early in the ſpring, paſſed the *Danube* on the bridge he had built, and entering the enemy's country, purſued the war with more prudence than expedition, not caring to expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers[u]. He often incamped, ſays *Pliny*[w], on ſteep and barren mountains; was obliged to divert rivers into new chanels, and to attempt and perform things, which, were they not well atteſted, would ſeem altogether fabulous. He gave many ſignal inſtances of his perſonal courage, and the ſoldiers, animated by his example, chearfully underwent all the hardſhips of a laborious warfare[x]. Among the reſt, one of his horſemen being wounded in an engagement, and carried to the camp to have his wound dreſſed, when he there underſtood, that his life was deſpaired of and the wound incurable, he returned to the combat before his ſpirits failed him, performed great feats, and expired fighting with incredible bravery[y]. Several inſcriptions are ſtill to be met with, mentioning perſons whom *Trajan* rewarded on account of their gallant conduct in the war with

Trajan *marches againſt the* Dacians.

Expoſes himſelf to great dangers.

[l] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 776. [m] Procop. de ædificiis Juſtin. l. iv c. 6. [n] Plin. l. viii. c. 4. [o] Occo, p. 204. Baron. annal. ad ann. 105. [p] Fabretti de colum. Trajan. c. 301. [q] Occo, p. 204. [r] Dio. ibid. [s] Procop. ibid. [t] Euseb. chron. [u] Dio, ibid. [w] Plin. l. viii. epiſt 9. [x] Dio, p. 776. [y] Idem, p. 777.

a with the *Dacians* [z]. In this war *Adrian* commanded a legion, and, in the many battles that were fought, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; whence the emperor, highly pleaſed with his gallant behaviour, preſented him with the diamond, which *Nerva* had ſent him, as we have related above, when he adopted and named him his ſucceſſor. This preſent *Adrian* looked upon as a pledge of his future adoption [a]. Some inſcriptions have reached our times, in which *Dacia* is ſaid to have been added to the empire by the courage and valour of *Adrian* [b]. At length *Trajan* made himſelf maſter of the capital of *Dacia*, and almoſt of the whole country; inſomuch, that *Decebalus*, ſeeing himſelf ſtripped of his dominions, and dreading to fall into the hands of the conqueror, choſe rather to put an end to his life, b than to live in ſubjection, or acknowledge himſelf overcome. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him ſent to *Rome*. He had concealed his treaſures in a deep pit, which he cauſed to be dug in the bed of the river *Sargetia*, now *Iſtrig*, having for that purpoſe turned the ſtream into another chanel, and afterwards brought it to its former courſe. As for his rich moveables, he ſecured them in deep caves, which he cauſed to be dug by captives, whom he immediately after put to death, that they might not diſcover the ſecret; but *Bacilis*, one of his chief favourites and confidents, being taken in this war, diſcovered the whole to *Trajan*, who ſeized both the treaſure and precious moveables of the deceaſed prince [c]. We are told, that notwithſtanding this diſcovery, great riches were found in thoſe places c many ages after, which had eſcaped *Trajan* [d]. The famous column of *Trajan*, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon, is thought to have been raiſed for a laſting monument of the victories gained by that prince over the *Dacians* and their king; at leaſt many of the remarkable events of this war are expreſſed, as *Ciacconius* and *Fabretti* inform us, in the baſſo-relievo of that pillar [e]. *Dacia* being thus intirely ſubdued, *Trajan* reduced it to a *Roman* province, which was, according to *Eutropius* [f], a thouſand miles in compaſs. The *Romans* held it, as *Feſtus Rufus* informs us [g], to the reign of the emperor *Gallienus*; during which time it was governed by a *Roman* magiſtrate, with the title of proprætor, as appears from ſome ancient inſcriptions [a]. *Trajan* built ſeveral caſtles in the country, and placed gariſons in them, to keep the inhabitants in d awe. He likewiſe planted a great number of colonies, diſtributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome* and of the other towns of *Italy*, who were willing to ſettle in *Dacia*. The *Hungarian* writers mention ſeveral cities in their country, which were on this occaſion built or peopled by the *Romans*: but the moſt celebrated of all was *Zermizegethuſa*, which in ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, is ſtyled *Colonia Ulpia Trajana, Auguſta Dacia Sarmiz.* It was eſtabliſhed by *M. Scaurianus* proprætor of *Dacia*, and continued ſubject to the *Romans* at leaſt to the death of the emperor *Severus* [i]. At preſent it is but a poor village in *Tranſilvania*, known by the name of *Gradiſch* [k]. In *Mœſia* and *Thrace* ſeveral cities borrowed their names from *Trajan*; for we find the city of *Trajanopolis* in *Thrace* mentioned by the ancients; that of *Ulpia* in *Upper Mœſia*, e now *Servia*; the cities of *Plotinopolis*, which, no doubt, was ſo called from *Plotina*, *Trajan*'s wife, and *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Lower Mœſia*, which took its name from *Marciana*, the emperor's ſiſter, and was, according to *Jornandes*, built by *Trajan* [l]. The ſame writer adds, that upon the banks of the river *Iater*, or *Iatrus*, he founded another city, which he called *Nicopolis*, or *the city of victory*, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the *Sarmatians*, or rather *Dacians*; for *Jornandes* frequently confounds theſe two nations [m]. This city is by *Ammianus Marcellinus* called ſometimes *Nicopolis*, ſometimes *Ulpia*, and placed, not on the *Iatrus*, but on the *Neſſus* or *Neſtus*; and truly, from ſeveral inſcriptions produced by the learned *Holſtenius* [n], it appears to have ſtood near the conflux of the *Neſtus* and the *Danube*. f We muſt not confound, as ſome writers have done, *Nicopolis* in *Dacia* with another of the ſame name upon mount *Hæmus* in *Thrace*. *Trajan*, upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed over the *Dacians* a ſecond time; cauſed ſeveral medals to be coined in memory of his victories, many of which are ſtill to be ſeen [o]; entertained the people with public banquets; with ſhews, in which ten thouſand gladiators entered the liſts; with combats of wild beaſts, of which above ten thouſand were killed, and all kinds of

Makes himſelf maſter of the capital of Dacia, *which is reduced to a* Roman *province.*

Many colonies planted in Dacia.

Trajan's *ſecond triumph over the* Dacians.

[z] Fabr. colum. Trajan. c. 8. p. 238, 241. [a] Spart. in Adrian. Dio, lxix. p. 787. [b] Fabr. ibid. p. 242. [c] Dio, ibid. [d] Fabr. ibid. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Eutrop. p. 236. [g] Ruf. p. 550. [h] Gruter. p. 354. [i] Idem, p. 63. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 1040. [k] Baude. p. 348. [l] Jorn. de reb. Goth. c. 16. [m] Idem ibid. c. 18. [n] Holst. ad Steph. p. 225. [o] Occo, p. 201.

of diverſions, which laſted one hundred and twenty-three days[p]. *Canius*, at the requeſt of *Pliny*, deſcribed this war in verſe[q]; and *Trajan* himſelf is ſaid to have written an account of it in ſeveral books[r]. This war broke out in the beginning of the preceding year, but was not ended till the latter end of this; for we are told, that he took, for the fifth time, the title of *imperator* about the latter end of the ninth year of his tribunitial power, which was the eighth of his reign[s]. The ſame year is remarkable for the intire reduction of *Arabia Petræa* by *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, after it had been long governed by its own kings[t]. The inhabitants of *Petra* and *Boſtra* reckon their time from this year, in which their country was firſt annexed to the *Roman* empire[u]. *Trajan* reduced, together with the *Dacians*, ſeveral nations in alliance with them; ſo that the fame of his conqueſts reaching the moſt diſtant countries, and even *India*, embaſſadors were ſent from thence to congratulate him upon the ſucceſs which had attended his arms[w].

Arabia Petræa intirely reduced.

The next conſuls were *Cerealis* and *L. Ceionius Commodus Verus*, the father of *L. Ælius Verus*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, who was by *Adrian* created *Cæſar*[x]. During their adminiſtration, the capitoline ſports, eſtabliſhed by *Domitian*, were exhibited the ſixth time, when the prize in poetry was won by a child thirteen years old, named *L. Valerius Pudens*[y]. This year *Trajan* made, at a vaſt charge, a road through the *Palus Pontina*, or *Pontine Marſhes*, whereof the remains are ſtill to be ſeen[z]; and this, no doubt, is the *Via Trajana*, or *Trajan's Highway*, mentioned in ſeveral ancient inſcriptions produced by *Occo*[a] and *Gruter*[b]. *Dion Caſſius* adds, that he ordered all the diminiſhed coin to be melted down, and mentions ſeveral magnificent buildings, with which he embelliſhed *Rome:* but of theſe we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; for *Trajan* muſt have only begun them this year, ſince he left *Rome* in the month of *October*, and was at *Antioch* in the very beginning of the enſuing year[c]. However, before he ſet out for the eaſt, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by *Craſſus* and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt quality; but ſeaſonably diſcovered. The conſpirators were tried, not by him (for he declined being judge and at the ſame time a party), but by the ſenate, who, it ſeems, condemned them to baniſhment; for, upon the emperor's death, one *Craſſus Frugi* endeavoured to make his eſcape from an iſland, to which he is ſaid to have been confined for aſpiring at the empire; but was killed by one of *Adrian*'s officers, without the emperor's knowledge, as if he had attempted his eſcape with a deſign to raiſe new diſturbances[d]. The true motive of *Trajan*'s journey into the eaſt was a deſire of glory, as *Dion Caſſius* informs us[e], which he hoped to reap from a war with the *Parthians*, who, we may ſay, rivalled the *Romans* themſelves in power, and had given them ſeveral great overthrows. The pretence he alledged for quarrelling with that nation was, that the king of *Armenia*, by name *Exedares*, had received his crown at the hands of the king of *Parthia*; whereas the *Roman* emperors claimed a right of diſpoſing of that crown ever ſince the reign of *Nero*, who, in the year ſixty-ſix, the twelfth of his empire, had crowned at *Rome Tiridates* king of *Armenia*. What happened after that time in *Armenia*, we find no-where recorded; we only know, that *Tiridates* was ſtill on the throne in ſeventy-two, the third of *Veſpaſian*'s reign. As for the affairs of the *Parthians*, *Vologeſes*, brother to *Tiridates*, was in the year eighty ſucceeded by *Artabanes*, and he by *Pacorus* the friend of *Decebalus*[f], who reigned while *Pliny* governed *Bithynia*[g]. *Pacorus* was father to *Parthamaſiris*, and probably to *Coſrhoes*, who reigned at this time in *Parthia*[h]. *Aurelius Victor* calls him *Coſdroes*, and *Dion Caſſius Hoſroes*. *Trajan*, who wanted only a pretence to make war upon the *Parthians*, pretended to be highly affronted at the *Parthian* king's giving the crown and royal enſigns to *Exedares*, and demanded ſatisfaction, threatening him with war, if he refuſed to comply with his juſt demands. *Coſrhoes* deſpiſed his menaces; whereupon *Trajan*, who had already made the neceſſary preparations for this expedition, immediately left *Rome* and croſſed over into *Greece*. When *Coſrhoes* found he was in earneſt, he began to abate of his pride, and ſent deputies to him with rich preſents, begging that he would not, upon ſuch ſlight motives, engage the two empires in a bloody and deſtructive war; at the ſame time, he acquainted him, that *Exedares*, finding himſelf neither acceptable to the *Romans* nor to

A conſpiracy againſt Trajan.

His moderation on that occaſion.

Deſigns to make war upon the Parthians.

And ſets out for the eaſt.

[p] Dio, ibid. p. 777. [q] Plin. l. viii. ep. 14. [r] Voss. hiſt. Lat. c. 30. [s] Vide Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 47, 48. [t] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 777. [u] Euseb. in chron. p. 206. [w] Dio, ibid. [x] Onuph. Idat. in faſt. Spart. in Ælii vit. [y] Onuph. in faſt. p. 216. [z] Dio, ibid. [a] Occo, p. 209. [b] Grut. p. 199. [c] Ignat. acta. p. 2, 3. Usser. notæ, p. 35. [d] Dio, ibid. p. 778. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Zonar. in vit. Tit. [g] Plin. l. x. epiſt. 8. [h] Dio, p. 779.

a to the *Parthians*, had abdicated the crown, and beſought *Trajan* to diſpoſe of it in favour of *Parthamaſiris*. The embaſſadors met *Trajan* at *Athens*, and there delivered their meſſage; to which the emperor replied, that friendſhip was ſhewn by actions, and not by words; that he was going into *Syria*, and that there he ſhould take ſuch reſolutions as he ſhould think proper. He then diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, without deigning to accept any of their preſents [i]. He then purſued his journey through *Aſia Minor*, *Cilicia*, and the other provinces, to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and from thence to *Antioch*, the capital of that province, which he entered crowned with a branch of an olive-tree on a *Thurſday*, which, that year and the following, happened, and never more during his reign, to be the ſeventh of *January* [k].

Embaſſadors ſent to him by the king of the Parthians.

Arrives at Antioch.

b THE following year's conſuls were *Lucius Licinius Sura* the third time, and *Caius Soſius Senecio* the ſecond, who reſigned the faſces to *Suranus* and *Servianus* [l], in whoſe conſulſhip *Adrian* was prætor, and exhibited moſt magnificent ſhews [m]; for he did not attend *Trajan* into the eaſt. When the time of his prætorſhip expired, he was ſent to command the armies in *Lower Pannonia*, where he maintained with great ſeverity the military diſcipline, and kept in awe the *Sarmatians*, whom *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* count among the nations ſubdued by *Trajan* [n]. *Servianus*, who was conſul with *Suranus*, is called in ſeveral ancient inſcriptions *Julius Servilius Urſus Servianus*, the ſame, no doubt, who married *Paulina*, ſiſter to *Adrian*, and the emperor's couſin [o]. *Pliny* wrote ſome letters to him as an intimate friend, and by his means obtained ſeve-

c ral favours of the emperor [p]. When he ſpeaks of him to others, he calls him a perſon of great accompliſhments [q]. He was governor of *Upper Germany* in the year 98, the firſt of *Trajan*'s reign, and from thence was ſent into *Pannonia* [r]. *Trajan* entertained a mighty opinion of his talents, and uſed to ſay, that among the great men who might aſpire at the empire, he was the moſt capable of diſcharging that high truſt with reputation. He was no friend to *Adrian*, and is ſuppoſed to have oppoſed his adoption; for that prince, a little before he died, in the year 138, ordered *Servianus*, then ninety years old, to be put to death, that he might not ſurvive him, tho' he had, during the whole courſe of his reign, treated him in a very friendly manner, and preferred him to the firſt employments [s]. He is often called by the *Greek* writers *Severianus*

d inſtead of *Servianus* [t]. But to return to *Trajan:* he made his entry into *Antioch* on the ſeventh of *January*, as we have related above. During his ſtay in that city, *Abgarus*, or, as ſome call him, *Augarus*, prince of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, ſent him preſents, and, by his embaſſadors, declared his ſincere deſire of living in friendſhip with him and the people of *Rome*; but, as he equally feared the *Romans* and *Parthians*, and was deſirous to pleaſe both, he declined waiting upon him in perſon. The other petty princes in that neighbourhood came perſonally to offer their ſervice to the emperor of *Rome*, and brought with them, according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern countries, rich preſents. One among the reſt preſented him with a ſtately courſer, who, as he was brought before the emperor, kneeled down, bowed his head to the ground,

e and adored him, as he had been taught before-hand. *Trajan* received all the princes who came to attend him, with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, accepted their preſents, and pretended to repoſe an intire confidence in them. Having made the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition, he left *Antioch*, bending his march towards *Armenia*, when *Parthamaſiris*, who had wrote to him before, and in his letter ſtyled himſelf king of *Armenia*, ſent him a ſecond letter, (for *Trajan* had returned no anſwer to the firſt) wherein he omitted the title of king, and deſired, that *M. Junius*, gover-

f nor of *Cappadocia*, might be appointed to treat with him. *Trajan* ſent only the ſon of *Junius*, and in the mean time purſued his march, making himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance. At *Sata*, or rather *Satala*, a city in *Armenia Minor*, the emperor was met by *Anquialus* king of the *Heniochi*, a people of *Circaſſia* on the *Euxine* ſea, and of the *Maheloni*, of whom we find no further mention in hiſtory. *Trajan* received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, and made him rich preſents, in order to attach him to his intereſt. Upon his arrival at *Elegia* in the *Greater Armenia*, *Parthamaſiris* came to wait upon him, and beg of him the crown of *Armenia*. *Trajan* received him ſeated upon a throne or tribunal, and attended by the chief officers of his army. As *Parthamaſiris* approached the throne, he

Abgarus *king of* Edeſſa *and other princes ſend preſents to* Trajan.

The king of Armenia *writes to the emperor, who ſeizes ſeveral places in that kingdom.*

The king of Armenia *waits upon him in perſon.*

[i] Idem, p. 778. [k] USSER. not. in act. Ignat. p. 35. Lond. ann. 1647. [l] IDAT. chron. Alexand. ONUPH. in faſt. [m] SPART. in Adrian. [n] HIER. in chron. [o] SPART. in Adrian. p. 1, 2. [p] PLIN. l. iii. epiſt. 26, 27. [q] Idem. l. viii. epiſt. 23. [r] SPART. in Adrian. p. 1. [s] Idem ibid. & DIO, l. lxix. p. 795. [t] Vide SPART. cum not. Caſaubon.

he took off his crown, and laid it at the emperor's feet, without uttering a ſingle word, not doubting but he would immediately return it to him. In the mean time, the ſoldiers, pleaſed to ſee the king of *Armenia*, tho' ſupported by the whole power of the *Parthian* empire, obliged to ſubmit, and reſign his crown to their general, congratulated him upon it with loud ſhouts of joy; which ſo terrified *Parthamaſiris*, that he attempted to withdraw, and return to his metropolis; but finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, he deſired to ſpeak to *Trajan* in private. Hereupon he was carried into the emperor's tent; but *Trajan* not liking his propoſals, and refuſing to comply with them, he left the tent in a great paſſion, and endeavoured to make his eſcape out of the camp. But *Trajan*, having ordered him to be ſtopped, and brought back, aſcended his tribunal anew, and deſired the prince to repeat in the hearing of all the propoſals he had made to him in private, and his anſwers, that perſons, who were ignorant of what had paſſed between them, might not give falſe accounts of it, and miſrepreſent it to the world. Upon this *Parthamaſiris*, no longer able to contain himſelf, told *Trajan*, that he had neither been conquered, nor taken priſoner; that he came thither voluntarily, believing no injury would have been offered him, and that he ſhould receive his kingdom of *Trajan*, as *Tiridates* had done of *Nero*. *Trajan* replied, that *Armenia* belonged to the *Romans*, and that it ſhould receive a *Roman* governor, and be no longer a kingdom; that as for *Parthamaſiris*, he gave him liberty to retire whither he pleaſed. Accordingly he diſmiſſed him, and the *Parthians* who came with him, and appointed them a guard, that they might not be inſulted by the ſoldiery, or raiſe diſturbances; the *Armenians* he detained, as ſubjects of the *Roman* empire, and ordered them to return to their reſpective dwellings. *Parthamaſiris* endeavoured to maintain himſelf in his kingdom by force of arms; but loſt his life in the attempt, ſo that *Trajan* made himſelf maſter of *Armenia*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province [u]. As to the other particulars of this war, we find them nowhere recorded. Upon the reduction of *Armenia*, ſeveral princes ſubmitted of their own accord to *Trajan*, amongſt whom are mentioned the kings of *Iberia*, *Sarmatia*, *Boſporus*, and *Colchis* [w]. He named a king to rule over the *Albanians*, and appointed one *Julianus* prince of the *Apſiles*, whoſe country bordered on the *Euxine* ſea, having for its metropolis the city of *Dioſcuris*, afterwards called *Sebaſtopolis*. *Arrian*, who wrote under *Adrian*, ſpeaks of a camp in the neighbourhood of this city, which he calls the boundary of the *Roman* empire [x]. The *Romans* had, before *Trajan*'s time, a gariſon in *Melitene* or *Melitine*, a caſtle of *Leſſer Armenia*, which *Trajan* made a city, and appointed to be the metropolis of the whole country; whence in proceſs of time it became one of the moſt populous and wealthy cities in the eaſt [y]. The emperor, having left gariſons in all the ſtrong-holds of *Armenia*, advanced to the city of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, where he was received in a very friendly manner by *Abgarus* king of that diſtrict. *Abgarus* had before ſent him ſeveral preſents; but put off, under various pretences, waiting upon him in perſon. However, *Trajan*, by the mediation of *Abgarus*'s ſon, by name *Arbandes*, a very comely youth, received his excuſes, and admitted him to his friendſhip. *Abgarus* made a great entertainment for the emperor and the chief officers of his army, at which *Arbandes*, who was perhaps too much beloved by *Trajan*, diverted him with dancing after the manner of his country [z]. *Manes*, the chief of one of the *Arabian* nations, *Sporaces*, prince of *Anthemuſia*, a province of *Meſopotamia*, *Mebarſapes*, king of *Adiabene*, and *Maniſares*, king of ſome diſtrict in that neighbourhood, declared, that they were ready to join *Trajan*; but, in the mean time, delayed meeting him, ſo that the emperor began to diſtruſt them, eſpecially after the treachery of *Mebarſapes*; who having demanded and obtained a body of troops to protect his dominions, as he pretended, againſt the *Parthians*, put moſt of them to the ſword, and kept the reſt in captivity. Amongſt the latter was a centurion, named *Sentius*, who, as *Trajan*, highly provoked at this treachery, approached a place of great ſtrength, called *Ademyſtres*, where he was kept, found means to break his chains, and, with the aſſiſtance of his fellow-captives, killed the governor of the fort, and opened the gates to the *Romans* [a]. *Trajan*, now maſter of ſo ſtrong and important a place, advanced boldly into *Meſopatamia*, and reduced great part of it by the bare fame of his name. As the greateſt part of *Adiabene* lay beyond the *Tigris*, *Trajan* built a bridge over that river, which is repreſented on ſeveral medals that have

Trajan *refuſes him the crown of* Armenia.

Armenia *reduced to a* Roman *province. Several kings ſubmit to* Trajan.

Enters Meſopotamia.

The treachery of the king of Adiabene.

Trajan *builds a bridge over the* Tigris.

[u] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 779. Arrian. in perip. pont. Euxin. p. 7. Eutrop. in vit. Trajan. [w] Eutrop. ibid. [x] Arrian. ibid. [y] Procop. de ædific. Juſtin. l. iii. c. 4. [z] Dio, ibid. p. 780. [a] Idem, p. 781.

a have reached our times [h]. The cities of *Niſibe* and *Batue* made a vigorous defence; but in the end were obliged to yield. If the city of *Niſibe* belonged, as *Joſephus* writes, to the king of *Adiabene*, it was at this time, as is manifeſt from *Dion Caſſius* [m], in the hands of the *Parthians*. As for *Coſrhoes*, we know not what meaſures he took, or what attempts he made to ſtop the progreſs of *Trajan*'s conqueſts. In *Dion Caſſius* we read, that *Maniſares* offered to yield to the *Romans* for ever all *Armenia*, and that part of *Meſopotamia*, which they had already conquered. Whence we conjecture, that the name of *Maniſares* has crept into the text inſtead of *Coſrhoes*, who alone could make ſuch an offer, and between whom and *Trajan* a treaty was, it ſeems, concluded, ſince *Aurelius Victor* writes, that the emperor obliged him to deliver hoſtages. What

A treaty between Trajan *and the king of the* Parthians.

b treaty this was, or on what occaſion, or by whom it was violated, (for the war broke out anew) we are no-where told. To this treaty perhaps allude the medals, which were ſtruck about this time, with the following legend, *Peace eſtabliſhed; the king of the* Parthians *reſtored* [n]. The power of the *Parthians* was, as *Dion Caſſius* informs us [o], greatly weakened at this time by their inteſtine wars; ſo that *Coſrhoes* was perhaps obliged to recur to *Trajan*, and implore his protection againſt his own ſubjects. This is all we know of *Trajan*'s wars in the eaſt, till the year 115, the eighteenth of his reign. We ſhould be able to give a better account of all theſe tranſactions, if the *Parthian* hiſtory, compoſed by *Arrian*, who flouriſhed at this time, on purpoſe to ſet forth the exploits of *Trajan*, and by him divided into ſeventeen books, had reached us [p]; but

c that hiſtory being long ſince loſt, and many other hiſtories of theſe times, (for under no prince there flouriſhed a greater number of celebrated hiſtorians than under *Trajan*) we are with no prince's exploits leſs acquainted than with *Trajan*'s. Not to mention the many hiſtorians who have deſcribed the *Parthian* war, in which *Trajan* diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner, both as a ſoldier and a general, *Marius Maximus*, *Fabius Marcellinus*, *Aurelius Verus*, *Statius Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Dion Caſſius*, wrote his life, either by itſelf, or in the body of the *Roman* hiſtory. But none of the works of theſe authors are now remaining; ſo that we are obliged to recur to the abridgment of *Dion Caſſius* by *Xiphilin*, and to the ſtill more compendious and undigeſted writings of *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*. We cannot

d even learn of any writer, whether *Trajan* ever returned to *Rome* after he ſet out from thence to conquer *Armenia*. However, we cannot perſuade ourſelves that he continued in the eaſt, without once viſiting the metropolis of the empire, for the ſpace of eleven or twelve years; the more, becauſe from ſome medals it appears pretty plain, that he returned to *Rome* before the year 112, the fifteenth of his reign, and that he left it the ſame or the following year [q]; which gives a great light to hiſtory, and may ſerve to juſtify the acts of the glorious martyr St. *Ignatius*. *Luſius Quietus* diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the commanders employed by *Trajan* in this war. He was a *Moor* by nation, and born in a country not ſubject to *Rome*; but nevertheleſs ſerved in the *Roman* cavalry, till he was either by *Domitian* or *Nerva* for ſome miſdemeanour de-

Luſius Quietus *diſtinguiſhes himſelf in this and* Trajan's *other wars.*

e graded and diſmiſſed. *Trajan*, wanting *Moors* in his wars with the *Dacians*, took this prince again into the ſervice, with a body of his countrymen and dependents, at the head of whom he performed wonders, both in the firſt and ſecond *Dacian* war [r]. In the *Parthian* war he ſerved with ſuch courage and ſucceſs, that *Trajan* honoured him with the conſulate, and, towards the end of his reign, appointed him governor of *Paleſtine*, by way of reward for a ſignal victory which he gained over the *Jews* of *Meſopotamia* [s]. His reducing the *Mardi*, a people of *Aſia* near *Armenia*, and not far from the *Caſpian* ſea, is mentioned as what moſt of all contributed to his glory and preferment [t]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* extols him as one of the greateſt captains that ever bore arms for the *Romans* [u]. We are told, that *Trajan* had ſuch a kindneſs and

f eſteem for him, that he had ſome thoughts of naming him for his ſucceſſor, tho' he was not even born a ſubject of the empire [w]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention him again in the following reign. In the ſix following years we find nothing recorded by the compilers of the antients, (for the works of the antients themſelves have been long ſince loſt, as we have hinted above) except the names of the conſuls, the making the high-way by *Trajan* from *Beneventum* to *Brunduſium*; the burning the pantheon by lightning; the overturning of ſome cities in *Galatia* by an earthquake; and dedicating

[l] Occo. p. 205 Birag. p. 157. [m] Dio, ibid. [n] Vide Occon. p. 201. [o] Dio, p. 783. [p] Phot. c. 58. [q] Vide Birag. p. 158 [r] Dio, in excerpt. Valeſ p. 710. l. lxviii. p. 773 Spart. in Aur. Themist. orat. xvi. Mauric. tactic. l. xi. c. 2. [s] Dio, in excerpt. p. 710. Euseb. l. iv. c. 1. [t] Euseb. ibid. [u] Ammian. l. xxix. [w] Euseb. & Themist. ibid.

cating of the great ſquare at *Rome*, which took its name from *Trajan*. The conſuls (for of theſe magiſtrates we have never yet omitted the names) were *Appius Annius Trebonianus Gallus* and *Marcus Attilius Metellus Bradua*; *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, the ſecond time, and *L. Tullus*; *Priſcinus*, or *Priſcianus*, and *Orfitus*; *Caius Calpurnius Piſo* and *M. Vettius Bolanus*; *Trajan*, the ſixth time, and *Titus Sextius Bolanus*; *Lucius Publius Celſus*, the ſecond time, and *Caius Clodius Criſpinus*; *Quintus Ninnius Hoſta* and *Publius Manilius Vopiſcus*. Theſe were conſuls from the eleventh to the ſeventeenth year of *Trajan*'s reign, incluſively; that is, from the 108th to the 114th of the chriſtian æra. On ſome medals that were coined during *Trajan*'s ſixth conſulſhip, is marked the departure of that prince from *Rome* [x], no doubt, to return to the eaſt: which we may ſuppoſe to have happened the year he was conſul, the fifteenth of his reign; for in that year *Adrian*, who commanded under him in the ſecond *Parthian* war, was created archon, or chief magiſtrate of *Athens*; which honour was probably conferred upon him, as he paſſed through that city with *Trajan* [y].

Trajan returns to the eaſt.

The eighteenth year of *Trajan*'s reign and 115th of the *Chriſtian* æra was remarkable for the victories gained by that great warrior over the *Parthians*, and for which he aſſumed the title of emperor the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth times [z]. Whatever gave occaſion to this war (for hiſtory is ſilent upon this head), *Trajan*, before he left *Syria*, ſent, at the requeſt of his friends, ſome perſons to conſult the oracle of *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, to know whether he ſhould return from this war to *Rome*. The oracle returned an anſwer, as uſual, in ambiguous terms, which might be interpreted either way. *Trajan*, putting the beſt conſtruction upon the dark words of the oracle, early in the ſpring left *Syria*, and marched againſt the *Parthians* encamped on the other ſide of the *Tygris*. As the river was not fordable, and the enemy poſſeſſed with a numerous army the oppoſite bank, he ſecretly cauſed a great number of boats to be built in the woods of *Niſibis*, which being conveyed upon carriages to the river-ſide, a bridge was ſuddenly formed with them over the river, which *Trajan* paſſed in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the enemy, who greatly annoyed him with ſhowers of arrows, till he ſent ſeveral boats againſt them manned with archers and ſlingers, and ordered others to move up and down the river, as if they were trying to land in other places. This ſo diſtracted the *Parthians*, already diſmayed and ſurpriſed at the ſight of ſo many veſſels in a country quite deſtitute of wood, that they gave way, and ſuffered the *Roman* army to paſs the river without further moleſtation. *Trajan* made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Adiabene*, which he had reduced in the former war, but perhaps reſtored upon the concluſion of the peace. He likewiſe ſubdued the country, which at that time ſtill retained the name of *Aſſyria*, and in which ſtood the city of *Ninos* or *Ninive*, and *Arbela* and *Gaugamela*, two places famous in hiſtory on account of the victories of *Alexander the Great*. As the *Parthians* were greatly weakened by their domeſtic wars and ſtill divided among themſelves, *Trajan* advanced, without oppoſition, to the celebrated city of *Babylon*, of the power and greatneſs of which we have read ſuch wonders. He entered it, no one offering to withſtand him; and reduced its large territory, where the *Roman* ſtandards had never before been diſplayed. By this acquiſition, he became maſter of thoſe rich and noble countries, *Aſſyria* and *Chaldæa*. There he was led by his curioſity, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, to viſit the lake of bitumen, which was made uſe of in building the famous walls of *Babylon*. But that lake is by *Rutilius* [a], and others, placed in *Meſopotamia*. Afterwards he began a canal between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, in order to convey his veſſels out of the former river into the latter, and with them lay a bridge over the *Tigris*, being reſolved to beſiege *Cteſiphon*, which ſtood on that river: but being informed, that the bed of the *Euphrates* was much higher than that of the *Tigris*, he abandoned the deſign, fearing the ſtream would become too rapid, and conſequently unnavigable [b]. However *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſſures us, that the emperor *Julian*, having removed the ſtones with which the mouth of the canal was ſtopt, conveyed his veſſels through that cut from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, a little above *Cteſiphon* [c]. This canal was called *Naarmalca*, that is, *the river of kings*. *Trajan*, fearing the above-mentioned inconvenience, did not think it adviſeable to make uſe of the canal; but ordered his veſſels to be brought upon land-carriages from the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris*, theſe two rivers being

He conſults the oracle of Heliopolis.

He paſſes the Tigris *on a bridge of boats.*

Reduces Aſſyria.

And arrives at Babylon.

He begins a canal between the Euphrates *and the* Tigris, *but drops that undertaking.*

in

[x] Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 72. [y] Vide Noris. ibid. [z] Gruter. p. 218. Goltz. p. 65, 66.
[a] Rut. itiner. p. 32. [b] Dio, p. 784. [c] Ammian. l. xxiv.

a in ſome places at a ſmall diſtance from each other; and having formed a bridge with them, paſſed his army over the *Tigris*, and made himſelf maſter of *Seleucia*, and likewiſe of the great city of *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian*, and afterwards of the *Perſian*, empire[c]. Upon his entering that city, he was proclaimed emperor by the army, who with loud ſhouts of joy confirmed to him the title of *Parthicus*, which he had firſt gained by the reduction of *Niſibis*. At *Cteſiphon* he took the daughter of *Coſrhoes*, and ſeized the throne of the *Parthian* kings, which was of maſſy gold[d]. *Coſrhoes* himſelf made his eſcape, and was ſtill living in the reign of *Adrian*. *Trajan* acquainted the ſenate with the ſucceſs that had attended him in this expedition: whereupon a decree paſſed, allowing the conqueror of the b *Parthians* to enter *Rome* in triumph as often as he pleaſed[e]. The taking of *Cteſiphon* put him in poſſeſſion of all the neighbouring countries. *Eutropius* tells us, that he reduced the *Marcomades*, the *Cardueni*, *Anthemiſia*, a large province of *Perſia*, ſays that writer, and all the countries lying between *Babylon* and *India*. At *Babylon* he viſited the houſe in which *Alexander the Great* died, and there performed ſome ceremonies in honour of that famous conqueror[f]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that in his time *Trajan*'s tribunal was ſtill to be ſeen at a city in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, which he calls *Ozogardene*[g]. *Trajan* reduced *Aſſyria* to a *Roman* province, as he had before done *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*; ſo that the empire now extended to the *Tigris*, and even beyond that river. How he diſpoſed of the country of the c *Parthians*, we ſhall relate anon. He obliged the inhabitants of *Meſopotamia*, and, no doubt, thoſe likewiſe of the other provinces, to pay him a yearly tribute[h]. The dialogue between *Triepho* and *Critias*, which is falſly aſcribed to *Lucian*, ſeems to have been written about this time; for it ends with the news of the taking of *Suſa*, formerly the metropolis of *Perſia*. Mention is likewiſe there made of inroads made by the *Scythians*, as if they committed great devaſtations in the *Roman* territories[i]. Towards the end of the autumn, *Trajan* returned to *Antioch*, which was that winter almoſt intirely ruined by one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes mentioned in hiſtory. That city was then crouded with troops, and ſtrangers came from all quarters, either out of curioſity, or upon buſineſs, and embaſſies; ſo that there was ſcarce d a nation or province but what had a ſhare in the calamity; and all the *Roman* world, ſays *Dion Caſſius*[k], ſuffered in one city. The earthquake was preceded by violent claps of thunder, unuſual winds, and a dreadful noiſe under ground: then followed ſo terrible a ſhock, that the earth all trembled, ſeveral houſes were overturned, and others toſſed to and fro like a ſhip in the ſea: the noiſe of the cracking and burſting of the timber, of the falling of the houſes, and a diſmal and loud roaring under ground, drowned the cries of the diſmayed people. Thoſe who happened to be in their houſes, were, for the moſt part, buried under their ruins; ſuch as were walking in the ſtreets and in the ſquares, were, by the violence of the ſhock, daſhed againſt one another, and moſt of them either killed or dangerouſly e wounded. As the earthquake continued, with ſome ſmall intermiſſion, for many days and nights together, many thouſands periſhed by it, and among the reſt the conſul *Marcus Pedo Vergilianus*, with many other perſons of great diſtinction. The moſt violent ſhock of all was, as we read in the acts of St. *Ignatius*, on a *Sunday*, the twenty-third of *December*. *Trajan* himſelf was much hurt, but nevertheleſs eſcaped through a window out of the houſe where he was. *Dion Caſſius* pretends, that he was taken out of the window, and carried away by one, who in tallneſs exceeded the human ſize. The ſame writer adds, that mount *Liſon*, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from *Antioch*, bowed with its top, and threatened to fall down upon the city; that other mountains fell; that new rivers appeared; and others, that had f flowed before, forſook their courſe, and vaniſhed. When the earthquake ceaſed, the voice of a woman was heard crying under the ruins; which being immediately removed, ſhe was found with a ſucking child in her arms, whom ſhe had kept alive, as well as herſelf, with her milk. Search was made for others; but no one beſides was found alive, except a child, that was ſtill ſucking its dead mother[l]. This dreadful earthquake is mentioned by *Euſebius*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Evagrius*, who all ſpeak of it as the greateſt calamity recorded in hiſtory[m].

Makes himſelf maſter of Seleucia *and* Cteſiphon, *the metropolis of the* Parthian *empire.*

Reduces ſeveral countries.

Aſſyria *made a* Roman *province.*

A dreadful earthquake at Antioch.

Trajan *himſelf is hurt.*

THE

[c] Dio, ibid. Eutrop. in Trajan. [d] Spart. in Adr. [e] Dio, ibid. [f] Dio, p. 785. [g] Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 265. [h] Eutrop. ibid. Fest. Ruf. breviar. p. 553. Spart. ibid. [i] Lucian. in philopatride, dialogo. Et Baron. ad ann. 114. [k] Dio, p. 781. [l] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 781. Ignat. acta, p. 53, 54. [m] Euseb. chron. p. 208. & l. i. c. 12.

THE next conſuls were *L. Ælius Lamia* and *Ælianus Verus.* From an inſcription of this year, the nineteenth of *Trajan*'s reign, we learn, that the ſenate and people of *Rome* returned the emperor ſolemn thanks for having facilitated the entry into *Italy* on the ſide of the *Adriatic* ſea, by a port made by his orders at *Ancona*, as he had ſome years before made one on the *Mediterranean*, at or near *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita-Vecchia.* Upon the return of the ſpring, *Trajan*, leaving *Antioch*, viſited the conquered countries; and finding them all in a ſtate of tranquillity, he made various regulations; and then imbarquing on board his fleet, ſailed down the *Tigris*, being deſirous to view the *Perſian* gulf, which *Dion Caſſius* calls the *Red Sea*, or *Mare Erythræum*, ſuppoſing it to have taken that name from *Erythrus*, a prince once very powerful in thoſe parts [n]. The ſtorms, the rapidity of the river, and the tides, rendered his navigation both troubleſome and dangerous. However, he made himſelf maſter of *Meſene*, an iſland formed by the *Tigris*, and obliged *Athambylus*, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. He was well received by the inhabitants of *Charax Spaſinæ*, the metropolis of *Athambylus*'s dominions, which moſt geographers place at the mouth of the *Tigris*. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that *Trajan* ſailed into the *Ocean*, meaning perhaps the *Perſian* gulf; for it is not probable, that, with the ill-built boats, of which his fleet conſiſted, he purſued his courſe beyond *Ormuz*, where the gulf ends. It was, we conjecture, on this occaſion, that he reduced *Arabia Felix.* *Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, had ſome years before ſubdued *Arabia Petræa*, as we have obſerved above, and reduced it to a *Roman* province. But now *Trajan* made himſelf maſter, it ſeems, of *Arabia Felix*; for *Arrian*, in his book on the navigation of the *Red Sea*, obſerves, that in the reign of *Trajan*, there were at *Leuca*, a borough upon that ſea, a centurion, and ſome troops, with a receiver, who claimed the fourth part of all the goods that were landed there [o]. The ſame writer places upon the ſouth coaſt of *Arabia*, beyond the ſtraits of *Bebel Mander*, a city called *Arabia*, and ſurnamed *Eudæmon*, or the *Happy*, from its having been formerly enriched by means of the trade that was carried on there; but adds, "A little before our time it was deſtroyed by *Cæſar*, and is at preſent only "a village [p]." As he places it in the country of the *Homeritæ* [q], ſome writers take it to have ſtood where the preſent city of *Aden* ſtands. Beſides, it appears from ſeveral medals, or pieces of money, coined after the year 111, the fourteenth of *Trajan*'s reign [r], that he reduced *Arabia*, not by his lieutenants, but in perſon [s]. *Feſtus* too mentions the conqueſt of *Arabia* [t]; and *Eutropius* ſeems to reckon the reducing of that country to a *Roman* province amongſt the laſt actions of *Trajan* [u]. A writer, who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about this time, after having ſaid, that the power of the *Perſians* and *Parthians* had yielded, adds, that *Suſa* itſelf was taken, and that all *Arabia* would ſoon ſubmit to the victorious and invincible prince [w]. This muſt, without all doubt, be underſtood of *Arabia Felix*, which it is thence plain he did not ſubdue, till after the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, that is, before this year, the nineteenth of his reign, and the 116th of the chriſtian æra. Some read in *Feſtus* [x], that he conquered the country of the *Saracens*; but as no mention is made of that people by any other writer of thoſe times, we readily fall in with thoſe who, inſtead of *Saraceni*, read *Oſrhoeni*, who inhabited one of the provinces of *Meſopotamia*, called *Oſrhoene*, from a king of the country named *Oſrhoes* [y]. *Trajan* having reached the ocean, as we read in *Dion Caſſius*, and there diſcovering a ſhip bound to *India*, wiſhed he was young, that he might extend, as *Alexander* had done, his conqueſts to that country [z]. *Eutropius* tells us, that he had a fleet ready equipped in the *Red Sea*, with a deſign to invade *India*; that he informed himſelf of the cuſtoms, ſtrength, and manner of fighting of the *Indians*; and that he envied the happineſs of *Alexander*, who had ſubdued them, and extended his conqueſts far beyond the bounds of the *Roman* empire. The *Romans* had even the vanity to brag, that they had brought *India* under ſubjection, as *Euſebius* obſerves [a]; but by *India* they perhaps meant *Arabia Felix.* *Trajan* wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the ſucceſs of his arms, and naming the ſeveral nations, which he had conquered, and which were utterly unknown. They decreed him extraordinary honours; among the reſt, that he ſhould, upon his return to *Rome*, triumph over each particular nation,

The port of Ancona.

Trajan *ſails down the* Tigris *into the* Perſian *gulf.*

He reduces Arabia Felix.

He envies Alexander, *who conquered* India.

Extraordinary honours decreed him by the ſenate

[n] Dio, p. 784. [o] Arrian. in peripl. Erythr. p. 6. [p] Idem, p. 8. [q] Idem, p. 46.
[r] Birag. p. 116. [s] Occo, p. 215. [t] Feſt. in breviar. p. 551. [u] Eutrop. in Trajan.
[w] Lucian. philop. [x] Fest. p. 551—553. [y] Procop. l. i. Perſ. c. 18. [z] Dio, p. 784.
[a] Euseb. chron. p. 206.

a tion, which he had ſubdued; which was decreeing him, not one, but many triumphs! a triumphal arch was built in his own forum, to perpetuate the memory of his conqueſts; and the people of *Rome* made great preparations to receive him with the utmoſt pomp upon his return. But to *Rome* he never returned; nor was the end of his actions anſwerable to the beginning. For moſt of the nations, which he had conquered, revolted and ſhook off the yoke, after having driven out or maſſacred the gariſons that had been left amongſt them. The *Jews*, who had been diſperſed into all parts of the world, fell into a dreadful rebellion in all the provinces of the empire, being prompted thereunto by the abſence of the emperor, and the late terrible earthquake, which, as they imagined, portended the ruin and downfal of the b *Roman* empire. They roſe at the ſame time in *Alexandria*, all over *Egypt*, and in *Libya Cyrenaica*, againſt the other inhabitants of thoſe countries, whom hiſtorians call *Greeks*, and againſt the *Romans*, who were very numerous in thoſe provinces, which had been long ſubject to *Rome*. In *Egypt*, which was then governed by *Lupus*, they aſſembled in vaſt crouds, committed dreadful diſorders, and falling upon the inhabitants, who endeavoured to ſuppreſs the tumult, defeated them at the very firſt onſet with great ſlaughter. But this advantage coſt them dear; for the *Egyptians*, who had the good luck to eſcape the general carnage, ſheltering themſelves in *Alexandria*, ſeized and maſſacred, without diſtinction of ſex or age, all the *Jews* who dwelt in that city[b]. The *Jews* indeed ſold their lives dear, but were in the c end overpowered, and all to a man cut in pieces[c]. The *Jews* of *Cyrene*, who were, it ſeems, the ringleaders of the revolt, finding they could not receive the aſſiſtance which they had promiſed themſelves from their brethren in *Alexandria*, (for they had formed a deſign of ſeizing that city) entered *Egypt*, committing everywhere moſt dreadful devaſtations and unheard-of cruelties. They were headed, according to *Euſebius*[d], by one *Lucua*, whom he ſtyles king; but, according to *Dion Caſſius*[e], by one named *Andrew*, whom they had choſen for their leader. However that be, their rage and fury was ſo great and boundleſs, their barbarities ſo heinous and outrageous, that they are ſcarce to be matched in hiſtory. For, not ſatisfied with inhumanly maſſacring *Greeks* and *Romans* of all ranks, ages, and degrees, they d devoured their fleſh, waſhed themſelves in their blood, wore their ſkins, and made themſelves garlands with their intrails; ſome they ſawed aſunder; others they threw to wild beaſts, or obliged them to fight till they killed one another, after they had put them to all kinds of torments. Thus they deſtroyed in *Libya* above two hundred thouſand perſons; an incredible number in *Egypt*, not ſpecified by hiſtorians; and in the iſland of *Cyprus*, where they likewiſe roſe, two hundred and fifty thouſand: *Salamis*, one of the chief and moſt populous cities of that iſland, they laid in aſhes, after having, with that cruelty which was ever peculiar to the *Jewiſh* nation, murdered all the inhabitants, without ſparing either women or children[f]. By theſe maſſacres, the province of *Libya* was ſo diſpeopled, that it would have been left e quite uninhabited, had not the emperor *Adrian* ſent thither a few years after ſeveral colonies[g]. *Trajan*, informed of theſe barbarities, reſolved in a great rage to purſue thoſe impious wretches, not as rebels, but as monſters, and enemies to mankind. Accordingly he diſpatched into *Libya*, *Marcius Turbo*, with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, and a conſiderable fleet, injoining him to purſue them both by ſea and land with revenge anſwerable to the enormity of their crimes. *Turbo* defeated them in a pitched battle, and put great numbers of them to the ſword, but not without the loſs of many of his beſt men, the *Jews* of *Cyrene* having been joined before the battle by thoſe of *Egypt*[h]. Neither was the victory complete, nor the battle deciſive; for the war continued till the reign of *Adrian*, who ſucceeded *Trajan* on f the eleventh of *Auguſt* of the year 117. That prince is ſaid by St. *Jerom* to have conquered the *Jews*, who had revolted a *ſecond time*[i]; which *Scaliger* and others underſtand with reſpect to the firſt revolt under *Nero*. Beſides, *Spartian* tells us, that *Turbo*, having, in the very beginning of *Adrian*'s reign, ended the war with the *Jews*, was ſent by that prince againſt the *Moors*, who had begun to make incurſions into the *Roman* territories before the death of *Trajan*[k]. In the iſland of *Cyprus*, the *Jews* were, by the *Romans* and inhabitants, all cut off to a man; and thoſe of that

The Jews *revolt in ſeveral places;*

And commit unheard-of cruelties.

They are defeated in Africa *by* Turbo.

And all cut to pieces in the iſland of Cyprus.

[b] Euseb. l. iv. c. 2. [c] Oros. l. vii. c. 12. [d] Euseb. ibid. [e] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 786. [f] Dio, ibid. [g] Oros. l. vii. c. 12. Euseb. in chron. [h] Euseb. l. iv. c. 2. [i] Hier. in chron. [k] Spart. in Adr. p. 3.

that cruel and treacherous nation forbidden, upon pain of death, ever to ſet foot upon that iſland; which prohibition the inhabitants extended even to ſuch as were driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, and whom conſequently they put immediately to death [k]. They revolted likewiſe in *Meſopotamia*, but were there ſoon quelled by the brave *Luſius Quietus*, who defeated them in a pitched battle, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the reſt out of the country [l]. The example of the *Jews* was followed by moſt of the countries which *Trajan* had conquered, the inhabitants riſing every-where up in arms, and murdering or driving out the *Roman* gariſons. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched *Luſius Quietus* and *L. Appius Maximus*, who were attended with very different ſucceſs; for *Maximus* was defeated and killed; by whom, hiſtory does not inform us: but *Luſius* diſtinguiſhed himſelf as uſual, gained great advantages over the enemy, recovered the city of *Niſibis*, beſieged, ſtormed, and laid in aſhes the city of *Edeſſa*. On the other hand, *Erucius Clarus* and *Julius Alexander*, two other commanders of the emperor, retook the city of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, and ſeveral others, which had ſhaken off the yoke. *Luſius* was, for his gallant conduct, rewarded with the government of *Paleſtine* [m], no doubt, to keep that province in awe, which was chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, and ſeemed inclined, as *Spartian* informs us [n], to revolt and raiſe new diſturbances in the empire. For theſe advantages, and the recovery of his conqueſts, *Trajan* took the tenth and laſt time the title of emperor [o]. During theſe diſturbances, *Sambelus*, king of *Meſene*, continued faithful to *Trajan*. Neither did the *Parthians* make any attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, or rather of their former condition. But *Trajan*, fearing they would ſoon ſhake off the yoke, thought it adviſeable to oblige them, by giving them, inſtead of a *Roman* governor, a king of their own nation. With this deſign he repaired to *Cteſiphon*; and having there aſſembled in a large plain the *Romans* and *Parthians*, he aſcended a high throne, and declared one *Parthamaſpates* king of the *Parthians*, putting, with great pomp and ſolemnity, the crown upon his head. *Parthamaſpates*, whom *Spartian* calls *Pſamateſſiris*, continued faithful to the *Romans*; but was deſpiſed by the *Parthians* as a ſlave to *Rome*, and had ſcarce any authority over them [p]. In ſeveral coins, which have reached our times, is repreſented a king proſtrate before *Trajan*, with this legend on ſome, *He gives a king to the* Parthians; and on others the following, *He diſtributes kingdoms* [q].

Moſt of the countries conquered by Trajan *revolt.*

But are again reduced.

Trajan *gives a king to the* Parthians.

The following year, the twentieth and laſt of *Trajan*'s reign, *Niger* and *Aproni-anus* being conſuls [r], the emperor marched into *Arabia*, and there made war upon the *Hagareni*, or *Agareni*, who had likewiſe revolted. What part of *Arabia* they inhabited, we cannot determine, ſince we find no farther mention made of them till the times of the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire, when the name of *Hagareni* became common to the *Saracens* and *Arabians* in general. The emperor laid ſiege to their city, which by *Xiphilin* is called *Atra*. It was neither great nor beautiful, ſays *Dion Caſſius* [s], but thought to be very rich, by reaſon the ſun was worſhipped there, which drew crouds of people thither with rich preſents from the neighbouring countries [t]. It was ſituated on the top of a high and ſteep mountain, well peopled, and ſurrounded with ſtrong walls [u]. But its chief ſtrength conſiſted in the barrenneſs of the neighbouring country, deſtitute, to a great diſtance, of graſs, wood, and even of water; ſo that a great army could not long ſubſiſt before it; hence it was neither taken now by *Trajan*, nor afterwards by *Severus*, tho' they had both made a breach in the wall. *Trajan* narrowly eſcaped being killed in one of the attacks; for having laid aſide the enſigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in perſon: but the enemy, knowing him, notwithſtanding that diſguiſe, by his grey hairs and majeſtic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horſe, and killed a horſeman by his ſide. Beſides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent ſtorms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flaſhes of lightning. At the ſame time, they were in a ſtrange manner infeſted in their camp by ſwarms of flies: ſo that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire. Soon after, as he was ſtricken in years and worn out with ſo many long marches, he was ſeized with a dropſy and palſy, which he aſcribed to

He beſieges Atra.

But raiſes the ſiege.

[k] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785. [l] Dio, p. 786. Ammian. l. xxix. Euseb. l. iv. c. 2. [m] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 720. [n] Spart. in Adr. p. 6. [o] Goltz. p. 86. [p] Dio, p. 786. [q] Occo, p. 213. Birag. p. 163. [r] Idat. & Cassiodor. in Faſt. [s] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785. [t] Idem, l. lxxv. p. 854. [u] Herodian. l. iii. p. 528.

a to poiſon, but others thought natural. However, he was ſtill for returning into *Meſopotamia*, to reduce ſome places, which had revolted there. But his diſtemper increaſing, he left the command of the army to *Adrian*, whom he had appointed governor of *Syria*, and imbarqued for *Italy*. It was no ſooner known, that he had ſet ſail, than all the countries, which he had conquered at a vaſt charge, and by expoſing himſelf to innumerable dangers, ſhook off the yoke, and recovered their former condition, in ſpite of the troops which he had left to keep them in ſubjection. The *Parthians* drove out *Parthamaſpates*; the *Armenians* choſe themſelves a king; and the greateſt part of *Meſopotamia* revolted from *Rome*, and ſubmitted to the king of the *Parthians*. Thus all the pains he had taken, all the toils he had
b undergone, and the immenſe ſums he had expended, proved in the end to no effect. Upon his arrival at *Selinus* in *Cilicia*, which was afterwards from him called *Trajanopolis*, he was ſeized with a flux, which in a very ſhort time put an end to his life. He died in the beginning of *Auguſt*, after having reigned nineteen years, ſix months, and fifteen days, counting from the death of *Nerva* to the eleventh of *Auguſt*, (for we know not the preciſe day on which he died) when *Adrian* received at *Antioch* the news of his death, which had been concealed for ſome time, and thereupon cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor [w]. *Eutropius*, and ſuch as have copied him, tell us, that *Trajan* died at *Seleucia* in *Iſauria*. But *Seleucia* is at a great diſtance from the ſea; and moſt writers agree, that he was going to *Rome* by ſea. Beſides,
c it appears from ſeveral inſcriptions [x], from the author of the verſes commonly aſcribed to the *Sibyls*, and from the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that he died at *Selinus*. Hence *Scaliger* and *Caſaubon* wonder, how any one can call in queſtion a thing ſo well atteſted [y]. His body was burnt at *Selinus*, and his aſhes carried by his wife *Plotina* and his niece *Matidies*, or *Matidia*, in a golden urn, to *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary pomp, and depoſited under the ſtately column, which he had erected, tho' it ſtood within the walls, where no one before him had been buried [z]. Sports, called *Parthic Sports*, were for many years celebrated in memory of his victories in the eaſt [a]. From an ancient inſcription, we learn, that *Phidemion*, his freedman, his chamberlain, cup-bearer, and ſecretary, died a few days
d after him, on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, of grief for the loſs of ſo good a maſter [b]. *Trajan* left no children [c]; nor are we told that he ever had any. Some write, that he deſigned, in imitation of *Alexander the Great*, to die without naming a ſucceſſor; others tells us, that he intended to name ten perſons to the ſenate, leaving it in their power to chuſe which of them they judged beſt qualified for the ſovereignty [d]. We read in *Dion Caſſius* [e], that once at a banquet he deſired his friends to name ten perſons, whom they thought capable of, and equal to, the ſupreme power. Both *Trajan* himſelf and his friends ſeemed, according to *Spartian*, to judge *Neratius Priſcus*, who was the greateſt civilian of his time, the beſt qualified for ſucceeding him in the empire [f]. That writer adds, that one day he addreſſed him thus: *To you,*
e Neratius, *I recommend the provinces, in caſe I ſhould die.* He had likewiſe ſome thoughts of leaving the empire to *Servianus* [g], whoſe daughter *Adrian* had married; and to *Luſius Quietus*, of whom he deſervedly entertained a mighty opinion [h]. But in the end, *Adrian* was preferred to all the reſt; which was rather owing to the favour of *Plotina*, than to any extraordinary kindneſs of *Trajan* towards him. For tho' the emperor was nearly related to him, had been his guardian, and given him his niece in marriage, yet he never took great notice of him [i]; nor did *Adrian* ever ſhew any particular affection for *Trajan*. Hence it was commonly believed, that *Trajan* did not adopt him; but that *Plotina*, who was a great friend to *Adrian*, introduced, after the death of her huſband, a ſuppoſititious perſon, who, counterfeiting
f the voice of the dying emperor, declared, that he adopted *Adrian*. *Dion Caſſius* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Trajan* never adopted *Adrian*; but that the whole affair was managed by *Plotina* and *Atianus*, or rather *Tatianus*, who had been, jointly with the emperor, *Adrian*'s guardian; and adds, that for this reaſon the emperor's death was for ſome days concealed. This *Dion Caſſius* learnt of his father *Apronianus*, who, as he had been governor of *Cilicia*, where the emperor died, had thence certain

Is taken ill, and ſets ſail for Italy.

The Parthians *drive out their king.*

Trajan *dies at* Selinus *in* Cilicia.

His aſhes are conveyed to Rome, *and depoſited under his column.*

Whether he adopted Adrian.

[w] Dio, p. 786. Aurel. epit. Julian. Cæſar, p. 39. [x] Vide P. Pagi ad ann. 117. [y] Vide Casaubon. in Spart. not. C. p. 10. & Scaliger. in Euſeb. chron. p. 341. [z] Dio, l. lxix. p. 788. Ciaccon. col. Traj. Vict. epit. [a] Dio, ibid. [b] Euseb. chron. p. 208. [c] Themistius, orat. 16. [d] Spart. in Adri. p. 3. [e] Dio, l. lxix. p. 795. [f] Spart. ibid. [g] Dio, p. 795. [h] Themist. orat. 16. [i] Dio, p. 795, 788. Spart. ibid.

certain intelligence of what had paſſeth at his death. Beſides, the letters written to a
the ſenate concerning this adoption were not ſigned by *Trajan*, but by *Plotina*,
who had never before ſigned any of her huſband's diſpatches [k]. A modern writer,
of no mean character [l], looks upon what *Dion Caſſius* relates of the ſuppoſititious
adoption of *Adrian* as an arrant fable; and pretends, that he was adopted by the
emperor a whole year before his death; which, if true, would have left no room
even for ſuch a fable. What induced him to embrace this opinion is, that *Adrian*,
as we read in moſt authors, and as appears from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, reigned
twenty-two years: on the other hand, it is certain, that he died on the tenth of *July*
in 138. He muſt therefore have begun to count the years of his reign from the
ninth of *Auguſt* of the year 116, that is, a year before *Trajan*'s death; for that prince b
died in the beginning of *Auguſt* in 117, he thence concludes, that *Adrian* muſt
have been adopted a year before; and from the time of his adoption reckoned the
years of his reign. This objection, which we ſhall endeavour to anſwer at the
end of *Adrian*'s reign, as in a more proper place, is not of ſuch weight with us as
to make us look upon the account, which *Dion Caſſius* gives of *Adrian*'s adoption,
as an *arrant fable*. We ſhall cloſe the hiſtory of this great emperor's reign with
a ſuccinct account of his noble and uſeful works. *Aurelius Victor* will have him to
Great works performed by Trajan.
have firſt introduced the uſe of poſt-chaiſes; but that invention is generally aſcribed
to *Auguſtus* [m], and was probably only improved by *Trajan*, as it was after his time
by ſeveral other emperors, as appears from *Gothofredus*, who treats of this ſubject at c
length in his comments upon the *Theodoſian* code [n]. He made, at an immenſe
charge, a large and convenient road, leading through many barbarous nations, from
the moſt diſtant coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea to thoſe of the *Ocean* in *Gaul* [o]. He built
ſeveral magnificent libraries in *Rome*, and a ſtately theatre in the field of *Mars* [p].
He adorned the city with many magnificent edifices, inlarged the circus, repaired
a great number of ancient buildings, and ſupplied with plenty of water thoſe quar-
ters of the city, which by other princes had been neglected. But the moſt magni-
His ſquare and column.
ficent of all his works was the great ſquare, which he made at *Rome*, and called
from his own name, having for that purpoſe levelled a hill a hundred and forty- d
four foot high. In the midſt of the ſquare, he erected the famous column, which
is ſtill to be ſeen, to ſerve him for a tomb, and at the ſame time to ſhew the height
of the hill, which he levelled, as appears from the inſcription on the baſis, dated
the ſeventeenth year of his tribunitial power, which was the 114th of the chriſtian
æra. The emperor *Conſtantius*, when he came to *Rome* in 357, found nothing in
that ſtately metropolis which he admired ſo much as *Trajan*'s ſquare [q]. The archi-
tect employed by *Trajan* in this inimitable work, as *Conſtantius* ſtyled it, was one
Apollodorus. *Ciacconius* tells us, that on the top of the column, which ſtood in the
midſt of the ſquare, was placed *Trajan*'s ſtatue, holding a golden apple in its right
hand; and adds, that in this apple were depoſited the aſhes of the deceaſed prince [s].
But *Eutropius* and *Victorinus*, whom we have followed, tell us, that he was buried e
under the column. During this prince's reign, moſt of the provinces of the em-
pire ſuffered greatly by earthquakes, and were grievouſly afflicted with a dreadful
plague, with famine, and frequent conflagrations [t]. At *Rome* the *Tiber* overflowed
its banks with incredible violence, laid great part of the city under water, over-
turned many houſes, and greatly damaged the fields; tho' *Trajan* cauſed a great
canal to be dug, in order to drain them, and to convey the water into its natural
channel [u]. *Phlegon* tells us, that in *Trajan*'s time a woman was delivered at *Alex-*
andria of five children the ſame day, three males and two females, who were
brought up with great care by the emperor. The next year, the ſame woman was
delivered of three children [w]. We read in *Plutarch* [x], that in *Trajan*'s reign a veſtal, f
named *Helvetia*, going on horſe-back, was ſtruck dead with a flaſh of lightning,
and thrown quite naked on one ſide, and her horſe on the other; which the ſooth-
ſayers looked upon as preſaging ſomething highly diſhonourable to the veſtals and
the *Roman* knights. Accordingly, not long after, the ſlave of a knight, named
Buteces, came of his own accord, and depoſed, that his maſter and ſeveral others
of

[k] Dio, l. lxix. p. 787, 788. [l] Dodwell. in append. ad diſſertat. Cyprianic. Oxon. 1684. p. 67.
[m] Vide Cod. Theodoſ. tom. ii. p. 510, 511. [n] Goth. in cod. Theodoſ. tom. ii. p. 506, &c.
[o] Aur. Vict. [p] Plin. paneg. p. 96. Dio, l. lxviii. p 778. [q] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 71. [r] Dio, p. 789. [s] Ciaccon. de col. Trajan. c. 14. [t] Vict. epit. [u] Plin. l. viii. ep. 17. [w] Phleg. mir. c. 29. [x] Plut. quæſt. Rom.

a of the equeſtrian order had for a long time carried on a criminal converſation with three veſtals, *Æmilia*, *Licinia*, and *Martia*, who were immediately puniſhed, and the knights too their accomplices. But the pontiffs, having firſt conſulted the books of the *Sibyls*, declared, that the crime was to be expiated by burying alive in the *forum boarium*, or *the ox-market*, two men and two women, natives of *Greece* and *Gaul*; which was done accordingly, tho' they had not long before condemned the ſame crime in others. For the *Britons* having immolated a human victim to their gods, their magiſtrates had been ordered to puniſh them; though they were afterwards pardoned upon their pleading an ancient cuſtom, but at the ſame time commanded, under the ſevereſt penalties, to forbear ſuch ſacrifices for the future [x]. *Tra-*

Three veſtals puniſhed.

Two men and two women buried alive at Rome.

b *jan*, notwithſtanding his humanity and good-nature, ſuffered the chriſtians to be inhumanly perſecuted in moſt provinces of the empire. As he publiſhed no new edicts againſt the chriſtian religion, he is not as *Baronius* obſerves [y], reckoned by *Tertullian* among the perſecutors of the church. But that he was an enemy to the chriſtians, and highly prejudiced againſt them, is manifeſt from *Pliny*'s letter to him [z], and his anſwer to *Pliny* [a]. This may be aſcribed to his looking upon the chriſtians, who were already very numerous and multiplied daily, with a jealous and ſuſpicious eye, as the underminers of the religion of the empire, and enemies to the gods adored at *Rome* and in all the *Roman* provinces. Beſides, he perhaps accounted them eſtabliſhers of *heteriæ*, or *illegal ſocieties*, which uſually breed factic ons and ſeditions; whence all ſocieties, or colleges, not ſettled by an imperial edict, or a decree of the ſenate, were forbidden, and the perſons frequenting them adjudged guilty of treaſon. But after he had been informed by *Pliny* of their innocence, he could not, nor indeed did he, as appears from his anſwer, entertain any ſiniſter opinion of them. But nevertheleſs, inſtead of putting an immediate ſtop to the perſecution, he ſent directions into *Bithynia*, where it chiefly raged, repugnant to good ſenſe, and altogether inconſiſtent with his ſo much boaſted juſtice, humanity, and good-nature. For he commanded, that no inquiſition ſhould be made for the chriſtians, but that ſuch as were accuſed ſhould be puniſhed; which was, as *Tertullian* obſerves in his excellent apology [b], declaring them innocent, and at the d ſame time ordering them to be treated as criminals. If they are guilty, ſays that writer, addreſſing himſelf to the emperor, why do you forbid any ſearch to be made after them? If they are innocent, why do you command them to be puniſhed? This ordinance, however iniquitous and abſurd, continued in vigor till the perſecution of *Severus*, that is, for almoſt a whole century. But for a more particular account of the unjuſt proceedings, even of the beſt emperors, againſt the chriſtians, we refer our readers to *Tertullian* [c] and *Euſebius* [d], where they will find, that by ſome emperors it was forbidden, upon pain of death, to accuſe the chriſtians, who nevertheleſs were, by a ſtrange inconſiſtency, to be capitally puniſhed, when accuſed or diſcovered [e]. As *Trajan* was, what every prince ought to be, a generous encou-

Trajan *ſuffers the chriſtians to be perſecuted.*

His unjuſt proceedings againſt them.

e rager of learning, under him the efforts of genius and ſtudy began to revive [f]; and his reign became famous for a great number of eminent hiſtorians, poets, orators, and philoſophers, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (A).

[x] Idem ibid. [y] Baroh. ad ann. 100. [z] Plin. l. x. ep. 102. [a] Idem ibid. ep. 103.
[b] Tertull. apol. c 2. [c] Tertull. in apol. [d] Euseb. l. v. c. 21. [e] Tertull. apol. c. 5.
[f] Plin. pan. p. 84. Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2, 3.

(A) Theſe were *Julius Frontinus*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Pliny* the younger, *Pompeius Saturninus*, *Titinius Capito*, *Claudius Pollio*, *Verginius Romanus*, &c. *Sextus Julius Frontinus* was prætor in the firſt year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, but yielded that dignity to *Domitian*, after having held it but one day, or two at moſt (1). Some years after he commanded in *Britain* with great reputation and ſucceſs, till the ninth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, when he was ſucceeded by the celebrated *Agricola*. As that command was given to ſuch only as had been conſuls, *Frontinus*, no doubt, had been honoured with the conſulſhip before he was ſent into *Britain*. He is thought to have been conſul a ſecond time under *Nerva*, and a third under *Trajan* (2). He was likewiſe augur, and ſucceeded in that dignity by *Pliny* the younger, in the fourth year of *Adrian*'s reign (3); whence we conclude, that he died that year, the 100th of the chriſtian æra, the augurate being an employment for life. He was a great civilian, and highly eſteemed by all the men of learning who flouriſhed in his time, eſpecially by *Martial*, who mentions and commends him in his epigrams. In his laſt will he deſired, that no tomb might be erected to him, ſaying that without ſuch monuments the world would remember him, if his life had deſerved it (4). *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of *Frontinus*, ſays, that he was a man as great and able as he found ſcope and ſafety to be (5). He was one of the greateſt commanders of his time (6), and gave ſignal proofs both of his bravery

(1) *Tacit. l.* iv. *c.* 39. (2) *Norts epiſt. conſul. p.* 61. 62. (3) *Plin. l.* iv. *epiſt.* 8. (4) *Plin. l.* xix. *epiſt.* 19. (5) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c.* 17. (6) *Ælian. tact. p.* 3.

very and conduct, in utterly ſubduing the powerful and warlike nation of the *Silures*, tho', beſides the courage of the enemy, he was likewiſe obliged to ſtruggle with the difficulties of places and ſituation (7). He wrote four books of *ſtratagems*, which have reached our times, and are ſuppoſed to have been inſcribed to *Trajan*. As he flatters *Domitian* in ſeveral places of his work, we may thence conclude, that it was compoſed in his reign. In the preface, which he prefixed to this work, he tells us, that he had ſtudied the military art with great application; and, beſides the book of *ſtratagems*, written ſome others upon the ſame ſubject. We read likewiſe in *Vegetius*, that what *Frontinus* compendiouſly wrote on military diſcipline, and copied in great part from *Cato* the cenſor, was greatly eſteemed by *Trajan* (8). *Ælian* quotes another work done by him, in which he ſeems to have collected whatever he found in *Homer* upon the ſubject of war (9). *Nerva* committed to him the care of the fountains and aqueducts of *Rome*; on which occaſion he wrote the treatiſe of *aqueducts*, which has reached us; as have done ſome other ſmall pieces of his, and are to be found in the collection which *Scriverius* has made of the ancients, who have treated of the military art, and publiſhed at *Antwerp* in 1607. From theſe pieces it appears, that they were written during the war with the *Dacians*; which ſome underſtand of *Domitian*'s war with that people; others of *Trajan*'s (10.) As for the treatiſe of *colonies*, which *Scriverius* aſcribes to *Frontinus*, it either was not done by him, or has been ſince altered; for mention is there made of *Adrian*, *Severus*, *Antoninus*, *Commodus*, and other emperors, who reigned long after *Frontinus*'s time.

Cornelius Tacitus, the greateſt orator, ſtateſman, and hiſtorian of his time, was, as is commonly ſuppoſed, the ſon of *Cornelius Tacitus*, a *Roman* knight, and procurator of *Belgic Gaul*. His promotion in the ſtate was begun, as he himſelf informs us (11), by *Veſpaſion*, augmented by *Titus*, and by *Domitian* advanced yet higher. He was prætor under *Domitian* in the year of the *Chriſtian* æra 88, the ſeventh of that prince's reign, and conſul under *Nerva* in 97, being ſubſtituted to *Verginius Rufus*, whoſe panegyric, or funeral oration, he compoſed and pronunced (12). He married in 77, or 78, the daughter of the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* (13). *Lipſius* is of opinion, that he left children by her, ſince the emperor *Tacitus* pretended to be deſcended from him, or to be of the ſame family; for he called the hiſtorian, as *Vopiſcus* informs us (14), his kinſman; and *Sidonius* counts him among the anceſtors of *Polemus*, prefect of *Gaul* (15). He had been four years abſent from *Rome*, when *Agricola* died (16); which has given occaſion to ſome writers to ſuppoſe, without any foundation, that he was baniſhed by *Domitian*. He pleaded at the bar, even after he had been conſul; and, by his eloquent ſpeeches, gained the reputation of the greateſt orator of his time (17). He was much admired by *Pliny*, who lived in cloſe friendſhip with him, and by all men of learning, who reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with a perſon of his extraordinary accompliſhments (18). He ſeems to have publiſhed ſome ſpeeches, and likewiſe verſes (19), which have been long ſince loſt. One of his letters has been conveyed to us amongſt thoſe of *Pliny*. Tho' he was the greateſt orator of his time, he is now known only by his hiſtorical works, which can never be ſufficiently admired and commended. He ſeems to have written his deſcription of *Germany* during the ſecond conſulate of *Trajan*, that is, in 98. His life of *Agricola*, which *Lipſius* thinks one of the fineſt pieces in the *Latin* tongue, was, as we conjecture from the preface, one of the firſt pieces he compoſed, and probably publiſhed in the very beginning of *Trajan*'s reign. The work which compriſes the lives of the emperors, from the death of *Galba* to that of *Domitian*, ought to be placed next; for in his annals he refers the reader to his account of the reign of *Domitian* (20). That work, which is by *Tertullian* (21) and other ancients called *the hiſtory of* Tacitus, compriſed the tranſactions of the *Romans*, both at home and abroad, from the year 69. to the year 96. of the chriſtian æra; but only his account of the year 69. and part of the year 70. have reached our times. Having ended his hiſtory, he began his *annals*, (for ſo he himſelf ſtyles them) from the death of *Auguſtus* to the reign of *Galba*, in which there are many lamentable chaſms, as we have obſerved in the preceding volume. He had reſerved, as he himſelf tells us (22), for the ſtudy and employment of his old age, the reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan*; but that work, it ſeems, he never undertook, no mention being made of it by any of the ancients. He likewiſe propoſed writing the hiſtory of *Auguſtus*'s reign; but St. *Jerom* knew of no other hiſtorical works of *Tacitus*, except his hiſtory and annals, which were in all thirty books (23). Of theſe are now remaining, not without many chaſms, only ſixteen books of his annals, and five of his hiſtory. As to his ſtyle, it is ſublime and expreſſive; his thoughts are great, his phraſe elevated, and his words few. He ſhews himſelf, throughout his whole work, an upright patriot, zealous for public liberty and the welfare of his country; a declared enemy to tyrants, and to the tools of tyranny; a lover of human kind, a man of virtue, who adores liberty and truth, and every where recommends them. As no man had ſeen more, and few thought ſo much, he draws events from their firſt ſources, takes off every diſguiſe, and penetrates every artifice. He ſaw every thing in a true and uncommon light; whence his reflections are maſterly and profound, like mirrors, where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper ſize and colours. His ſtyle is a kind of language peculiar to himſelf, weighty, grave, and well-adapted to his ſubject. The older he grew, the more he curtailed his ſtyle; for his hiſtory is much more copious and flowing than his annals; ſo that what has by ſome been reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. His *Latin* is pure and claſſical; he has few or no words which had not been uſed by approved writers; nor does he often give new ideas to old words. However, as he is ſparing of his words, and, after having ſtarted the idea, leaves the reader to purſue it, he is thence charged by the moderns with obſcurity. The emperor *Tacitus* directed his books to be placed in all the libraries; and, for their better preſervation, ordered ten copies of them to be tranſcribed every year at the public expence (24). But notwithſtanding this care, many of them have been long ſince loſt, as we have obſerved above. As for the dialogue on the decay of eloquence, which is by ſome aſcribed to *Tacitus*, by others to *Quintilian*, and was written in the ſixth year of the reign of *Veſpaſian*, *Lipſius*, from the ſtyle, is more inclined to adjudge it to *Quintilian* than to *Tacitus*. But of that piece we have ſpoken in the forgoing volume (25). The unjuſt cenſure of Mr. *Bayle* and others upon *Tacitus*, as if he derived the actions of his princes, even the moſt innocent, from wicked counſels and deſigns, is fully confuted by Mr. *Gordon* in the diſcourſes which he has prefixed to his excellent

(7) *Tacit. ibid.* (8) *Veg. l.* i. *c.* 18. (9) *Ælian. tact. c.* i. *p.* 1. (10) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* iii. *c.* 4. (11) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 1. (12) *Plin. l.* ii. *ep.* 1. (13) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c.* 9. (14) *Vopiſ. in Tacit.* (15) *Sid. l.* iv. *epiſt* 4. (16) *Tacit. ibid. c.* 44. (17) *Plin. l.* ii. *epiſt.* 1, 11. (18) *Idem, l.* iv. *epiſt.* 13, 15. *l.* ix. *epiſt.* 10. (19) *Plin. l.* ix. *ep.* 10. (20) *Tacit. annal. c.* 11. (21) *Tertull. ap. c.* 16. & *lib. de ſpectac.* (22) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 1. (23) *Hier. in Zac.* (24) *Vopiſc. in Tacit.* (25) *Hiſt. Univer. vol.* V. *p.* 572.

excellent tranſlation of that hiſtorian (26); a tranſlation which has been of great uſe to us in compiling part of the foregoing volume.

Pliny was a native of *Comum*, now *Como*, the ſon of *L. Cæilius*, by the ſiſter of *Pliny* the elder, by whom he was adopted, and thence took the name of *C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus* (27). He was born in the eighth year of *Nero*'s reign the 61ſt of the chriſtian æra, and ſtudied eloquence under *Quintilian* (28) with ſuch ſucceſs, that he and *Tacitus* were reckoned the two greateſt orators of their time. In his youth he followed the profeſſion of arms (29), was prætor under *Domitian*, and under *Trajan* conſul, augur, and governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*. But his chief employment was to plead cauſes, which he did with great eloquence, and equal diſintereſtedneſs, not accepting of his clients fees or preſents of any kind, even before the law forbidding them paſſed in the ſenate. He publiſhed ſeveral harangues or ſpeeches, none of which have reached our times, except his panegyric upon the emperor *Trajan*. An inſcription, quoted by *Voſſius* (30), aſcribes to him ſome hiſtorical pieces; but of theſe no mention is made by any ancient writer: nay, *Apollinaris Sidonius* tells us, that *Tacitus* did not apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory, till he had in vain endeavoured to engage *Pliny* in that province (31). The letter, in which *Pliny* excuſes himſelf from that taſk, is ſtill extant (32), but inſcribed to one *Capito*; perhaps in the time of *Sidonius*, that is, in the fifth century, it paſſed for a letter written to *Tacitus*. Some make *Pliny* author of the *lives of illuſtrious men*, which by moſt critics is aſcribed to *Cornelius Nepos*, but by *Voſſius* to *Aurelius Victor* (33). *Pliny* often mentions his own verſes; but, as they have been long ſince loſt, we can give no account of them. He himſelf made and publiſhed a collection of ſuch of his letters as he thought the moſt diverting and inſtructive (34); and of theſe are ſtill extant ten books, which have been of ſignal uſe to us in deſcribing the reign of *Trajan*. He was, as appears from his letters, a man of great honour, probity, diſintereſtedneſs, and good-nature; of which we find innumerable inſtances in his letters. He preſented the city of *Comum*, where he was born, with a valuable and numerous collection of books, which he bought at a great rate, and allotted a large fund to be employed, partly in purchaſing other books, and partly in maintaining and bringing up the children of his poor countrymen (35). As the citizens of *Comum* uſed, for want of proper maſters at home, to ſend their children to be educated at *Mediolanum*, now *Milan*, he prevailed upon them to contribute towards the hiring and maintaining of profeſſors in all arts and ſciences, and was himſelf at the third part of the charge; he would have willingly paid the whole, had he not believed, that the parents of the children, by being obliged to diſburſe two-thirds of the requiſite ſum, would be thence more effectually induced to chuſe profeſſors well qualified for that truſt, than if the whole charge were borne by him; in which caſe, favour, he apprehended, might prevail over merit (36). Beſides his countrymen, he preſented others with conſiderable ſums, namely, *Quintilian*, on occaſion of the marriage of his daughter (37); the poet *Martial*, when he left *Rome*, to return to *Spain*, his native country (38); and one *Romanus Firmius*, to make up the ſum that was requiſite for his being raiſed to the equeſtrian order (39). He was not himſelf poſſeſſed of a large eſtate; but by beſtowing little upon himſelf, he could afford beſtowing a great deal upon his friends, as he had no children (40). A lady of merit, named *Corellia*, for whom *Pliny* had a particular value, having betrayed to him a deſire of having lands on the lake of *Como*, he generouſly offered her a ſmall eſtate, lately fallen to him, which bordered on that lake. *Corellia* refuſed the preſent, and deſired to know the value of it; when one of *Pliny*'s freedmen, no doubt by private orders from his maſter, undervalued it, and ſold it to her at a very low rate; which *Corellia* afterwards knew, but *Pliny* could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept the full value of the land (41). He at once diſcharged all the debts of one of his friends, ſubſtituting himſelf in the room of all his other creditors, who had brought him into great trouble. When his friend died, his daughter *Calvina* was for renouncing the inheritance; but *Pliny*, to ſave the reputation of the deceaſed, generouſly forgave her what ſhe owed him, tho' he had contributed a conſiderable ſum towards her fortune, when ſhe was married (42). The reader will find in *Pliny*'s letters innumerable other inſtances of his generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and good-nature, which the brevity we have propoſed to ourſelves will not allow us to relate in this place.

Pompeius Saturninus flouriſhed under *Trajan*, and is highly commended by *Pliny*, with whom he lived in great friendſhip, as an excellent orator, poet, and hiſtorian (43). *Pliny* publiſhed nothing without ſubmitting it firſt to the judgment of *Saturninus* (44). This is perhaps the ſame *Saturninus* who died in the fifth year of *Trajan*'s reign, and bequeathed part of his eſtate to *Pliny* (45). His works have been long ſince loſt. *Titinius Capito* is likewiſe mentioned by *Pliny* as a writer of no mean character. He deſcribed the *deaths of illuſtrious men*, amongſt whom were ſome of his cotemporaries, condemned, no doubt, by *Domitian* (46). *Pliny* tells us elſewhere (47), that with excellent verſes he celebrated the actions of great men; and adds, that he prevailed upon the emperor, *Nerva* or *Trajan*, to erect a ſtatue in the forum to *L. Silanus*, who was by *Nero*'s orders put to death in the year 65, the eleventh of that prince's reign. *Cataneus*, in his notes upon *Pliny* (48), tells us, that *Lactantius* quotes a book upon the public ſhews written by *Titinius Capito*. *Claudius Pollio*, who is likewiſe greatly commended by *Pliny* (49), wrote the life of *Muſonius Baſſus*, his benefactor. *Suidas* ſpeaks of one *Aſinius Pollio*, who was a native of *Tralles* in *Aſia*, and a celebrated ſophiſt and philoſopher, and aſcribes to him ſeveral pieces; amongſt the reſt, one giving an account of the memorable actions and ſayings of the philoſopher *Muſonius*; but he adds, that *Muſonius* taught at *Rome* in the time of *Pompey the great* (50); but is commonly thought to have been therein guilty of a great overſight (51). *Pliny* likewiſe mentions and commends one *Verginius Romanus*, who wrote commedies and other poetical pieces (52). Under *Trajan* flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius* (53), two *Greek* poets, *Serapio*, an *Athenian*, *Plutarch*'s friend, and *Rufus*, an *Epheſian*, author of the ſix books upon ſimples, known to *Galen* and other phyſicians. *Pliny* ſeems to have entertained a mighty opinion of the ſophiſt *Icæus*, who came to *Rome*, when he was about ſixty (54), and there gained, as appears from *Juvenal* (55), the reputation of an eloquent orator. He was a native of *Aſſyria*, and in his youth had led a moſt debauched life; but afterwards changeing his conduct, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence (56). He ſeems to have left no other works behind him, except his declamations. Of *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*, *Epictetus*, and ſeveral other writers, who lived under *Trajan*, but died after him, we ſhall ſpeak anon.

(26) *Gord. p.* 18——23. (27) *Plin. prol. & l.* v. *ep.* 8 (28) *Idem, l.* ii. *ep.* 14. (29) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 10. (30) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 30. (31) *Sidon. l.* iv. *ep.* 23. (32) *Plin. l.* v. *ep.* 8. (33) *Voſſ. ibid.* (34) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 1. (35) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 8. *l.* vii. *ep.* 18. (36) *Idem, l.* iv. *ep.* 13. (37) *Idem, l.* vi. *ep.* 32. (38) *Idem, l.* iii. *ep.* 21. (39) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 19. (40) *Idem, l.* ii. *ep.* 4. (41) *Idem, l.* vii. *ep.* 11 & 14. (42) *Idem, l.* ii. *ep.* 4. (43) *Idem, l.* vii. *ep.* 16. (44) *Idem, ibid. ep.* 8. (45) *Idem, l.* v. *ep.* 7. (46) *Idem, l.* viii. *ep.* 12. (47) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 17. (48) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 17. (49) *Idem, l.* vii. *ep.* 31. (50) *Suidas, p.* 579. (51) *Vide Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 7. (52) *Plin. l.* vi. *ep.* 31. (53) *Voſſ. poet. Græc. p.* 73. (54) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 3. (55) *Juv. ſat.* iii. *ver.* 74. (56) *Philoſtr. ſoph. c.* 20. *Suidas, p.* 1274.

CHAP. XXI.

The history of Rome, *from the death of* Trajan, *to the death of* Marcus Aurelius, *when the power of the* Roman *empire began to decline.*

Adrian.

His extraction, employments, &c.

Adrian, who ſucceeded *Trajan* in the empire, was the ſon of *Ælius Adrianus Afer*, couſin-german to that prince, and of *Domitia Paulina*, ſprung from an illuſtrious family in *Cadiz*. His family came originally from *Italica* in *Spain*, the native city of *Trajan*, whither *Adrian*, in the account he wrote of his own life, pretended, that his anceſtors had removed ſome ages before, from the city of *Adria* in the country of the *Picentes*, now the dukedom of *Atri* in *Abruzzo*. *Marullinus*, his great-great-grandfather, was the firſt *Roman* ſenator of the family [h]. He was born, according to *Spartian*, in *Rome*, on the twenty-fourth of *January*, in the year ſeventy-ſix of the chriſtian æra, while *Veſpaſian* was conſul the ſeventh time and *Titus* the fifth [i]. *Eutropius* writes, that he was born in *Italica*; but *Caſaubon* thinks he was therein miſtaken [k]. He was named *P. Ælius Adrianus*, or *Hadrianus*, to which names he added, after his acceſſion to the empire, that of *Trajan* [l]. His father, dying when he was but ten year old, left him under the guardianſhip of *Trajan* and *Cælius Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, as *Salmaſius* calls him, a *Roman* knight [m]. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Greek* tongue, and was, at the age of fifteen, ſo thoroughly acquainted with that language, that he was commonly ſurnamed the *Young Grecian*. He then went to ſerve in *Spain*, and ſtaid there till he was recalled by *Trajan*, with whom he lived as his ſon. He was ſoon after appointed by *Domitian* one of the decemvirs, and thence raiſed to the command of the ſecond auxiliary legion, with which he was ſent into *Mœſia* about the latter end of that prince's reign. We are told, that in *Mœſia* an aſtrologer aſſured him, that the ſovereign power was by the fates deſtined to him; which was confirming what his great-uncle *Ælius Adrianus*, who was likewiſe ſkilled in aſtrology, had foretold many years before [n]. When *Trajan* was adopted by *Nerva*, he was ſent to him with the congratulations of the army upon that occaſion, and ſoon after removed by *Nerva* from *Mœſia* into *Upper Germany*; whence he haſtened, upon the death of that prince, which happened ſoon after, to carry the firſt tidings of it to *Trajan*. *Servianus*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, and was no friend to *Adrian*, tho' he had married his ſiſter *Paulina*, detained him, till he had diſpatched an expreſs to *Trajan* with the news of *Nerva*'s death, and afterwards ſupplied him with an old chariot, which broke down by the way, that he might not ingratiate himſelf with the new emperor, by firſt informing him of his acceſſion to the empire. But nevertheleſs *Adrian* purſued his journey on foot with ſuch expedition, that he arrived in *Lower Germany*, where *Trajan* then was, before the expreſs [o]. *Trajan* kept him with him; but tho' he was his kinſman, his guardian, tho' he gave him afterwards

Trajan *conferred no extraordinary honours upon him.*

his ſiſter's grand-daughter, *Sabina*, in marriage, yet he never conferred any extraordinary honours upon him. In his youth he had ſquandered away his eſtate, and contracted great debts; which, with his other vices, *Servianus* took care to exaggerate to the emperor, in order to eſtrange his mind from him, and prevent his adopting him; for *Servianus* entertained a very indifferent opinion of *Adrian*, and believed, that *Rome* could never be happy under ſuch a prince [p]; and truly he was a perſon of moſt extraordinary parts, and had ſome great virtues, but allayed with no leſs vices.

His extraordinary memory, learning, &c.

He was endowed with a memory almoſt beyond belief; he could repeat by heart a whole book, however difficult and intricate the ſubject of it was, after having once peruſed it; he knew the name of every ſoldier in the army, and remembered the names of all the old ſoldiers, who had once ſerved under him, tho' they had been long diſbanded.

[h] Spart. in Adrian. p. 1——3. Pariſ. 1620. [i] Idem ibid. & P. Pagi. p. 30. [k] Casaub. in not. ad Spart. [l] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 786. [m] Spart. ibid. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem, p. 4. [p] Idem, p. 8.

a disbanded. He excelled in every branch of learning, and was without compariſon the beſt orator, poet, grammarian, philoſopher, and mathematician of his time; thoroughly ſkilled in phyſic; well acquainted with the virtues and properties of moſt herbs and minerals; in drawing and painting he was equal to the greateſt maſters; ſung, and played upon all kinds of inſtruments, ſo as to be reckoned the moſt ſkilful muſician of the age he lived in. He even applied himſelf to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology and magic. He uſed at the ſame time to write, dictate to ſeveral ſecretaries, give audience to his miniſters, and diſcourſe with them about affairs of the greateſt importance; for no man was better acquainted with his domeſtic affairs, than he with thoſe of the whole empire. His court was conſtantly crouded with philoſophers, orators, poets, *Favours the learned.*
b mathematicians, *&c.* for whom he always ſhewed a particular eſteem, and took great pleaſure in diſputing with them, and challenging the poets by extemporary verſes, at which he had an extraordinary talent. Having one day excepted againſt an expreſſion uſed by *Favorinus*, that philoſopher modeſtly yielded, tho' he might have produced out of good authors ſufficient authority for his expreſſion; which ſeeming ſtrange to his friends, *Do you think*, ſaid pleaſantly *Favorinus*, *that I will pretend to be more learned than one who has thirty legions at his beck?* In the beginning of his reign, *Inſtances of his clemency.* he gave many inſtances of his clemency and good-nature; but afterwards cauſed ſeveral perſons to be unjuſtly put to death: whence ſome writers cry him up as a moſt merciful prince, while others repreſent him as naturally inclined to cruelty, but often
c forgiving injuries, through fear of undergoing the fate of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*. In the very beginning of his reign, *Tatianus* adviſed him to put three perſons to death, who, he ſaid, would not fail to raiſe diſturbances, *viz.* *Bæbius Macer* governor of *Rome*, *Laberius Maximus*, and *Craſſus Frugi*, of whom the two latter had conſpired againſt *Trajan*, and were then in baniſhment; but the emperor would not hearken to any ſuggeſtions againſt them, ſaying, It would be highly unjuſt and tyrannical to puniſh any one for a crime, which he was only likely to commit[r]. *Spartian* writes, that he freely forgave all thoſe who had any-ways injured him while he was a private perſon; and that one day meeting one of them after he was emperor, he told him, That he had eſcaped by his promotion to the empire[s]. On the other hand,
d *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he remembered, and puniſhed with great ſeverity, ſome injuries *Remembers and puniſhes ſome injuries done him in Trajan's time.* done him in *Trajan*'s time; and that he never forgave the famous architect *Apollodorus*, who had ſpoken contemptuouſly of him before that prince[t]. He allowed every one free acceſs to him, and ſeemed never better pleaſed than when they ſpoke to him with liberty, or admoniſhed him of his faults. Of this we read the following inſtance: A woman having one day applied to him on occaſion of a troubleſome law-ſuit, the emperor told her, That he was not then at leiſure to hear her. The woman, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, cried out to him aloud, *To what purpoſe then are you emperor?* With which frankneſs *Adrian* was ſo well pleaſed, that, poſtponing all other affairs, he heard her with great patience, and diſmiſſed her fully ſatisfied[u]. The
e *Roman* people demanding one day with great noiſe in the theatre ſomething, which *Adrian* was no-ways inclined to grant them, he ordered the public crier to command ſilence with the imperious word *Tacete*, *Be ſilent*, uſed by *Domitian* on the like occaſion; but the crier, inſtead of obeying him, ſaid only, *The emperor begs you would be ſilent*; *Bears to be admoniſhed.* which *Adrian* was ſo far from reſenting, that he commended his prudence, and amply rewarded it[w]. He was courteous and affable towards perſons of all ranks, converſed *Kind to his friends.* familiarly with his friends and viſited them, nay, and his freed-men, when indiſpoſed, twice or thrice a day, comforting them in their ſickneſs, and aſſiſting them with his counſels. He frequently entertained them at his table, and honoured them with his
f company at their houſes, without being invited, converſing with them more like a private perſon than a prince. He refuſed them nothing which he thought reaſonable to grant them, and inriched ſome who had never aſked him the leaſt favour[x]; but at the ſame time gave ear to ſlanderers, and believed every tale that was whiſpered *But gives ear to ſlanderers.* againſt them; whence all thoſe whom he had moſt favoured and raiſed to the higheſt honours, were in the end diſgraced, treated by him as enemies, and either put to death or baniſhed[y]. His liberality knew no bounds; he allotted large ſums for *His liberality.* the maintenance of poor children of both ſexes, and in that excelled even *Trajan*. Upon ſuch of the ſenators as were, by misfortunes, reduced to poverty, he ſettled penſions

[q] Idem ibid. AMMIAN. l. xxx. DIO, l. lxix. p. 790. [r] SPART. p. 10. [s] Idem, p. 8.
[t] DIO, l. lxix. p. 789. [u] Idem, p. 790. [w] Idem, ibid. [x] Idem, p. 7. DIO. p. 791.
[y] SPART. & DIO, ibid.

penſions ſuitable to their rank, and the number of their children. Among the popu- a
lace he diſtributed yearly an immenſe quantity of corn, made large preſents to ſuch
of the knights as were not able to ſupport their dignity, and ſupplied all thoſe whom
he appointed governors of provinces, or commanders of armies, with horſes, mules,
cloaths, and money to defray the charges of their journey. During the feaſt of *Saturn*, b
he uſed to ſend preſents to his friends, laying hold of that opportunity to reward them
for their fidelity and attachment to his perſon. His preſents to kings and princes
always exceeded thoſe which they had ſent him. Such of the public profeſſors as
were no longer able to diſcharge their office as they ought, he diſmiſſed with marks
of honour and handſome allowances. As he ſpent moſt part of his reign in viſiting
the provinces of the empire, he left every-where marks of a magnificence truly great b
and princely [z]. He is ſaid never to have ſeized unjuſtly any man's property [a]; nei-
ther would he ever receive legacies left him by perſons who were not known to him,
Reſpects the ſenate. or by ſuch of his friends as had children [b]. He ſhewed on all occaſions a high reſpect
for the ſenate, conſuls, and other magiſtrates, tranſacting nothing without their advice.
He ſcarce ever failed aſſiſting at their aſſemblies, when he was either at or near *Rome*,
and uſually waited on the conſuls to their houſes. He would not ſuffer the *Roman*
knights to ſit as judges in the cauſe of a ſenator, tho' that had been cuſtomary when
the cauſe was pleaded before the emperor in perſon; neither would he allow of any
Is impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice. appeals from the ſenate to him [c]. He adminiſtered juſtice with great impartiality, c
following therein the advice of *P. Jubentius Celſus*, *Salvius Julianus*, and *Neratius*
Priſcus, all three men of great probity, and the beſt civilians in *Rome*. He narrowly
inquired into the conduct and behaviour of his miniſters, diſcharging them when
guilty of the leaſt injuſtice or miſdemeanour. He allowed his freed-men no power;
Allows no power to his freed-men. and ſuch as pretended to have any, in order to gain by that means credit or wealth,
he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Obſerving one day from his window one of
his freed-men walking between two ſenators, he ſent one of his attendants to give him
a box on the ear, and tell him, that it did not become him to walk between two per-
ſons, to whom he might one day be a ſlave [d]. He was an enemy to all pomp and
parade; whence he would never ſuffer the ſenators to attend him but upon buſineſs.
He uſually returned from the ſenate in a ſedan, that the ſenators might be diſpenſed d
from accompanying him to the palace. His medals are all very plain, without the
uſual titles of *emperor*, *high pontiff*, *father of his country*, &c. He would not ſuffer
his name to be put upon any of the ſtately buildings which he erected, except upon
the temple which he built in honour of *Trajan*; but at the ſame time was pleaſed that
ſeveral aqueducts and cities ſhould bear his name [e]. Out of *Rome* he laid quite aſide the
port and majeſty of an emperor; in his garb and dreſs he little varied from a common
ſoldier; his diet was ſuch as chance preſented; he uſually marched on foot, with his
head bare, making no diſtinction between the frozen mountains of the *Alps*, and the
ſcorching deſerts of *Africa*; he viſited the ſoldiers in perſon when ſick, took particu-
lar care of their proviſions, made them preſents, &c. but at the ſame time put down e
the uſe of arbours, ſhady walks, bowers, &c. baniſhing from the camp whatever
ſeemed in the leaſt to encourage luxury and idleneſs. He was acquainted with every
ſoldier in the army, knew his age, remembered his exploits, if he had performed any,
&c. He preferred none but men of courage, ſtrength, and good characters, ſaying,
He revives the ancient military diſcipline. Such as the officers are, ſuch will the ſoldiers ſoon be. By this means he revived and
reſtored the ancient military diſcipline, which, by the negligence of many princes,
had been decaying ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus* [f]. He is generally blamed by the
His vices. ancients as too inquiſitive, and prying into every one's ſecrets, tho' they no-ways con-
cerned him; as addicted to the moſt infamous pleaſures, and abandoned to all man-
ner of ſuperſtition; which was the chief cauſe of his perſecuting the chriſtians, whom f
he looked upon as enemies to the idolatrous worſhip of his gods [g]. He took great
delight in hunting, and is ſaid to have killed bears, lions, and other wild beaſts, with
his own hand. He founded a town in *Mœſia*, which he called *Adrianotheræ*, that is,
Adrian's *chace*, becauſe he had killed a bear there. He loved his hunting-horſes
and dogs to ſuch a degree, that he built them tombs, and wrote himſelf their epi-
taphs [h]. He was the firſt emperor, as *Spartian* obſerves [i], who let his beard grow,

to

[z] Spart. p. 10. Dio, p. 790. Philost. ſoph. c. 27. [a] Dio, ibid. [b] Sprat. p. 9. [c] Idem, p. 17. [d] Idem, p. 10. [e] Idem, p. 9, 10. [f] Idem, p. 5. Dio, p. 790—792, [g] Dio, & Spart. ibid. Ammian. l. xxv. Hier. chron. Tertul. apol. c. 5. [h] Spart. p. 12, 13. Dio, p. 792. [i] Idem ibid.

a to cover ſome ſcars, which disfigured that part of his face. He married, as we have related above, *Julia Sabina*, grand-daughter to *Marciana*, *Trajan*'s ſiſter; but treated her more like a ſlave than a wife, and often declared, that, had he been a private perſon, he would have divorced her. However, he ſuffered her to be honoured with the title of *Auguſta*, when he took that of the *father of his country*[k]. He is thought in the end to have poiſoned her, being no longer able to bear with her haughty and imperious temper. She ſeems to have been a woman of a very indifferent character; for ſhe is ſaid to have publicly bragged of her having prevented *Adrian* from having any children by her, and by that means ſaved the world from utter deſtruction[l]. Having thus premiſed a ſuccinct account of the virtues and vices of *Adrian*, we ſhall

b now proceed to the hiſtory of his reign, according to the order of time. Having cauſed himſelf to be declared emperor on the eleventh of *Auguſt* of the year 117, he immediately wrote to the ſenate, excuſing his having aſſumed that title without their conſent and authority, alledging, that he had been forced to it by the ſoldiery. He begged they would confirm the title, without conferring other honours upon him till he deſerved them. In the ſame letter he ſolemnly promiſed never to put any ſenator to death, nor to tranſact any affair of conſequence without their counſel and advice[m]. He doubled the donative given by other emperors to the ſoldiery, and appointed *Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, formerly his guardian, with *Similis*, captains of the prætorian guards. *Similis* was a man of great probity, moderation, and prudence, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in quality of centurion under *Trajan*, who had a particular value

c for him. As it was much againſt his will that he accepted the command conferred upon him by *Adrian*, he reſigned it three years after, withdrew into the country, and there ſpent in retirement the ſeven remaining years of his life. A little before he died, he compoſed his own epitaph, importing, that he had been ſeventy-ſix years upon the earth, but lived only ſeven[n]. *Tatianus* was a man of a quite different character; for he adviſed *Adrian*, upon his acceſſion to the empire, to put ſeveral perſons to death; and was thought to have been the chief author of the murders,

d which that prince committed about two years after[o]. *Adrian* had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he deprived the brave *Luſius Quietus*, who had ſerved with great credit under *Trajan*, of the command of his countrymen the *Moors*, ſuſpecting him as if he aſpired at the empire. As to the conqueſts made by his predeceſſor, he reſolved to abandon them all; and accordingly withdrew his troops from *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*; ſo that the *Euphrates* became anew the boundary of the *Roman* empire. He allowed the *Armenians* to chuſe themſelves a king; and as the *Parthians* were diſſatisfied with *Parthamaſpates*, whom *Trajan* had raiſed to the throne, he appointed him king of ſome neighbouring nation, and ſuffered the *Parthians* to recal *Coſrhoes*, whom *Trajan* had driven out two years before[p]. He was likewiſe determined to abandon *Dacia*; but his friends prevailed upon him to keep a province, in which ſuch numbers of *Roman* citizens had ſettled. However, he ordered

e the arches of the famous bridge built by *Trajan* over the *Danube* to be broken down, fearing the barbarians might make themſelves maſters of it, and invade the *Roman* territories[q]. *Adrian*, having given the neceſſary orders for maintaining the tranquillity of the eaſt, and appointed *Catilius Severus* governor of *Syria*, left *Antioch*, and ſet out for *Rome*, which he did not reach till the next year[r]. *Epiphanius* tells us, that before he left the eaſt, he went into *Egypt*; and that paſſing by *Jeruſalem* forty-ſeven years after it had been taken by *Titus*, on that occaſion he reſolved to rebuild it; which deſign, however, he did not put in execution before the latter end of his reign[s].

f THE following year, *Adrian* entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having been named to that dignity by *Trajan* before he died, together with *Fuſcus Salinator*, who had married the daughter of *Servianus*, *Adrian*'s niece[t]. This year *Adrian* returned to *Rome*, where he was received by all ranks of men with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; but he could by no means be prevailed upon to accept the triumph, which had been prepared for *Trajan*, and was by the ſenate decreed for him. At his motion that honour was conferred upon the image of *Trajan*, which *Adrian* himſelf ſeems to have carried[u]. Soon after his entrance into the city, he remitted to the inhabitants

Diſlikes his wife Julia Sabina.

The characters of Similis *and* Tatianus *captains of the prætorian guards.*

Adrian *abandons the countries conquered by* Trajan.

He arrives at Rome; *but refuſes the triumph decreed him by the ſenate.*

[k] EUSEB. chron. OROS. l. vii. c. 13. [l] VICT. epit. [m] DIO, l. lxix. p. 788. [n] SPART. cum not. Salmaſ. p. 19. DIO, p. 796. [o] SPART. & DIO, ibid. [p] SPART. p. 10. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 776. [q] EUTROP. in Adrian. & DIO, ibid. [r] SPART. p. 3. [s] EPIPHAN. menſ. c. 14. [t] IDAT. CASSIODOR. ONUPH. in faſt. [u] SPART. p. 3.

Remarkable instances of his generosity.

tants of *Rome* and *Italy* all debts, without reſtriction, due from them to the exche- a
quer, and to particular perſons in the provinces what was owing by them for the laſt
ſixteen years, burning in *Trajan*'s new ſquare all the bonds and regiſters relating to
thoſe debts, in order to ſecure every one againſt ſuch claims. The ſum, which he for-
gave on this occaſion, amounted to ſeven millions of our money and upwards. No
wonder therefore, that ſuch a generous action is ſo much extolled by the hiſtorians of
thoſe times, and mentioned in moſt of the inſcriptions and medals of this and the
following year. On one of the medals which has reached our times, *Adrian* is repre-
ſented with a torch in his hand, ſetting fire to the bonds, with this legend, *He inriches the whole world*[w]. Beſides, he leſſened the taxes both at *Rome* and in the provinces, b
and eaſed the cities of the great burden which had been laid upon them by *Trajan*,
of ſupplying ſuch as travelled for the ſervice of the public with horſes, chariots, and
carriages, which was thenceforth done at the charge of the emperor[x].

The following year, *Adrian* was conſul the third time; but reſigned the faſces after
four months, and never after reſumed them. He had for his collegue one *Ruſticus*,
The Sarmatians *and* Roxolani *defeated.*
of whom we find no further mention. This year the *Sarmatians* and the *Roxolani*,
whoſe country bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*, invaded *Illyricum*; which obliged
Adrian to leave *Rome* and haſten into *Mæſia*, where he defeated the barbarians upon
their return from *Illyricum*. Thoſe who eſcaped ſaved themſelves by ſwimming
croſs the *Danube*, and ſoon after ſent embaſſadors to *Adrian*, who granted them
honourable terms, and by that means put a ſpeedy end to the war. They after- c
wards quarrelled with one another, and choſe *Adrian* for their umpire, who com-
poſed their differences to the general ſatisfaction of both parties. Having thus both
terrified the barbarians and at the ſame time gained their affections, he appointed
Martius Turbo, whom he had recalled from *Mauritania*, governor of *Pannonia* and
Dacia, and led his army into *Illyricum*; whence he wrote to the ſenate, complaining
of *Cornelius Palma*, *L. Publius Celſus*, *Domitius Nigrinus*, and *Luſius Quietus*, as if
they had formed a conſpiracy againſt him. They were all conſulars, men of extra-
ordinary parts, and had been greatly eſteemed and beloved by *Trajan*; but neverthe-
leſs the ſenate, out of complaiſance to the emperor, ordered them to be immediately
Four conſulars put to death.
put to death, without ſo much as acquainting them that they had been accuſed. As d
no one believed them guilty of the crime laid to their charge, their death drew upon
the emperor the public hatred, who thereupon left *Illyricum* and haſtened back to
Rome, where he publicly declared upon his oath, that they had been executed againſt
his will and without his knowledge; but was not believed, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, by
thoſe who knew, that *Palma* and *Celſus* had been always his enemies, and that he was
jealous of *Nigrinus* and *Quietus*, who were equally beloved and eſteemed by the
Roman people[y]. Beſides theſe four excellent men, as *Dion Caſſius* ſtyles them, ſeveral
other perſons of great merit and diſtinction were accuſed and condemned, as privy
to the ſuppoſed conſpiracy; which filled the city with dread and terror. But *Adrian*
himſelf, having got rid of thoſe whom he chiefly feared, put a ſtop to the cruel and e
unjuſt proceedings of the ſenate, by an edict, forbidding any one to be accuſed or
tried upon the law of majeſty. He was deſirous of having *Tatianus*, formerly his
guardian, and now captain of the prætorian guards, put to death; for he was a
man of a haughty and imperious temper, and aſſumed greater power and authority,
than the emperor was willing to grant him; but nevertheleſs *Adrian*, not thinking it
adviſeable to ſpill more blood, diſſembled his hatred for the preſent, and prevailed
upon *Tatianus* to reſign his command, by offering him a place in the ſenate, and the
conſular ornaments, which he readily accepted. *Martius Turbo*, governor of *Pan-
nonia* and *Dacia*, and one of the beſt officers of his age, was put in his room, as was
Septicius Clarus in the room of *Similis*, who this year reſigned of his own accord, and f
retired from the city[z]. Towards the end of the year the emperor went into *Cam-
pania*, where he relieved with great generoſity the poor inhabitants of all the cities
through which he paſſed.

The next conſuls were *L. Catilius Severus*, whom *Adrian* had appointed governor
of *Syria* three years before, and *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, who ſucceeded *Adrian* in the
empire, and is commonly known by the name of *Antonius Pius*[a]. This year *Adrian*,
who uſed to ſay, that an emperor ought to imitate the ſun, who illuminates not one
place,

[w] Spanh. l. ix p. 811, 815. [x] Spart. p. 17. [y] Dio, l. lxix. p. 788. [z] Idem, p. 795, 796. Spart. p. 7. [a] Onuph. in faſt. p. 220.

a place, but all the corners and regions of the earth, began his progreſs, with a deſign to viſit in perſon all the provinces of the empire, and examine the ſtate of each country ſubject to *Rome*, that he might not be obliged to depend intirely upon the accounts tranſmitted to him by his miniſters and governors. Thus he employed almoſt the whole remainder of his reign, that is, near ſeventeen years. From ſeveral ancient coins we learn, that he viſited the following countries, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Mauritania*, *Africa*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, *Achaia*, or *Greece*, *Eubœa*, *Macedonia*, *Egypt*, and the city of *Alexandria*, *Paleſtine*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Thrace*, *Mœſia*, and *Dalmatia* [b]. No mention is made on any of the medals, which have reached us, of *Britain*, *Armenia*, or *Dacia*; which provinces, b it is certain, he viſited, as we ſhall relate anon. He began his progreſs with *Gaul*, where he viewed all the chief cities and *Roman* forts, and ſignalized himſelf by extraordinary bounties, relieving with great generoſity the poor inhabitants in all the places through which he paſſed. From *Gaul* he went into *Germany*, where lay the flower of the *Roman* troops; and therefore he ſpent ſome time there, in order to revive and eſtabliſh among them the ancient military diſcipline; for he did not leave *Germany* till the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Verus*, grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Augur*, or, as he is called in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, *Augurinus*, were conſuls. During their conſulate, *Adrian*, leaving *Germany*, returned to *Gaul*, and from thence paſſed over into *Britain*, where he is ſaid to have reformed c many abuſes [g]. The greateſt part of the iſland was, when he arrived in *Britain*, ſubject to *Rome*; but the northern nations had, upon the departure of *Agricola*, revolted, and recovered their ancient liberty. *Adrian* did not think it adviſeable, nor worth his while, to make war upon them, and reduce them anew; but, in order to ſecure the countries belonging to the *Romans* againſt the incurſions of the warlike *Caledonians*, he cauſed a mighty wall to be built, extending from the river *Eden* in *Cumberland* to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty miles in length [d]. In other countries too, where the barbarians were not ſeparated from the *Romans* by rivers, he ordered walls to be made of earth, ſays *Spartian* [c], which were ſtrengthened with ſharp ſtakes driven deep into the ground In *Britain* he diſgraced and diſd charged his ſecretary *Suetonius Tranquillus*, no doubt the hiſtorian, and *Septicius Clarus*, captain of the prætorian guards, for their diſreſpectful behaviour towards the empreſs *Sabina* [f]. Having ſettled the affairs of *Britain*, he returned to *Gaul*, and built at *Niſme* a magnificent palace, in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan*'s widow. No remains of this ſtately edifice, or *baſilic*, as *Spartian* calls it, are now to be ſeen; but the antiquaries take the magnificent amphitheatre, which the inhabitants calls *les Aredes*, or *Pont du gard*, and ſeveral other antient buildings, which are ſtill to be ſeen in that city, to have been raiſed by *Adrian*, or by his ſucceſſor *Antoninus* [g]. From *Gaul Adrian* went into *Spain*, and paſſed the winter at *Tarraco*, now *Tarragona*, where he rebuilt the e temple of *Auguſtus* founded by *Tiberius*, and held a general aſſembly of the ſtates of *Spain*, in order to compoſe the differences which reigned amongſt them, about the raiſing of levies to recruit the *Roman* armies. At *Tarraco* he narrowly eſcaped being killed by a ſlave, who, while the emperor was walking in his maſter's garden, aſſaulted him with a drawn ſword. *Adrian*, cloſing with him, ſeized him, and delivered him to the guards, who were haſtening to his aſſiſtance; but afterwards, finding the ſlave was diſtracted in his ſenſes, he committed him to the care of the phyſicians, and took no farther notice of the attempt. *Adrian* did not viſit the city of *Italica*, whence his family originally came; but diſtinguiſhed it with many privileges [h]. *Gellius* quotes a diſcourſe made by the emperor in the ſenate in favour of *Italica*, *Utica*, and other free cities, demanding the rights and privileges of colonies, f tho' *Adrian* himſelf thought the condition of free cities preferable to that of the colonies [i]. From *Spain* the emperor returned to *Rome* in the month of *April*, as appears from an antient inſcription, *Acilius Aviola* and *Cornelius Panſa* being then conſuls; but he did not ſtay there long; for either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, when *Quintus Arrius Pætinus* and *Caius Ventidius Apronianus* were conſuls, he was, according to St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius* [k], at *Athens*. During his ſtay in that city, the *Cephiſus* happening to break over its banks, and lay under water great part of the city of *Eleuſina*, hs cauſed a bridge to be built over that river, and provided againſt

Adrian reſolves to viſit all the provinces of the empire.

He goes into Gaul, and thence into Germany.

Croſſes over into Britain.

His wall there.

He returns to Gaul.

And thence goes into Spain.

Where he is in danger of being aſſaſſinated.

Returns to Rome.

Goes to Athens, and from thence into the eaſt,

[b] BIRAG. p. 175, 177. [c] SPART. p. 6. [d] Idem ibid. USSER. Britan. eccleſ. antiq. p. 1024. Dublin. 1635. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Vide SALMAS. in Spart. p. 23. [h] Idem, p. 6. & DIO, p. 792. [i] AUL. GELL. l. xvi. c. 13. [k] EUSEB. chron. p. 211.

againſt its overflowing for the future [u]. From *Athens* he paſſed into the eaſt, where a
he apprehended a war with the *Parthians*; but prevented it by a conference, with
whom hiſtory does not inform us; but it was in all likelikood with *Coſrhoes* king of
the *Parthians*. The following year, *Manius Acilius Glabrio* and *Caius Bellicius Tor-*
Viſits ſeveral provinces, and paſſes the winter at Athens. *quatus* being conſuls, *Adrian* returned from the eaſt through *Aſia*, and viſited *Cilicia*,
Lycia, *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Phrygia*, ordering temples, ſquares, and
other edifices to be built at his expence in moſt of the chief cities of thoſe provinces,
eſpecially in *Nicomedia*, *Nicæa*, and *Cyzicus*. He likewiſe viſited the iſlands of the
Archipelago, and arrived in the beginning of the following year, *P. Cornelius Scipio*
Aſiaticus and *Vettius Aquilinus* being conſuls, in *Achaia*, and paſſed the remaining part
of the winter at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the rites of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, b
called the *Eleuſinian myſteries*, following therein the example of *Hercules* and *Philip*
king of *Macedon*. From *Athens*, after he had preſided there at the public games,
Viſits Sicily, *and returns to* Rome. and beſtowed innumerable favours upon the *Athenians*, he ſailed to *Sicily*, where he
was led by his curioſity to viſit the top of mount *Ætna*, in order to view from thence
the riſing ſun, believed to exhibit there all the colours of the rain-bow. From *Sicily*
he returned to *Rome* in the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Verus*,
grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, was the third time conſul, with *L. Va-*
rius Ambibulus [w]. The two next years, the eleventh and twelfth of *Adrian*'s reign,
and 127. and 128. of the chriſtian æra, are quite barren of events. The conſuls were
Titianus and *Gallicanus*, *Torquatus Aſprenas* and *Annius Libo* [x]. The following year, c
Rebuilds ſeveral cities at his own expence. *P. Juventius Celſus* and *Q. Julius Balbus Marcellus* being conſuls, the cities of *Nicome-*
dia, *Cæſarea*, and *Nicæa* in *Bithynia* were almoſt intirely overturned by an earthquake;
but rebuilt at the expence of the emperor, who was thence ſtyled the *Reſtorer of* By-
thynia, as appears from ſome medals [y]. In the beginning of this year, *Adrian* was
ſtill at *Rome*; for on the third of *March* he propoſed ſome difficulties touching inhe-
ritances, which were reſolved by a decree of the ſenate, dated the fourteenth of the
ſame month [z]. But ſoon after he ſet out again on a new progreſs, paſſing firſt into
Croſſes over into Africa, *whence he returns to* Rome. *Africa*; where, upon his arrival, it rained, after a five years drought, which, toge-
ther with the many favours he beſtowed upon the inhabitants of that province, (for
he left every-where ſignal marks of his liberality and good-nature) gained him the d
affections of all ranks of men. From *Africa* he returned to *Rome*, and there cauſed
the obſequies of *Plotina*, to whom he was indebted for the empire, to be performed
with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. She died either while *Adrian* was in
Plotina *dies, and is ranked among the gods.* *Africa*, or ſoon after his return from thence. He bewailed her with many tears, ap-
peared for nine days in deep mourning, compoſed verſes in her praiſe, and cauſed
her to be ranked among the gods [a].

The temple of Venus *and* Rome. The next conſuls were *Q. Fabius Catullinus* and *M. Flavius Aper*, during whoſe
adminiſtration a temple was built at *Rome*, in honour of that city and of the goddeſs
Venus, which was called the *Temple of* Rome, and the *Temple of the fortune of* Rome [b].
On account of this temple *Adrian* changed the ancient name of the feaſt, which was e
yearly kept on the twenty-firſt of *April* for the foundation of *Rome*, calling it *Romana*,
inſtead of *Palilia* [c]. This temple was one of the wonders which the emperor *Conſtan-*
tius chiefly admired when he came to *Rome* [d]. It was afterwards conſumed by acci-
dental fire, and rebuilt by *Maxentius* [e]. When the fabric was ended, *Adrian* ſent the
plan of it to the famous architect *Apollodorus*; which was tacitly telling him, that he
was not the only great architect in the world: and this was what the emperor meant
by ſending the plan after the building was accompliſhed; for tho' he himſelf had
employed him, yet he bore him a private grudge, on account of his having checked
him with great acrimony, for pretending, in *Trajan*'s time, to give his opinion con-
Apollodorus *finds fault with it, which coſts him his life.* cerning certain buiidings. *Apollodorus*, who was no flatterer, after having viewed f
the plan, deſired thoſe who brought it to tell the emperor from him, that the fabric
was too low for the place in which it ſtood; and, on the contrary, the ſtatues of
Rome and *Venus* too tall: the architect, added he pleaſantly, has taken care, that the
goddeſſes ſhall not riſe, nor walk out. *Adrian* was ſo offended at the freedom of this
anſwer, that tho' he had deſired *Apollodorus* to acquaint him with his ſentiments con-
cerning the building, yet he baniſhed him, and ſoon after, under ſome pretence or
other,

[u] Hier. in chron. [w] Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 78. Dio, l. lxix. p. 797. [x] Idat. Onuph. &c. in faſt. [y] Euseb. in chron. p. 211. Birag. p. 123. [z] Digeſt. v. c. 3. l. xx. Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 421. [a] Dio, p. 792. [b] Ammian. l. xvi. [c] Athen. l. viii. [d] Ammian. ibid. [e] Aur. Vict. p. 526.

a other, caused him to be put to death [e]. In the beginning of the summer, *Adrian* set out from *Rome*, with a design to visit anew the provinces of the east; and, passing through *Athens*, pursued his journey to *Asia*, where he consecrated several temples. In *Cappadocia* he purchased a great number of slaves for the servile offices of the camp. To *Cosrhoes* he sent back his daughter, who had been taken prisoner by *Trajan*, and promised to restore to him his golden throne; but never performed his promise. He invited to a conference all the neighbouring kings, and many of them complied with the invitation, *viz. Malasses* king of the *Lazi*, *Resmagas* king of the *Abasgi*, *Spadages* king of the *Sauni* or *Sauniges*, *Staquimsan* king of the *Zydretæ*. The territories of these princes lay partly east, partly north, of the *Euxine* sea. Besides

b these, several other petty kings came to wait upon *Adrian*, and were by him entertained with great pomp and magnificence, and loaded with rich presents upon their departure. The *Bactrian* princes did not come, but sent embassadors to conclude an alliance with the people of *Rome*. The kings of *Albania* and *Iberia* neither sent embassadors, nor came in person; which they repented when they understood how the others had been received and entertained [f]. In *Syria* he went up to the top of mount *Casius* in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, to observe from thence the rising sun, and to offer a sacrifice to *Jupiter*, who was worshipped upon that mountain; but he was there overtaken by a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which fell both upon the priest and the victim [g]. From *Syria* he passed into *Palestine* and *Arabia*, and from thence into *Egypt* [h]. It is observed in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, that the famous

c colossus of *Rhodes* shook this year, the fourteenth of *Adrian*'s reign, for the first time [i].

The next year, *Servius Octavius Lænus Pontianus* and *M. Antoninus Rufinus* were consuls. During their administration, *Salvius Julianus*, one of the most learned civilians of his age, compiled, by the emperor's command, the *perpetual edict*, containing all the laws which had been yearly published by the prætors in their edicts. This collection was called the *edictum perpetuum*, because it was to continue in force for ever, to be as a body of standing laws, to prevent the great confusion occasioned by the new edicts, and to serve as a guide and rule in the administration of justice throughout the whole empire [k]. *Adrian* continued in *Egypt* all this and the following

d year, when *Augurinus* and *Sergianus* were consuls. At *Pelusium* he visited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*; and finding it almost intirely demolished, he ordered it to be repaired at his own expence [l], and performed the usual ceremonies in honour of the deceased hero. He disliked the fickle, turbulent, and satirical temper of the *Egyptians*, especially of the *Alexandrians*. In a letter which he wrote to *Servianus* his brother-in-law, he tells him, that the *Christians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Jews* of that country were always ready to change their religion, because they all adored one and the same god, their own interest; and adds, that they all superstitiously observed the motion and aspects of the stars, and pretended to be skilled in divination [m]. He speaks of a patriarch, who now-and-then visited *Egypt*, meaning, no doubt, the patriarch of the

e *Jews* [n]. He concludes with this observation, that at *Alexandria* no one was suffered to be idle; insomuch, that even those who were blind followed some profession [o]. That city had, it seems, forfeited many of its ancient privileges, probably on account of some sedition; for St. *Jerom* tells us, that it was almost intirely ruined by the *Romans* [p]; but *Adrian* not only repaired both the public and private buildings, and restored to the inhabitants their former privileges, but heaped new favours upon them; for which they returned him solemn thanks, and conferred upon him what honours they could. But this sense of gratitude was not in them long-lived; for he no sooner left their city, than they published most bitter and virulent lampoons against him and his favourites. In the palace at *Alexandria*, which took up the third

f part of the city, one quarter was consecrated to the muses and sciences, and thence called the *Museum*. There were lodged and entertained at the expence of the public men of learning, divided into several companies or colleges, according to the different sciences and sects which they professed. They were all under one head, who was named by the emperor, and honoured with the title of *pontiff*. This institution is generally ascribed to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, who placed there his famous library. The emperor *Claudius* to the antient museum added a new one, with large revenues.

Adrian *returns to* Asia.

And there confers with the eastern kings.

He visits Palestine, Arabia, *and* Egypt.

The edictum perpetuum.

He dislikes the satirical temper of the Alexandrians.

He repairs the city of Alexandria, *and restores to the* Alexandrians *their ancient privileges.*

[e] Dio, p. 789. [f] Spart. p. 27. Arrian. in perip. Pont. p 7. [g] Slart. p. 7. [h] Dio, p. 792. [i] Chron. Alexand. p. 598. [k] Vide Voburg. hist. Roman. Germanic. tit. i. p. 401. Francofurt. 1645. [l] Dio, p. 792. Spart. 7. [m] Vopisc. vit. Sat. p. 245. [n] Vide Pears. de Ignat. c. 2. & Vopisc. ibid. [o] Vopisc. ibid. [p] Hier. chron.

revenues. In the muſeum were always perſons eminent in all the branches of literature, and it was by the learned deemed a great honour to be admitted into this ſociety, or, as it is ſometimes expreſſed, to this table. This diſtinction *Adrian* granted to *Dionyſius* the ſophiſt, whom he greatly eſteemed, and to an *Egyptian* poet, named *Pancrates* [q]. *Adrian* did not fail viſiting this place, and converſing with the moſt eminent men of that learned ſociety: he examined them, and ſuffered himſelf to be by them examined, aſking them many queſtions, and anſwering thoſe which they propoſed to him [r]. The emperor *Caracalla* ſuppreſſed this ſociety in the year 216 [s]; but it was afterwards re-eſtabliſhed, and ſubſiſted till the civil wars in the time of *Aurelian*, when that quarter, named *Bruchium*, was utterly demoliſhed [t]; inſomuch, that about the latter end of the fourth century, it was quite deſerted, and at ſome diſtance from the city [u]. *Adrian* from *Egypt* paſſed into *Libya Cyrenaica*, where he killed (for he took great pleaſure in hunting) a lion of a monſtrous ſize, which had committed great ravages in that country, and even unpeopled ſome parts of it [w]. What moſt of all rendered *Adrian*'s journey into *Egypt* remarkable, was the death of *Antinous*, a beautiful youth, greatly beloved by a prince addicted to the moſt unnatural pleaſures. He fell accidentally into the *Nile*, as he was ſailing on that river with the emperor, and was drowned. This is the account which *Adrian* himſelf gave of his death. But *Dion Caſſius* aſſures us, that the emperor, who had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of magic, being, by the falſe and execrable principles of that art, miſled into a belief, that he ſhould prolong his life by ſacrificing a human victim to the infernal gods, was obliged to accept of the tender which *Antinous* made him of his life, all the reſt preferring their own ſafety to the emperor's. *Adrian* would by choice have rather ſacrificed his deareſt friends, than his beloved catamite; but as no conſtraint was to be uſed, and none of them cared to prolong the emperor's life at the expence of their own, the offer of *Antinous* was accepted, and he ſacrificed [x]. Be that as it will, the emperor bewailed him, ſays *Spartian* [y], with all the tenderneſs and weakneſs of a woman lamenting the death of her huſband. To allay in ſome meaſure his grief, he deſired the *Greeks* to rank him amongſt the gods; which they did accordingly: ſo that in a ſhort time all the eaſtern provinces were filled with ſtatues, temples, and chapels conſecrated to this new divinity. At *Mantinea* in *Arcadia* a magnificent temple was erected to him by *Adrian*, ſolemn ſports inſtituted, and prieſts appointed to offer victims in honour of the deified pathic [z]. It was even pretended, that he uttered oracles; but his anſwers were commonly thought to have been compoſed by *Adrian* [a]. The aſtrologers, having diſcovered, or pretended to diſcover, a new ſtar, gave out, that it was *Antinous* [b]. The deifying of *Antinous*, and the ſacrilegious worſhip paid him, was made uſe of by the chriſtian writers as an argument to impugn the divinity of the other gods, who were more antient, but had no better claim to their godhead, than the infamous *Antinous*, and to expoſe the pagan religion. This argument we find wonderfully handled by *Juſtin* the martyr, who was converted about this time to the chriſtian religion, and likewiſe by *Hegeſippus*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, *Tertullian*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and *Origen*. *Adrian* cauſed the body of *Antinous* to be buried with the utmoſt magnificence, built a city in that place, and changed his tomb into a temple, where he was ſaid to work miracles [c]; which we find expoſed and ridiculed by the pagans themſelves.

He viſits the muſeum.

He paſſes into Lybia Cyrenaica.

The death of Antinous, *ſuppoſed to have been ſacrificed by him.*

He is ranked among the gods.

Adrian *returns to* Syria.

The following year, when *Hiberus* and *Siſenna* were conſuls, *Adrian* left *Egypt*, and returned to *Syria*, where he paſſed this and the following year, and honoured *Servianus* his brother-in-law with a third conſulſhip, and gave him *C. Vibius Juventius Varus* for his collegue. While *Servianus* was conſul, the emperor wrote a letter to him, giving him an account of the ſtate of *Egypt*, and of *Alexandria* its metropolis [d]. At the ſame time, he ſent ſome preſents, both to him and his wife *Paulina*, the emperor's ſiſter, who died ſoon after. As *Adrian* conferred no extraordinary honours upon her after her death, the *Roman* ſenate and people were the more diſpleaſed with thoſe he had beſtowed upon *Antinous* [e]. Early in the ſpring, he left *Syria*, in order to return to *Italy*; but made a long ſtay at *Athens*, after having viſited *Thrace* and *Macedon*. During his ſtay at *Athens*, the *Jews* revolted, provoked chiefly, ſays *Dion*

Viſits Thrace *and* Macedon *and returns to* Athens.

[q] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793, 794. Ammian. l. xxii. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 873. Athen. l. vi. & xxvi. [r] Spart. p. 10. [s] Dio, ibid. p. 873. [t] Ammian l: xxii. [u] Vide Casaub. in Span. p. 36. [w] Athen. l. xv. p. 677. [x] Dio, l. lxix. p. 793. [y] Spart. p. 7. [z] Dio, ibid. Spart. p. 8. Spanh. l. vii. p. 652—657. [a] Spart. p. 7 Dio, ibid. [b] Dio, ibid. [c] Origen in Celſ. l. iii. p. 132. [d] Vopisc. vit. Sat. p. 245. [e] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 714.

a *Dion Caſſius* [f], at *Adrian*'s ſending a *Roman* colony to *Jeruſalem*; at his calling that city, after the name of his family, *Ælia Capitolina*, and his erecting a temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus* in the place where the ancient temple ſtood. *Spartian* tells us, that *Adrian* publiſhed an edict, forbidding them to be circumciſed; which prompted them to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty. Be that as it will, *Adrian* had no ſooner left *Syria*, than they openly revolted, under the conduct of one *Barcoquebas*, whom St. *Jerom* calls *Coquebas* and *Coquibus* [g]; but his true name was, as *Scaliger* informs us, upon the authority of the rabbies [h], *Cozeb*, that is, *Liar*, or *Barcozebas*, that is, *the ſon of a lye*; but being aſhamed of that name, he called himſelf *Coquebas*, which imports *a ſtar*, or *Barcoquebas*, ſignifying *the ſon of a ſtar*; for to him-

b ſelf he applied the prophecy of the *ſtar* which was to go forth out of *Jacob*, and pretended to be the promiſed Meſſiah [i]. The *Jews* flocked to him from all parts, appointed him their king, and looked upon him as the deliverer and reſtorer of their nation [k]. He over-ran all *Judæa* and *Syria*, committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages, and exerting his cruelty chiefly againſt the chriſtians, whom he put to moſt exquiſite torments, in order to oblige them to blaſpheme Chriſt, and join him againſt the *Romans* [l]. *Tinius*, or *Tinnius Rufus*, who had been formerly governor of *Thrace*, as appears from ſome medals [m], and commanded at that time in *Judæa*, being reinforced with ſome troops, which *Adrian* ſent him upon the firſt notice of the revolt, fell upon the rebellious *Jews*, and, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put all to the

c ſword who fell into his hands. The *Jews* at firſt durſt not appear in the open field; but either kept within the ſtrong-holds which they had ſeized, or concealed themſelves in caves, which for that purpoſe they had dug to an incredible depth, ſallying from thence, and often ſurpriſing the *Romans* with great ſlaughter. However, *Adrian* ſeemed to deſpiſe them, till being joined by an infinite number of *Jews* from moſt provinces of the empire, and by many others who were not of that religion, but hoped to inrich themſelves with plunder, they became formidable. Then the emperor, fearing a general inſurrection, diſpatched an expreſs to *Julius Severus*, governor of *Britain*, and the greateſt commander of his time, ordering him to leave that iſland, and haſten into *Paleſtine*, to take upon him the command of the *Roman* army

d there. *Severus*, upon his arrival, did not think it adviſeable to venture an engagement, the *Jews* being very numerous, and fighting, as he obſerved in ſome ſkirmiſhes, like men in deſpair. He therefore contented himſelf with intercepting their proviſions, ſtraitening their quarters, and cutting off the parties which they ſent out to forage. By this means he did not doubt, but he would reduce them at laſt to ſubmit, without any conſiderable loſs on his ſide [n]. *Tinnius Rufus* commanded under him; for to him chiefly is aſcribed, by St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius*, the glory of having intirely reduced the rebels [o]. The *Jews* made themſelves maſters of *Jeruſalem*, after having driven out, or rather maſſacred, the *Romans* who had ſettled there by the emperor's orders. But *Severus* beſieged it anew, took the place, and laid it in aſhes, as we read

e in St. *Jerom* [p], *Euſebius* [q], *Chryſoſtom* [r], and *Appian* [s], who lived at this time. If credit is to be given to the tradition of the *Jews*, *Turanus Rufus*, or rather *Tinnius Rufus*, cauſed the ground where the temple had ſtood to be ploughed up; which, among the *Romans*, was a mark of the greateſt ignominy, and utter deſolation, no one being, according to their laws, allowed to build, without an expreſs decree of the ſenate, in places were that inauſpicious ceremony had been performed [t]. The taking and razing of *Jeruſalem* under *Adrian* happened, according to St. *Jerom* [u], in the month of *Auguſt*, the twentieth year of that prince's reign, and 136. of the chriſtian æra. The *Romans* were more vigorouſly oppoſed by the *Jews* in *Bittber* or *Bether*, a ſtrong city at a ſmall diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, than in any other place. As great numbers

f of *Jews* had retired to that place, and the ſiege laſted a long time, the beſieged were reduced to the utmoſt extremity, for want of proviſions. At length, moſt of them being ſtarved to death, and the reſt no longer able to manage their arms, the place was taken, ſays St. *Jerom*, the ſame day on which *Jeruſalem* had been reduced by *Nebuchadonoſor*, and the temple burnt by *Titus* ſixty-five years before [w]. The reduc-

And commits dreadful ravages.

Julius Severus, *governor of* Britain, *ſent againſt them.*

The Jews *make themſelves maſters of* Jeruſalem, *which is beſieged anew, taken, and laid in aſhes.*

Bether *taken.*

tion

[f] Dio, l. lxix. p. 793. [g] Hier. in Dan. [h] Scalig. in chron. Euſeb. [i] Euseb. l. iv. c. 6. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Just. apol. ii, p. 72. Sulp. l. ii. p 148. [m] Noris epiſt. conſul. p. 399. [n] Dio, p. 793, 794. [o] Hier. in Dan. Euseb in chron. [p] Hier. in chron. ann. 124. in Joel i. p 55 in Jer. xxxi. p. 342. in Dan. ix. p. 595. in Ez. v. 390. [q] Euseb. l. i. c. 38. l. iii. c. 5. l vi. c. 18. [r] Chrys. c. 1. hom. 3. [s] Appian. Syr. p. 83. [t] Vide Scal. iſag. l. iii. [u] Hier. in Zach. viii. p. 262. [w] Idem ibid.

tion of *Bether* did not put an end to the war, which was, according to *Dion Caſſius*, a long and troubleſome [x]. It laſted, according to the *Jewiſh* tradition, three years and a half [y], according to St. *Jerom* [z], two or three years, and was ended by a complete victory, which the *Romans* gained over the *Jews*, *Barcoquebas* their leader being taken priſoner [a], and, no doubt, puniſhed according to his deſerts. In the courſe of this war the *Romans* demoliſhed fifty caſtles of great ſtrength, nine hundred and eighty-five towns, and killed, in battle, ſkirmiſhes, and ſieges, five hundred and eighty thouſand men; for thoſe who periſhed by famine, fire, and diſtempers, are almoſt without number [b]. The *Romans* too loſt many of their beſt troops, notwithſtanding the great caution uſed by *Severus* and the other generals; inſomuch, that *Adrian*, in the letter which he wrote to the ſenate acquainting them with the laſt victory, omitted the expreſſion uſed by other emperors and commanders, *If you and your children are well, I and the army are well* [c]. Of the *Jews* who outlived this ſecond general maſſacre of their nation, incredible numbers were ſold at the ſame price as horſes in a famous fair called the fair of *Terebinthus*, or of the *Turpentine-tree* [d]; which was on that account ever after abhorred by the *Jews* [e]. St. *Jerom* tells us, that a great fair was yearly held at the tent of *Abraham* [f], which ſome writers take to be the fair mentioned here; for in the valley of *Mamre* near *Hebron*, where that patriarch pitched his tent, and received the three angels, there was in the fourth century, as *Euſebius* informs us [g], a turpentine tree, which the natives of the place pretended to have ſtood there from the beginning of the world. The *Jews*, who were not ſold at the fair of *Terebinthus*, were carried to *Gaza*, and there expoſed to ſale at another fair eſtabliſhed by *Adrian*, and thence called after his name [h]. Such as were not diſpoſed of in *Paleſtine*, were tranſported to *Egypt*, where they periſhed either by famine, or were maſſacred by the inhabitants, who, as we have often obſerved, bore them an irreconcileable hatred [i]. The *Jews* were by ſeveral preſages forewarned of this dreadful calamity, among which the moſt remarkable was the falling of the ſepulchre of *Solomon*, which was held by them in great veneration, and fell a little before this war broke out [k]. When the war was ended, *Adrian* publiſhed an edict, which was confirmed by the ſenate, and hung up in all public places, forbidding all *Jews*, on pain of death, to ſet foot in *Jeruſalem*, to approach that city, or any place whence it could be ſeen [l]. St. *Jerom* [m] and *Tertullian* [n] extend this decree to all *Judæa*; which ſeems to have been the opinion of the *Jews* themſelves, for in their calendar is marked a faſt, inſtituted, as is ſaid there, on account of the decree, by which their forefathers were forbidden to ſet foot in the land of *Judæa* [o]. This faſt is marked on the ninth of their fifth month, called by them *Ab*, and anſwering part of our *Auguſt*. But, on the other hand, *Clement* of *Alexandria* tells us, that he ſtudied in *Paleſtine* under one who was of *Jewiſh* extraction [p]; and it is manifeſt from *Origen* [q], that in the third century there were *Jews* in *Paleſtine*; and from *Epiphanius*, that, in the reign of *Conſtantine*, their patriarch reſided at *Tiberias* [r]. St. *Auſtin* [s] likewiſe and St. *Hilarius* [t] tell us, that they were excluded from *Jeruſalem*, but not from the other cities of *Paleſtine*. *Julian* the apoſtate, out of hatred to the chriſtians, countenanced the *Jews*; whence in his reign they undertook the rebuilding of their temple. But the ſucceeding emperors renewed the prohibition of *Adrian*, allowing, however, the *Jews*, upon their paying a conſiderable ſum, to enter, or rather approach, the city once a year; that is, on the day in which it had been deſtroyed and laid in aſhes by the *Romans* [u]. They were then ſuffered to bewail their misfortunes, and to be eye-witneſſes, ſays St. *Jerom* [w], of the accompliſhment of the prophecies. From the *Itinerarium Burdigalenſe*, which is ſuppoſed to have been written before the time of *Julian* the apoſtate, about the year 333. we learn, that on this occaſion they aſſembled chiefly in the place where the temple had formerly ſtood, and there performed certain ceremonies altogether idolatrous [x]. Thus all the attempts of that perfidious nation, towards the recovery of their former condition, ſerved only to heighten and aggravate thoſe calamities, with which they had been ſo often threatened by the prophets, and to reduce them to the deplorable

The Jews *utterly defeated*

The Jews *who outlived the ſlaughter, ſold for ſlaves.*

All Jews *forbidden, on pain of death, to ſet foot in* Jeruſalem.

They are afterwards allowed to viſit Jeruſalem *once a year.*

[x] Dio, p. 793. [y] Vide Scalig. ibid. [z] Hier. in Dan. v. p. 592. [a] Euseb. l. iv. c. 6. [b] Dio, p. 794. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Hier. in Jer. xxxi. p. 342. Chron. Alexan. p. 596. [e] Hier. in Zac. xi. p. 272. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Euseb. chron. p. 209. & demonſtr. evang. l. v. c 9. [h] Chron. Alexan. p. 596. [i] Dio, l. lxix. p. 794. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Euseb. l. iv. c. 6. Hier. in Iſ. vi. p. 36. Just. apol. ii. p. 84. Tertul. apol. c. 21. [m] Hier. in Dan. ix. p. 595. [n] Tertul. ibid. [o] Scalig. iſag. l. i. c. 6. [p] Clem. ſtrom. i. [q] Orig. ad Afric. p. 244. [r] Epiphan. l. xxxii. c. 4. [s] Aug. civit. Dei l. xvi. c. 21. [t] Hilar. in pſal. xlviii. [u] Orig. in Joſuah. xvii. Nazian. orat. xii. Hier. in ſoph. i. [w] Hier. ibid. [x] Itin. Burdeg. p. 43.

a a deplorable ſtate in which we now ſee them; being a crew of contemptible vagabonds diſperſed all over the world, without king, temple, or pontiff; driven from their own country, and not daring to ſet foot in it even as paſſengers and ſtrangers. The edict of *Adrian*, excluding all *Jews* from *Jeruſalem*, extended to ſuch of them as had embraced the chriſtian religion; ſo that they too being obliged to quit that city, the church was by that means delivered from the ſervitude of the law; for, till that time, not only the biſhops of *Jeruſalem* had been choſen from among the circumciſed chriſtians, but all the converted *Jews* joined to the obſervance of the goſpel that of the law. When the *Jews* were baniſhed *Jeruſalem*, the church began to be compoſed only of converted *Gentiles*; and before the death of *Adrian*, which b happened in 138. St. *Mark*, who was one of them, was appointed biſhop of that city, and ſucceeded by *Caſſianus* in the nineteenth year of *Antoninus*'s reign, and 156. of the chriſtian æra [b]. The *Jews* being thus driven out of *Jeruſalem*, that city began to be peopled only by *Gentiles*, and by another *Roman* colony, which *Adrian* ſent thither after the war. Upon the ruins and aſhes of that ancient city, the emperor built a new one, giving it, as we have obſerved above, the name of *Ælia Capitolina* [c]; by which means the ancient name of *Jeruſalem* was for ſome ages ſo intirely forgotten, that a martyr ſaying, when he was examined at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, that he was a native of *Jeruſalem*, neither the governor of the province, nor any who were preſent, could conceive what city he meant [d]. *Euſebius*, *Athanaſius*, *Hilarius*, e and other fathers, tell us, that *Jeruſalem* was no more; and truly that which *Adrian* built, was quite different from the ancient city, as to its inhabitants and buildings, and in ſome meaſure as to its ſituation; for it extended more to the north, and took in mount *Calvary* and our Saviour's ſepulchre; and leſs to the ſouth; for about the middle of the fourth century, the celebrated mount *Sion*, formerly the place where the prieſts reſided and the doctors of the law, was quite uninhabited, cultivated like an open field, and planted with citruls, (as had been in expreſs terms foretold by *Iſaiah*) and other greens [e]. The temple lay in ruins, and the place where it ſtood was covered with a wood. The other quarters of *Jeruſalem*, which *Adrian* had not compriſed within the precincts of his new city, were filled with ruins; and thence d were taken ſtones and other materials both for public and private buildings. At the ſight of theſe ruins, infinite numbers of perſons of all ranks, ſays *Euſebius*, embraced the chriſtian religion, ſeeing evidently fulfilled in them our Saviour's predictions touching *Jeruſalem* [f]. The name of *Ælia* ſtill obtained in the time of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and long after, in all the public acts and regiſters; but by the chriſtians the city was ſtill named *Jeruſalem*, eſpecially after *Conſtantine*'s time. *Adrian* in his new city erected a theatre and ſeveral temples, employing for that purpoſe the ſtones of the temple and ſanctuary of the *Jews*. Two ſtatues of the emperor, and others of the gods, were erected in the place where the temple had ſtood, and over the gate which led to *Bethleem*, one of marble, repreſenting a hog, to ſignify the utter reduction and e ſervitude of the *Jewiſh* nation [g].

Jeruſalem *rebuilt by* Adrian, *and named* Ælia Capitolina.

A theatre and ſeveral temples erected in the new city.

Dion Caſſius, after having deſcribed the war which *Adrian* waged with the *Jews*, ſpeaks of another which broke out about the ſame time with the *Alani* or *Maſſagetæ*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who, under the conduct of *Pharaſmanes* their king, committed dreadful ravages in *Media*, entered *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*; but ſoon withdrew from thence, not caring to encounter *Flavius Arrianus* governor of that province, who was preparing to meet them [h]. The inſtructions given by *Arrian* concerning the march of the *Roman* army againſt the *Alani*, and the order to be obſerved in the battle, which, it was thought, would enſue, have reached our times [i]. The *Roman* army conſiſted, as appears from theſe inſtructions, of troops from various f nations, commanded by one *Xenophon*, who, no doubt, ſerved under *Arrian* governor of the province, ſince *Arrian* directs him how he is to conduct himſelf both in the march and battle. We have a deſcription of the *Euxine* ſea by *Arrian*, probably the governor of *Cappadocia*, addreſſed by way of a letter to *Adrian*. The author begins his relation with his arrival at *Trèbizond*, where, by the emperor's orders, a temple was then building in honour of *Mercury*. He imbarqued at *Trebizond*, in order to view the eaſtern coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea; which he did accordingly, viſiting

The Alani *invade the provinces of the empire.*

Arrian's *deſcription of the* Euxine *ſea.*

[b] Euseb. l. iv. c. 6. & l. v. c. 12. [c] Dio, l. lx. p. 793. Euseb. l. iv. c. 6. [d] Euseb. de pal. c. 11. [e] Euseb. dem. evang. l. vi. c. 13. & l. viii. c. 3. Cyr. cat. xvi. Iter. Burdig. [f] Euseb. dem. evang. l. viii. c. 3. [g] Chron. Alexand. p. 598. Euseb. ibid. Iter Burdig. p. 43. [h] Dio, l. lxix. p. 794. [i] Arrian. mandat. in Alan. Upſaliæ, ann. 1664.

viſiting every-where the *Roman* gariſons; obliging the ſoldiers to perform their military exerciſes before him; paying them their arrears, *&c.* and acquainting the emperor with the ſtate of each gariſon [i]. He ſailed by the mouth of the *Phaſis*, the waters of which river be obſerved ſwimming a long time, on account of their lightneſs, upon thoſe of the ſea. At the mouth of the *Phaſis* ſtood a caſtle gariſoned by four hundred *Roman* ſoldiers, and a town inhabited by ſome veterans and ſea-faring men; which, for the greater ſecurity of the place, he ſtrengthened with a new ditch. He ended his voyage at *Sebaſtopolis*, the moſt diſtant city gariſoned by the *Romans*. Of all the barbarous nations, along whoſe coaſts he ſailed, the *Sanni*, called by *Xenophon* the *Drilli*, were the moſt fierce and warlike. They had then no king; and as they had formerly paid tribute to the *Romans*, *Arrian*, in his letter to the emperor, offers either to reduce them anew, or to extirpate the whole nation [k]. We are ſure he did not extirpate them; for we find them mentioned many ages after; neither are we told that he reduced them. To the account of his voyage along the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea, he adds a deſcription of the coaſts of *Aſia*, from *Byzantium* to *Trebizond*, and another of the country, from *Sebaſtopolis* to the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, and from thence to *Byzantium*, that the emperor might take what meaſures he thought proper, in caſe he deſigned to concern himſelf with the affairs of *Boſporus*, the king of that country, by name *Cotys*, being juſt then dead. From this relation it appears, that at this time a port was forming by the emperor's orders at *Trebizond* [l].

Adrian, in the mean time, continued at *Athens*, being mightily taken with the cuſtoms and learning of the *Athenians*. He was there admitted to the great myſteries of *Eleuſina*, different from thoſe in which he had been initiated ſome years before, and celebrated, according to *Euſebius* [m], the ſecond year of each olympiad; that is, every fourth year. He therefore had not left *Athens* in the beginning of the nineteenth year of his reign, which was the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the chriſtian æra, and the ſecond of the two hundred and twenty-eighth olympiad. As he had been created archon of *Athens* before he was emperor, he aſſumed the habit peculiar to that dignity, and, with the other magiſtrates, celebrated the great feſtival of *Bacchus*, diſtributing on that occaſion large ſums and an immenſe quantity of corn among the populace [n]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he ſubjected to *Athens* the whole iſland of *Cephalenia* [o]; but in an inſcription addreſſed to *Adrian Olympicus*, as he is there called, the city of *Pale* in that iſland ſtyles herſelf *autonomos*, that is, free, and governed by her own laws [p]. He embelliſhed the city of *Athens* with many ſtately buildings, eſpecially with a library of marvellous ſtructure. Theſe edifices had been by his orders begun before, but were finiſhed this year, and conſecrated by the emperor himſelf [q]. He likewiſe finiſhed the magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympius* [r], begun, according to *Philoſtratus* [s], five hundred and ſixty years before. In this temple he conſecrated an altar to himſelf, and ſuffered the *Greeks* to build and conſecrate a temple to him, which they called *Panellenion* [t], inſtituting on this occaſion annual ſports. In ſhort, he embelliſhed *Athens* with ſo many noble buildings, that he was looked upon as the ſecond founder of that city; whence one quarter of it was from him called *Adrianopolis*. Many monuments of his generoſity towards the *Athenians* are ſtill to be ſeen [u]. From a decree of this prince concerning the ſale of oil, produced by *Wheler*, it appears, that at this time all controverſies were determined at *Athens* by the ſenate and people aſſembled by the magiſtrates, with an appeal to the proconſul, or to the emperor [w]. The *Athenians* employed part of the money, with which he preſented them, in building a city in the iſland of *Delos*, which they called Adrian's *new* Athens *and* Olympia. The *Athenians* of *Delos* are mentioned in an inſcription ſtill to be ſeen at *Venice* [x]; but now remain only ſome ruins of this city, as well as of the many magnificent buildings, which by the ſuperſtitious pagans were erected in that iſland [z].

Adrian's generoſity to the Athenians.

His buildings there.

Adrian returns at length to Rome.

This year, the nineteenth of *Adrian*'s reign and the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the chriſtian æra, the emperor left *Athens*, and returned at length to *Rome*, *Lupercus Pontianus* and *Rufus Atilianus* being conſuls [a]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that in the ſhews which he exhibited ſoon after his arrival, the people preſſing him to declare free one

[i] Arrian. perip. pont. Euxin. p. 1, 2, 3. [k] Idem, p. 4—7. [l] Idem, p. 7—10. [m] Euseb. chron. p. 214. [n] Dio, p. 795. Spart. p. 9. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Vide Rein. inſcript. p. 335. [q] Hier. chron. Wheler's travels, p. 437. Spart. p. 7. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Philos. ſop. xxv. [t] Spart. cum not. Caſaub. p. 26. [u] Vide Wheler, p. 421—471. [w] Idem, p. 470. [x] Euseb. chron. p. 215. [y] Grut. p. 405, [z] Wheler, p. 93, &c. [a] Noris. epiſt. conſ.

a one of the charioteers of the circus, who belonged to a private perſon, he returned the following anſwer; It does not become the *Roman* people to beg of their emperor the liberty of one who does not belong to him, nor the emperor to oblige the perſon to whom he belongs to grant him it[b]. He had not been long in *Rome*, when embaſſadors arrived from *Vologeſes*, probably king of *Armenia*, with complaints againſt *Pharaſmanes* king of *Iberia*, and from the *Iazyges*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who were deſirous to have their ancient treaties with the people of *Rome* confirmed by the emperor. *Adrian* received them in a very obliging manner, conducted them to the ſenate, and there read to them an anſwer, which, at the requeſt of the ſenate, he had compoſed before-hand. *Pharaſmanes* came to *Rome* in perſon, with his wife and
b his ſon, to anſwer the complaints of *Vologeſes*, bringing with him rich preſents for *Adrian*, who repaid them with others far more valuable, and beſides preſented him with fifty elephants and five hundred choſen men, to ſerve him as a guard; inlarged his dominions; ſuffered him to ſacrifice in the capitol; cauſed an equeſtrian ſtatue to be erected to him; and aſſiſted in perſon at a military exerciſe performed by him, his ſon, and the chief men of his court[c]. Nevertheleſs, by a ſtrange whim, as we may call it, after ſo many preſents and ſuch extraordinary honours, he introduced into the amphitheatre three hundred criminals to be devoured by the wild beaſts, or to fight as gladiators, in the embroidered tunics with which *Pharaſmanes* had preſented him, as if they had been fit only for ſuch uſes[d]. But this, no doubt, happened after
c the departure of the *Iberian* prince. After *Adrian* had travelled, we may ſay, all over the known world, he fell into a lingering diſeaſe, attended with a frequent bleeding at the noſe, which the phyſicians of thoſe days aſcribed to his going conſtantly with his head uncovered in the greateſt colds, heats, ſhowers, *&c.* The loſs of blood, as he was ſtricken in years, was followed by a dropſy, from which, as he entertained no hopes of ever recovering, he began to think of a ſucceſſor; when ſeveral perſons of great merit occurred to him, namely, *Servianus*, who had married his ſiſter, and was now in the ninetieth year of his age; *Fuſcus* the grandſon of *Servianus*, and his own great-nephew; *Pletorius Nepos*, his ancient and intimate friend; and *Terentius Gentianus*, a man greatly beloved and eſteemed by the ſenate. Theſe
d he judged, among the great men of *Rome*, the moſt capable of the ſupreme power; but nevertheleſs neglecting them, nay, conceiving an irreconcileable hatred to them, for no other reaſon but becauſe they were equal to the empire, contrary to the expectation of all and the advice of his friends, he made choice of *L. Aurelius Annius Ceionius Commodus Verus*, for he is called by all theſe names, and *Adrian* added thoſe of *Ælius* and *Cæſar*. He was ſprung from an illuſtrious family, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; was endowed with many good qualities; had the port and air of a prince; was well verſed in moſt branches of learning, eſpecially in poetry; and thought rather not unfit for the empire, than equal to it. He was of a very weak and infirm conſtitution, and at the ſame time intirely addicted to lewd-
e neſs and debauchery; nay, it was commonly thought, that his beauty chiefly recommended him to *Adrian*, who is ſaid to have adopted him upon condition, that he ſhould conſent to his ſatisfying the paſſion which he had conceived for him. But what paſſed between them on this occaſion was never well known, ſays *Spartian*[e], both *Adrian* and *Verus* having bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to keep it ſecret. The adoption of *Verus* occaſioned great rejoicings in *Rome*. *Adrian* gave a largeſs to the people; diſtributed three thouſand ſeſterces amongſt the ſoldiery; exhibited games in the circus, combats of gladiators, *&c.* But as the new *Cæſar*'s weakneſs daily increaſed, and he began to vomit blood, *Adrian* ſoon repented his choice, telling the
f captain of his guards, That he had placed his hopes and ſupport in a falling wall; that he had loſt the four thouſand ſeſterces which he had diſtributed amongſt the people and ſoldiery; and adopted not a ſon, but a god, alluding to the cuſtom which obtained among the *Romans* of deifying their emperors and *Cæſars*. Theſe words being told by the captain of the guards to others, came at length to the ears of *Verus*, and ſo ſenſibly affected him, that they are thought to have greatly contributed to his death, which happened in the beginning of the following year, as we ſhall relate anon. The captain of the guards was immediately diſcharged and baniſhed the court. *Verus*, a few days after his adoption, was created prætor, and ſent to govern the province of *Pannonia*; in which employment he acquitted himſelf with

Where he receives Pharaſmanes *king of* Iberia.

He falls into a lingering diſeaſe.

Begins to think of a ſucceſſor.

He adopts Commodus Verus.

His character.

Adrian *repents his choice.*

Verus *is ſent into* Pannonia.

[b] Dio, p. 795. [c] Idem, p. 794. [d] Spart. p 9. [e] Spart. in Æl. Ver. p. 14.

with reputation, and ſhewed himſelf well qualified for the command of an army. a
In an inſcription of the following year, the twenty-firſt of *Adrian*'s reign, he is
ſtyled *imperator*[f]; whence we may conclude, if there is not ſome miſtake in the in-
ſcription, as father *Pagi* pretends[g], that he waged war in thoſe parts; of which,
however, no mention is made by hiſtorians.

The following year *Adrian* raiſed to the conſulſhip his adopted ſon *Verus*, and
gave him for his collegue *Sex. Vetulenus Civica Pompeianus*, whoſe ſiſter *Verus* had
married[h]. This year *Adrian* retired to *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, where he employed his
Adrian *retires to* Tivoli. time in building a magnificent villa[i], the ſtately ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen in
the poſſeſſion of the *Roman* jeſuits at a ſmall diſtance from *Tivoli*. *Aurelius Victor* tells
us, that in his retreat he abandoned himſelf, as *Tiberius* had done formerly at *Capreæ*, b
to all manner of lewdneſs; but he was ſoon ſeized with a bloody flux, which reduced
him to a miſerable condition. In that ſtate, abandoning himſelf to his natural cruelty,
Abandons himſelf to cruelty, ordering ſeveral illuſtrious perſons to be put to death. which till then he had reſtrained, he ordered many illuſtrious perſons, under various
pretences, to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered. Among
the former were *Servianus*, his brother-in-law and his great-nephew *Fuſcus*, who, he
pretended, had formed a deſign of ſeizing the empire. *Fuſcus* was but eighteen,
and *Servianus* ninety. We are told, that the latter, before he was executed, called
the gods to witneſs his innocence, and begged of them that they would puniſh the
cruelty and injuſtice of *Adrian*, by reducing him to ſuch a ſtate, that he ſhould wiſh
for death, and not have it in his power to die; which happened accordingly, as we c
ſhall relate anon[k]. To palliate his cruelty, to which he had, ſays *Spartian*, a great
biaſs, he uſed to lament the unfortunate condition of princes, whoſe lives, he ſaid,
were never thought to have been in danger till they were killed[l]. But for this ſaying,
which we do not ever find to have been uſed by any good prince, he was indebted to
Domitian. The following year, *Ælius Verus Cæſar* was conſul, the ſecond time, with
P. Cælius Balbinus Vibullius Pius, who had been raiſed by *Adrian* to the rank of a
patrician, and was one of the anceſtors of *Cælius Balbinus*, whom we ſhall ſee pre-
ferred to the empire in the year 237. that is, a hundred years after[m]. This year, the
Jewiſh war being ended, *Julius Severus*, who had utterly reduced that rebellious
nation, was appointed governor of *Bithynia*, where he behaved with ſuch juſtice and d
moderation, having nothing in view but the welfare and happineſs of the people com-
mitted to his charge, that his name was famous in that province a hundred years
after and upwards[n]. The next conſuls were *Camerinus* and *Niger*[o]. In the begin-
ning of this year *Verus*, who had ſpent part of the preceding year in *Pannonia*, being
returned to *Rome*, and finding himſelf greatly indiſpoſed, took a medicine, which
Verus *dies, and is ranked among the gods.* proving too ſtrong for him, he fell into a ſleep, and died the very day in which he
was to return thanks to the emperor for the honour he had done him. The ſpeech
which he had prepared for this purpoſe is commended by *Spartian*, in whoſe time it
was ſtill extant[p]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that he was carried off by a violent voiding
of blood[q]. His funeral was performed with the utmoſt pomp and grandeur, and his e
aſhes depoſited in the ſtately mauſoleum, which *Adrian* had begun for himſelf. The
emperor cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and in ſeveral cities ordered
His debaucheries. temples to be built and ſtatues erected to him[r]. He was, as we have hinted above,
extremely addicted to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, and paſſed moſt of his time in the
company of lewd women; which his wife reſenting, he uſed to tell her, that *wife*
was a name of honour, not of pleaſure. He had always in his hands, and even in
bed with him, *Ovid*'s book of love, together with *Martial* the epigrammatiſt, whom
he uſed to call his *Virgil*. When he travelled, he was attended by a great many domeſ-
tics, who ran by his chariot, with wings to their cloaths, attired like ſo many *Cupids*,
and called by the names of the winds, *Boreas*, *Notus*, *Aquilo*, *Circius*, &c. He had f
married the daughter of *Nigrinus*, whom *Adrian* put to death in the beginning of his
reign, as we have related above, and had by her a ſon named *L. Verus*, whom we
ſhall ſoon ſee raiſed to the throne with *Marcus Aurelius*, and ſeveral daughters, of
whom one was by *Adrian* betrothed to *Marcus Aurelius*, who nevertheleſs did not
marry her. This daughter is thought to be that *Fabia*, who is but too famous in
hiſtory. *Verus* being dead, *Adrian* was ſome time in ſuſpence whom he ſhould chuſe
in

[f] Gruter. p. 23. [g] Pagi, p. 137. [h] Noris. epiſt. conſ. p. 98. [i] Spart. p 13.
[k] Dio, p. 795. Spart. p. 12. [l] Spart. ibid. [m] Onuph. Idat. &c Gruter. p. 393.
[n] Dio, p. 793. [o] Idat. Prosper, &c. [p] Spart. p. 11. [q] Dio, p. 796. [r] Spart. in Vero.

in his room [s]; but at length ſeeing himſelf deſpiſed, ſays *Aurelius Victor* [t], on account
a of the weakneſs both of his body and mind, he declared his intention of adopting *Titus Antoninus*, upon condition, that he ſhould adopt *M. Annius Verus*, called afterwards *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*, the ſon of the deceaſed prince of that name. *Antoninus* having taken ſome time to deliberate, whether he ſhould accept of the adoption upon the terms propoſed by the emperor, in the end conſented to it; and was accordingly adopted with the uſual ceremonies, on the twenty-fifth of *February* of this year, the 137th of the chriſtian æra, and at the ſame time inveſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power [u]. Many were diſpleaſed with this adoption; but no one more than *Catilius Severus*, governor of *Rome*, who aſpired at the empire
b himſelf, and began privately to pave himſelf a way to it; but being diſcovered, he was deprived of his place, which was an employment for life. The empreſs *Sabina* died, it ſeems, after the adoption of *Antoninus*; for in an ancient inſcription he ſtyles her his mother [w]. She is thought either to have been poiſoned by *Adrian* [x], or ſo ill uſed, that ſhe choſe to lay violent hands on herſelf [y]. *Adrian* cauſed her to be ranked among the gods [z], not caring whether ſhe was in the ſupernal or infernal regions, provided he was no longer troubled with her bad humour, or pleaſed his own.

Adrian *adopts* Titus Antoninus.

Sabina Auguſta *dies.*

Adrian bore his diſtemper a long time with firmneſs and patience; but being in the end tormented with violent pains in each joint of his body, he had recourſe to
c magic, ſays *Dion Caſſius* [a], and by that means once diſcharged his body of the watery humour with which it was filled. But the humour being ſoon recruited, and his pains increaſing daily, he became in a manner furious, put ſeveral ſenators to death, and ordered *Antoninus* to take care, that ſeveral others, whom he named, were executed. But that good-natured prince warned them of their danger, and adviſed them to keep themſelves concealed; which they did accordingly, and were ſaved [b]. In the mean time, the emperor, deſirous to end his inſufferable pains with his life, often called for a dagger, and for poiſon, promiſing impunity, and a great reward, to ſuch as ſhould bring him either. But no one could, by any promiſes, be prevailed upon to contribute to his death. Having one day by chance found a dagger,
d he would have ſtabbed himſelf with it, had it not by one of his domeſtics been wreſted out of his hand. He then commanded his chief phyſician to give him poiſon: but he choſe rather to kill himſelf in his preſence, than obey his command [c]. He often conjured his moſt faithful freed-men to diſpatch him, and conſtrained a *Jazygian*, by name *Maſtor*, to promiſe it; but *Maſtor* fled, and never appeared till the emperor was dead. Another, whom he had obliged to make the ſame promiſe, haſtened to *Antoninus*, and acquainted him with it, who thereupon flew to the emperor's room attended by the captains of the guards, and beſought him to bear his illneſs, ſince it was unavoidable, with more patience and conſtancy; which ſo provoked him, that he commanded the perſon, who had diſcovered his deſign, to be put to
e death: but *Antoninus* ſaved him, and thenceforth narrowly watched the emperor night and day, ſaying, he ſhould think himſelf a parricide, if he neglected to preſerve his life as long as he could [d]. *Spartian* writes, that two blind perſons were reſtored to their ſight by *Adrian*, while in this condition; but at the ſame time owns, that *Marius Maximus*, who flouriſhed before him, looked upon the whole as a fiction and contrivance of *Antoninus*, to perſuade *Adrian*, that he would recover, and by that means divert him from laying violent hands on himſelf. One of theſe blind perſons was a woman, who, as ſhe gave out, had been admoniſhed in a dream to forbid *Adrian* to kill himſelf, becauſe he would one day recover; which ſhe neglecting to do, had been ſtruck blind, and ordered to return upon the ſame errand, having been
f firſt aſſured, that when ſhe had done it, and kiſſed *Adrian*'s feet, ſhe ſhould receive her ſight again. The woman complied with the heavenly admonition, and was accordingly cured, after having waſhed her eyes in the water of the temple of the place from whence ſhe came. The other was a blind man, who coming out of *Pannonia*, touched *Adrian*, and that inſtant received his ſight. The emperor was then in a violent fever, which is ſaid to have immediately abated [e]. From *Rome*, *Adrian* removed to *Baiæ* in *Campania*; and there neglecting the advice of his phyſicians,

Attempts to lay violent hands on himſelf.

Two ſuppoſed miracles.

Adrian *removes to* Baiæ.

[s] Spart. Ver. p. 16. [t] Adrian. vit. p. 11. [u] Julius Capitol. in vit. Antonin. p. 18.
[w] Onuph. p. 223. [x] Spart. p. 11. [y] Vict. epitome. [z] Birag. p. 185. [a] Dio, p. 797.
[b] Aur. Vict. in Adri. p. 12. Antonin. vita, p. 17. [c] Spart. p. 12. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem ibid.

ficians, and often ſaying, that a multitude of phyſicians ſerves only to diſpatch the ſooner a patient, he lived without any rule, choſe what food and drink he liked beſt, and by that means haſtened his death. He was convinced of the immortality of the ſoul, and ſeemed apprehenſive of its future ſtate, as appears from the celebrated verſes (B) which he compoſed and uttered a little before he expired, inquiring of his ſoul, *whither it deſigned to go?* He died at *Baiæ* on the tenth of *July*, after having lived ſixty-two years, five months, and ſeventeen days, and reigned twenty years and eleven months, wanting one day [f] (C). *Antoninus*, whom he had left at *Rome*, and ſent for when he found himſelf at the point of death, arrived according to *Spartian* [g], juſt before, according to others, ſoon after, he expired. His body was burnt at *Puteoli*, and his aſhes conveyed by *Antoninus* to *Rome*, where they were expoſed in the gardens of *Domitia*, and afterwards depoſited in the magnificent mauſoleum, which *Adrian* had built for himſelf near the *Tiber*, that of *Auguſtus* being quite full [h]. *Adrian* had, by the cruelties committed in the beginning and the end of his reign, provoked the public hatred to ſuch a degree, that the ſenate were for annulling all his acts, and calling ſeveral perſons to an account, who had raiſed themſelves by abuſing the intereſt they had with him. They therefore at firſt unanimouſly oppoſed *Antoninus*, demanding for him the ſame honours which had been decreed to other emperors [i]. But *Antoninus* remonſtrating with great modeſty, that they could not condemn the memory of *Adrian* without annulling his own adoption, and degrading him from the empire, the reſpect and veneration they all had for that prince, who added tears to his intreaties, inclined them at laſt to comply with his demands, eſpecially when they ſaw a great number of perſons appear, who were thought to have been murdered by *Adrian*, but had been ſaved and carefully concealed by *Antoninus* [k]. The ſenate dreaded likewiſe the ſoldiery, who were greatly attached to *Adrian* [l]. And thus a prince, abhorred by all as a cruel and bloody tyrant, was ranked among the gods, and divine worſhip decreed him. *Antoninus* built a temple at *Putcoli*, and inſtituted annual ſports to his honour, with prieſts, fraternities, victims, *&c* [m]. But what gave *Antoninus* a far better claim to the title of *pious*, was his interceding with the ſenate in behalf of thoſe who had been baniſhed by *Adrian*, and whom that prince, ſaid he, would have recalled, had he lived longer [n].

His death.

The ſenate are for annulling his acts;

But deify him, at the requeſt of Antoninus.

No prince, perhaps, ever raiſed ſo many public and private edifices as *Adrian*; for he built in moſt cities of any note, eſpecially at *Athens*; and *Greece*, as appears from *Pauſanias*, was full of his edifices, bridges, and aqueducts. In an ancient inſcription, mention is made of a famous aqueduct begun by him in *New Athens*, and ended by *Antoninus* in the third year of his reign and 140. of the chriſtian æra. By *New Athens* ſome underſtand a city of *Liguria*, others *New Athens* in the iſland of *Delos* [o]. At *Rome* he rebuilt the *Pantheon*, the temple of *Neptune*, the ſquare of *Auguſtus*,

Adrian's *publiſ works.*

[f] Idem ibid. Dio, p. 797. Eutrop. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Jul. Capit. in Anton. Dio, ibid. [i] Eutrop. Antonin vit. p. 18. [k] Aur. Vict. in Heliog. p. 103. [l] Dio, p. 799. [m] Spart. p. 17. [n] Anton. in vit. p. 19. [o] Vide Salmas. in Spart. p. 53.

(B) The verſes were;

Animula vagula, blandula,
Hoſpes, comeſque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca.
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
Nec, ut ſoles, dabis jocos.

Spartian ſeems to deſpiſe them, which ſhews, that he underſtood as little of poetry, as he did of hiſtory.

(C) Moſt writers agree, that *Adrian* began his reign on the eleventh of *Auguſt* 117, and that he died on the tenth of *July* 138, and conſequently reigned twenty years, and eleven months, wanting one day. But on the other hand, in ſome ancient inſcriptions is marked the twenty-ſecond year of his tribunitial power; which induced the learned *Dodwell* to maintain, as we have obſerved above, that *Adrian* was adopted by *Trajan* a year before that prince's death; and conſequently, that the account given by *Dion Caſſius* of his adoption ought so be looked upon as a mere fable. But cardinal *Noris* (57), *Petavius* (58), and F. *Pagi* (59), obſerve, that theſe inſcriptions were made in diſtant provinces, where the death of the emperor might not have been known a month after it had happened. Beſides, as only one month was wanting to the twenty-ſecond year of the emperor's tribunitial power, the author of the inſcription probably looked upon it as begun; whereof there are not wanting inſtances both in ancient times and our own. Cardinal *Noris*, miſled, as he himſelf owns, by theſe inſcriptions, maintained, that *Adrian* died in 139, but afterwards finding the arguments proving his death to have happened in 138, unanſwerable, he changed his opinion, and rejected the inſcriptions as faulty (60). *Dodwell* owns, that *Adrian* died in 138, but will have him to have been inveſted with the tribunitial power a year before the death of *Trajan*, contradicting therein all the ancients, who tell us, that he was adopted by that prince not long before he expired.

(56) *Nor. de cenotaph. Piſan. c.* 3. *p.* 86. (58) *Petav. doct. temp. l. xi. c.* 23. (59) *Pagi*, p. 35. (60) *Noris. ep. con. p.* 85.

a *Auguſtus*, the baths of *Agrippa*, and an infinite number of other public edifices, conſecrating them anew, but leaving them the names of their firſt founders [o]. His houſe at *Tivoli* was an extraordinary ſtructure, and adorned with fine paintings, repreſenting in one apartment the infernal regions. This palace he ſtyled his *Lycæum*, *Academia*, *Prytanæum*, *Canopus*, *Pœcile*, and *Tempe*, names of the moſt celebrated places abroad, and gave to the ſeveral apartments of it the names of the different provinces [p]. He built a new bridge over the *Tiber*, now known by the name of *Ponte Sant Angelo*, and near it his own mauſoleum [q], which, from the deſcription *Procopius* gives us of it [r], appears to have been rather a caſtle than a tomb. In the time of the emperor *Juſtinian* it was made uſe of as a caſtle, and is at preſent the b chief, we may ſay the only, fortreſs of *Rome*, called by the preſent *Romans Caſtel Sant Angelo*. *Spartian*, to give us ſome idea of the height of this lofty building, tells us, that the chariot placed on the top of it, ſeemed very ſmall to thoſe who ſtood on the ground; but nevertheleſs was of ſo large a ſize, that a corpulent man could with great eaſe paſs through the openings which repreſented the eyes of the horſes [s]. Many cities, either built, repaired, or peopled by *Adrian* with colonies, bore for ſome time his name, or that of his family, which was *Ælia*, viz. *Carthage*, *Jeruſalem*, two cities in *Spain*; *Murſa*, now *Eſſek*, in *Pannonia*; *Stratonice* in *Macedon*, *Palmyra* in *Syria*, *Neoceſaræa* in *Pontus*; *Adrianopolis* in *Thrace*, which ſtill retains it; *Adriane*, or *Adrianopolis*, in *Libya Cyrenaica*; *Antinopolis* in *Egypt*; called g alſo *Adrianopolis*; *Adrianothera* in *Myſia*, which ſtill retained that name in the fifth century; and *Adriane*, in the ſame province, the birth-place of *Ariſtides* the ſophyſt, which, however, ſome writers will have to be the ſame city with *Adrianothera* [t].

His houſe at Tivoli.

His bridge over the Tiber; *and mauſoleum.*

Many cities called by his name.

The regulations which *Adrian* eſtabliſhed for the preſervation of the diſcipline among the troops, were afterwards obſerved as the military laws of the *Romans*, and are often quoted by *Vegetius*. *Voſſius* is of opinion, that the books of *Mauritius*, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter, are a collection of the military conſtitutions of *Trajan* and *Adrian* [u]. *Adrian* was the firſt who appointed, that each cohort ſhould have its proper maſons, architects, and ſuch artificers as were employed in raiſing buildings, and adorning them [w]. The regulations which he d introduced, with reſpect to the army, to the court, and to the tribunals of juſtice, were ſtill obſerved in the end of the fourth century [x]. He was the firſt who employed *Roman* knights in quality of ſecretaries, and committed to them the care of his domeſtic affairs, other emperors having employed in ſuch offices only their freed-men [y]. *Gothofredus* ſuppoſes *Adrian* to have been the author of a new juriſprudence, eſpecially by his *perpetual edict*, which he ſtyles the fountain of all laws in force among the *Romans*, at leaſt till the publication of the *code* by *Theodoſius* the younger [z]. *Spartian* mentions ſome of the laws publiſhed by *Adrian*, namely, that the children of proſcribed perſons ſhould enjoy the twelfth part of their fathers eſtates; that if any one found a treaſure in his own grounds, it ſhould be intirely his; if in e thoſe of another, the owner of the ground ſhall have the moiety of it; if in any public place, it ſhall be equally ſhared with the exchequer: that ſuch as had ſquandered away their eſtates, ſhould be publicly whipt in the amphitheatre, and baniſhed the city: that men and women ſhould uſe ſeparate and diſtinct baths: that if a maſter ſhould be found killed in his houſe, not all his ſlaves ſhould be put to death; nay, that thoſe only ſhould be put to the queſtion, who were near enough to have prevented the murder: that maſters ſhould no longer have power of life and death over their ſlaves, but that ſuch ſlaves as deſerved to be capitally puniſhed, ſhould be tried and condemned by the magiſtrates [a]. *Porphyrius* informs us, upon the authority of *Pallas*, who wrote before his time, that *Adrian* publiſhed f an edict prohibiting all human ſacrifices, which were ſtill offered in ſeveral provinces of the empire [b]. However, this execrable cuſtom was afterwards revived, and obtained in *Africa*, where children continued to be immolated to *Saturn* till the time of the proconſul *Tiberius*, who cauſed the inhuman prieſts of that deity to be crucified on the trees, which formed the grove round his temple. Thoſe who executed the ſentence of the proconſul were ſtill living in the beginning of the third century, as we

His military inſtitutions.

His laws.

He forbids human ſacrifices.

[o] Spart. p. 8. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Dio, p. 797. [r] Procop. de bell. Goth. l. i. c. 22. [s] Spart. cum not. Salmaſ. p. 51. [t] Vide Salmas. ibid. [u] Voſſii epiſt. additæ ad Pearſon. Ignatiana, p. 234. [w] Victor. epit. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Spart. p. 11. [z] Gothofred. cod. Theodoſ. prol. p. 283. [a] Spart. cum not. Salmaſ. p. 52. [b] Porphyr. apud Euſeb. in triennal. Conſtantin. c. 16.

we read in *Tertullian*[e]; whence it is manifeſt, that *Tiberius* did not, as ſome have imagined, govern *Africa* in *Adrian*'s time. It appears from the ancient writers, that human ſacrifices were, notwithſtanding *Adrian*'s prohibition, immolated to *Diana* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and even in *Rome*, during the ſolemn myſteries, till the time of *Conſtantine*, or rather of *Gratian*, who utterly aboliſhed that execrable practice[d]. The *Romans* had on their eſtates what they called manufacturies, or work-houſes, where they kept great numbers of people, eſpecially ſlaves, at work. Theſe houſes were like ſo many priſons, whither maſters ſent ſuch of their ſlaves as had diſobliged them, and even kept them there in chains. Many, to avoid being liſted, or puniſhed for crimes they had committed, fled to theſe work-houſes, and were there kept concealed. Beſides, the owners of theſe manufacturies were thought to ſeize paſſengers and ſtrangers, whether ſlaves or freed-men, to ſhut them up in theſe houſes, and oblige them to work, without their ever being afterwards heard of. *Adrian* therefore, to obviate ſuch inconveniences and diſorders, put down all the work-houſes, except thoſe which belonged to the emperor or to the public[e]. *Onuphrius*[f] ſuppoſes *Adrian* to have made a new diviſion of the provinces of the empire, and is therein followed by the learned *Pietro Giannone* in his excellent hiſtory of the kingdom of *Naples*[g]; but the ancients only tell us, that *Adrian* divided all *Italy* into four diſtricts, which were by his appointment governed by four conſulars, thar is, ſenators who had been conſuls[h]. The diviſion of the provinces, which *Onuphrius* aſcribes to *Adrian*, was by him copied from *Feſtus*, who wrote in the time of *Valentinian* I. and none of the ancients ſpeak of any change made in the provinces by *Adrian*, except that which we have juſt now mentioned. That which *Onuphrius* ſuppoſes to be *Trajan*'s, ought, in our opinion, to be rather aſcribed to *Dioclefian*, who divided the empire, as we read in *Lactantius*[i], into innumerable provinces, in order to multiply offices and officers, and by that means keep the people in awe and terror. *Aulus Gellius* tells us[k], that in *Adrian*'s time, a woman of known modeſty and an unblemiſhed character, was brought to bed eleven months after her huſband's death. The legitimacy of the child being queſtioned by the heirs of the deceaſed, the cauſe was tried before the emperor, who, after having examined a great many unexceptionable witneſſes concerning the character of the woman, and with great care and attention conſulted the books of the ancient philoſophers and phyſicians, declared by a ſpecial decree, that a child might be born eleven months after its conception. *Aulus Gellius* aſſures us, that he himſelf had read this decree. In *Adrian*'s time a violent perſecution was raiſed againſt the chriſtians, which *Sulpicius Verus* accounts the fourth perſecution; but it is not generally reckoned ſo by the fathers of the church, ſince no new edicts were iſſued againſt the profeſſors of the chriſtian religion, but only the laws ſtill in force put in execution, *Adrian* being prompted by his ſuperſtition, (for he was initiated in all the idolatrous ceremonies of the *Greeks*) to countenance the perſecutors of thoſe who were declared enemies to all ſuperſtition[l]. But after the perſecution had raged for ſome time with great violence, *Adrian* himſelf put a ſtop to it, being, upon the peruſal of the apologies preſented to him by *Quadratus* and *Ariſtides*, fully convinced of the innocence of the chriſtians, and the purity of their morals[m]; nay, he was even thought, if *Lampridius* is to be credited[n], to have had a deſign of cauſing our Saviour to be acknowledged as God, and to erect temples to his honour; but was diverted from it by ſome perſons who, conſulting the oracles, had received this anſwer, That if he ſuffered the God of the chriſtians to have temples, thoſe of the other gods would be ſoon abandoned. Under *Adrian* flouriſhed many perſons eminent in moſt branches of literature, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (D).

He aboliſhes all private work-houſes.

Adrian's *edict in favour of a woman brought to bed eleven months after her huſband's death.*

Adrian *firſt ſuffers the chriſtians to be perſecuted, and then puts a ſtop to the perſecution.*

The

[e] Tertull. ap. c. 9. [d] Lact. inſt. l. i. c. 21. Euseb. ibid. Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 217. Tatian. p. 164. [e] Vide Salmas. in Spart. p. 49. [f] Onuph. de rep. Rom. comment. [g] Giann. hiſt. civil. l. i. c. 5. p. 25. [h] Spart. p. 11. [i] Lact. de perſ. p. 6. [k] Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 16. [l] Sulp Sever. l. ii. c. 45. Hier. ep. 84. Euseb. l. iv. c. 26. Tertull. apol. c. 5. [m] Euseb. l. iv. c. 3. Hier. de vir. illuſtr. c. 19, &c. [n] Lamprid. in vit. Alexandr.

(D) *Adrian* himſelf ought to be ranked amongſt the writers who flouriſhed at this time; for he publiſhed ſeveral works both in proſe and verſe upon various ſubjects; and among the reſt, a *Greek* poem intituled the *Alexandriad*, of which we find the ſeventh book quoted by ſome of the ancients (61). *Spartian* ſpeaks of certain books compoſed by him, and publiſhed under the title of *Catacriani*: wherein he pretended to imitate *Antimachus*, whom he preferred to *Homer*. Theſe, ſays the above-mentioned writers

(61) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. *Dio, l.* lxix. *p.* 788.

a THE emperor *Titus Antoninus* derived his origin, on the father's ſide, from the city of *Nemauſus*, now *Niſme*, in *Languedoc* °. His anceſtors are ſaid by *Aurelius Victor* Antoninus *ſurnamed the pious.*

° JUL. CAP. in Antonin. cum not. Salmaſ. Pariſ. 1620.

writer, were very obſcure pieces (62); and truly, from the title, they appear to have been ſuch as *Spartian* deſcribes them. *Froben* printed in 1551. a dialogue between *Adrian* and *Epictetus*, wherein the emperor propoſes ſeveral queſtions, which are anſwered by the philoſopher (63). Some of his *Greek* and *Latin* verſes have reached our times, beſides thoſe which we read in his life by *Spartian* (64), who ſpeaks of them with great contempt. But his judgment is of no weight with us, who find them mightily cried up by the beſt writers of thoſe times (65). *Photius*, who had peruſed his declamations, commends both his ſtyle and thoughts (66). We find the firſt book of his diſcourſes quoted by the ancients, and the quotation relates to ſome remarks on the *Latin* grammar (67). Beſides his military inſtitutions, ſome writers aſcribe to him a treatiſe concerning the manner of drawing up an army in battalia, which was long unknown, and firſt diſcovered in the reign of the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, about the latter end of the fifth century, and publiſhed with ſome additions by *Mauricius*, or *Urbicus*, then conſul (68). In the year 1664. was printed at *Upſal* in *Sweden*, a treatiſe on the military art and ſtratagems, aſcribed to *Mauricius*, but that piece was done long after the time of *Mauricius* the conſul, ſince mention is there made of the *French*, *Turks*, *Sclavonians*, &c. (69). *Adrian* was, according to *Dion Caſſius* and *Spartian*, ſo fond of glory, that he wrote his own life in ſeveral books, but cauſed them to be publiſhed under the names of ſuch of his freedmen as were perſons of learning (70). Among theſe was *Phlegon*, a native of *Tralles* in *Aſia*, who wrote a treatiſe on the *long-lived*, and another on *wonderful things*. Some fragments of theſe works are ſtill extant (71); and from a paſſage in the former it appears, that he had not put the laſt hand to that piece in the nineteenth year of *Antoninus*'s reign, the 156th of the chriſtian æra. *Suidas* aſcribes to *Phlegon* a deſcription of *Sicily*, three books of *Faſti*, an account of the famous places in *Rome*, and their names, and ſixteen books of the olympiads, to the 229th, begun in the year 137, of the chriſtian æra. This piece contained an account of the moſt remarkable things that in each olympiad had happened in any part of the world. From the 177th olympiad, which has been conveyed to us by *Photius*, that work ſeems to have been exceeding well digeſted: had it reached our times, it would have cleared up ſeveral obſcure paſſages in hiſtory. *Photius* finds fault with the author for the trifling accounts he gives of all thoſe who gained prizes in the *Olympic* games, and inſerting in his work all ſorts of oracles. He likewiſe cenſures his ſtyle, as not quite pure and altogether *Attic*. In *Photius*'s time only the five firſt books were extant which ended with the 177th olympiad, but the author had carried his hiſtory down to *Adrian*'s time. It was addreſſed to one *Alcibiades*, belonging to that prince's life-guard (72). In the thirteenth book of this work he is thought to have mentioned the darkneſs which happened at our Saviour's death (73): He ſpeaks of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, concerning which *Photius* quotes a long paſſage out of his fourteenth book (74). He is frequently quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer. *Suidas* tells us, that *Phlegon* made an epitome of his ſixteen books of the olympiads, which epitome conſiſted of eight books; and that he likewiſe abridged the hiſtory of the victors in the *Olympic* games; and adds, that he publiſhed other works, which he does not mention (75). *Phlegon*, in his book of *wonderful things*, deſcribes a *hippocentaur*, taken on a mountain of *Arabia*, and ſent by the king of that country to the emperor, without doubt, *Adrian*, while he was in *Egypt*. The monſter died; but was embalmed by the governor, conveyed to *Rome*, and there placed in the imperial palace; where thoſe may ſee it, concludes *Phlegon*, who queſtion the truth of my relation (76). St. *Jerom* tells us, that *Antony*, the famous anchoret, was met in the deſert by a hippocentaur, who ſpoke to him, and directed him what way he was to keep (77). *Phlegon* relates another hiſtory no leſs ſurpriſing of a young woman, who about ſix months after her death appeared again, walked, converſed, eat, and drank as ſhe had done formerly; which coming to the ears of her parents, they flew to ſee her, and, accordingly, had that ſatisfaction. But the young woman told them, that their curioſity would prove fatal to her, and put an end to her ſecond life; which words ſhe had ſcarce uttered, when ſhe fell dead at their feet. Such a ſurpriſing event, being divulged in an inſtant, drew vaſt crouds to the place from all quarters, *Phlegon* haſtened thither with the reſt, and ſaw the body of the deceaſed laid out upon a bed; but not ſatisfied with that ſight, I cauſed the burying-place of the family to be opened, ſays he, when I obſerved the bed, on which the young woman had been laid ſix months before, empty. He relates the moſt minute circumſtances of this wonderful event, names the perſons who were preſent, *&c.* (78).

Favorinus, well known by the writings of *Aulus Gellius*, who was his diſciple, and by thoſe of *Philoſtratus*, was a native of *Arles* in *Provence*, and from his birth an eunuch, by profeſſion a philoſopher and ſophiſt, and well ſkilled both in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. He ſtudied under *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, and, beſides *Aulus Gellius*, had for his diſciple the celebrated *Herodes Atticus*, whom he appointed his heir. He wrote a great many works quoted by the ancients (79); but his ſtyle ſeemed to ſome deſtitute of the gravity becoming a philoſopher (80). He was for a long time *Adrian*'s chief favourite; but that prince growing in the end weary of him, as well as of the reſt of his friends, took delight in mortifying him, by preferring to him perſons of no merit; which the *Athenians* no ſooner underſtood, than they pulled down and broke to pieces a ſtatue, which they had erected to him. When *Favorinus* was informed of the affront, *Socrates*, ſaid he, without the leaſt emotion, *would have been glad to have come off ſo cheap* (81). *Suidas* obſerves, that he and *Plutarch* ſtrove who ſhould write moſt books. They lived in great friendſhip, and *Plutarch* even inſcribed one of his works to *Favorinus* (82), who died, it ſeems, about the latter end of the reign of *Antoninus* (83). *Galen* mentions one *Demetrius* of *Alexandria*,

(62) *Spart. in Adr.* (63) *Geſner. epit. p.* 2. (64) *Voſſ. ibid.* (65) *Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 51. *Et Salmaſ. in Spart* (66) *Phot.* c. 100. (67) *Vide Salmaſ. ibid. Et Aul. Gell. l.* x. *c.* 13. (68) *Voſſ. epiſt. additæ ad Pearſ. Ignatiana.* (69) *Maur. tactic. p.* 253. 364, 384. (70) *Dio, p.* 793. *Spart. p.* 6. (71) *Phot p.* 256. *Suid. p.* 1071. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (72) *Photius, c.* 97. (73) *Hier. chron. p.* 158. *Orig. in Matthæum, p.* 438. (74) *Phot. p.* 167. (75) *Suid. p.* 1071. (76) *Phleg. mir. c.* 34. (77) *Hier. in vit. Paul. heremit* (78) *Phleg. mir. c.* 1. *p.* 13; 14. (79) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 10. *Suid. p.* 1022. *Philoſtr. vit. ſoph. p.* 493. (80) *Lucian. in vit. Demonactis, p.* 549. (81) *Philoſ. ibid. Dio, p.* 719. (82) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 7. *Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 26. (83) *Jonſ. ibid.*

Victor to have lived at *Lanuvium*, or rather *Lavinium* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*; perhaps they ſettled there, after having removed from *Niſme*. The *Aurelian* family, which

dria, who, imitating the ſtyle of *Favorinus*, whoſe diſciple he was, uſed daily to declaim in public upon what ſubject ſoever was propoſed to him (86). *Dionyſius* of *Miletus* was likewiſe a philoſopher of great note, highly favoured by *Adrian*, raiſed to the equeſtrian order, and appointed governor of ſome province, but in the end diſgraced. He ſtudied under *Iſæus*, of whom we have ſpoken in the reign of *Trajan*. *Philoſtratus* clears him from a charge brought againſt him, namely, that of being addicted to the ſtudy of magic (87). *Heliodorus* likewiſe felt the effects of *Adrian*'s inconſtancy; for the emperor, being in the end diſguſted with him, wrote ſome moſt virulent letters againſt him (88). One of the ſame name, perhaps the ſame perſon, was, according to *Dion Caſſius*, for ſome time ſecretary to *Adrian* (89).

Of all the philoſophers who flouriſhed in thoſe times, *Epictetus* is by far the moſt renowned: *Aulus Gellius* calls him the greateſt man the ſect of the ſtoics had ever produced (90). He is ſuppoſed to have been a native of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, was for ſome time a ſlave, and belonged to *Epaphroditus*, whom *Suidas* calls one of *Nero*'s life-guard (91). This is, without all doubt, *Nero*'s celebrated freedman, to whom *Joſephus* inſcribed moſt of his works, and who was afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, as we have related in that prince's reign. *Celſus*, the famous champion of idolatry, writes of *Epictetus*, that while his maſter was one day ſqueezing his leg very hard in order to torment him, *Epictetus* ſaid to him very calmly, *You'll break my leg*; which happening accordingly, *Did not I tell you*, ſaid he, ſmiling, *that you would break my leg* (92)? *Epictetus* was, as is ſuppoſed, ſet at liberty, but remained always very poor (93). Being obliged by *Domitian*'s edict, baniſhing all philoſophers, to quit *Rome* in 94. he retired to *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*, whence he returned upon that prince's death, and lived at *Rome* till the time of *M. Aurelius*, ſays *Suidas* (94), by whom, as well as by his predeceſſor, he was, according to *Themiſtius*, held in great eſteem and veneration (95). But we cannot fall in with the opinion of theſe writers, ſince *M. Aurelius* uſed to look upon it as a great happineſs, not that he had learnt any thing of, or converſed with, *Epictetus*, but that he had read his writings (96). *Epictetus* reduced all his philoſophy to two points only, *viz. to ſuffer evils with patience, and enjoy pleaſures with moderation*; which he expreſſed with theſe two celebrated words, ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου; that is, *ſuffer and abſtain* (97). He was againſt the celibacy of the philoſophers, but nevertheleſs ſeems to have obſerved it himſelf (98). He publiſhed ſeveral works, none of which, except his *enchiridion*, or *manual*, has reached us (99). But *Arrian*, his diſciple, publiſhed a great work, which he pretends to conſiſt intirely of what he had heard him ſay, and ſet down, as far he could remember, in *Arrian*'s own terms (100).

Arrian, a native of *Nicomedia*, was one of the moſt learned men of his age, and, on account of his eloquence and knowledge, commonly ſtyled *the ſecond* Xenophon. He was preferred at *Rome* to the higheſt poſts of honour, even to the conſulſhip (1); whence moſt writers take him to be the *Flavius Arrianus*, who, while he was governor of *Cappadocia*, repulſed the *Alani*, as we have related above. He lived at *Rome* under *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius* (2). *Themiſtius* tells us, that *Trajan* forced him from his retirement, in order to employ him as a miniſter in ſtate-affairs (3). He publiſhed in eight books the familiar diſcourſes of *Epictetus*: but only four of them have reached us (4), which are inſcribed to one *L. Gellius*. He publiſhed twelve books more, containing the ſpeeches of *Epictetus* (5), and wrote his life. *Photius* quotes ſeveral other books compoſed by him, *viz.* the hiſtory of *Bithynia*, his native country, the hiſtory of the *Alani*, and that of the *Parthians*, in ſeventeen books, which he brought down to the war which *Trajan* waged with them (6). He deſcribed the expeditions of *Alexander the Great* in ſeven books, which are ſtill extant, and is thought by *Photius* to have excelled all who wrote on the ſame ſubject (7). He publiſhed, in ten books, the lives of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*; and gave in one book, ſays *Photius*, an account of *India* (8). This account of *India* is now reckoned the eighth book of the hiſtory of *Alexander* (9). Beſides theſe works mentioned by *Photius*, *Lucian* aſcribes to him the life of a famous robber, named *Telebous* (10). We have already mentioned his deſcription of the coaſts of the *Euxine Sea*; but that of the coaſts of the *Red Sea*, tho' commonly aſcribed to him, is thought by the learned to have been done by one who flouriſhed before *Adrian*, and was contemporary with *Pliny* the elder (11). Beſides the works of *Arrian* already mentioned, we have ſtill his *tactica*, whereof the beginning has been long ſince loſt: to his *tactica* are commonly added his inſtructions concerning the march of the army againſt the *Alani*, and the order to be obſerved in the battle.

Plutarch was a native of *Chæronea* in *Bœotia*, where he was born in the reign of *Claudius*, about the year 50. of the chriſtian æra. He ſtudied under *Ammonius*, an *Egyptian* philoſopher; in the reign of *Nero*, and in that of *Domitian* taught at *Rome*, where, amongſt his other diſciples, he had the famous *Arulenus Ruſticus*, who was put to death by *Domitian* in 90 (12). We are told, that he was preceptor to *Trajan*; which we can hardly believe, ſince that prince was as old as *Plutarch* (14), and had from his youth been brought up in the camp. *Suidas* writes, that *Trajan* diſtinguiſhed him with conſular honours (15), meaning, no doubt, the conſular ornaments, and ordered the magiſtrates of *Illyricum* to adviſe with him in all affairs of importance. He continued at *Rome* till the death of *Trajan*, when he returned to his own country, and there bore the chief employments (16). He had ſeveral children, one of whom, by name *Lamprias*, publiſhed a catalogue of his father's hiſtorical pieces, which has reached us, but is imperfect (17). The philoſopher *Sextus*, one of the preceptors of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, was nephew to *Plutarch* (18). *Plutarch* publiſhed a great many works, which are to every one well known, being tranſlated into all the modern languages. His ſtyle is not quite pure and *Attic*. Among the works commonly

(86) *Galen. prog. com. p.* 445. (87) *Philoſt. ibid. p.* 522, *&c.* (88) *Spart. p.* 7. (89) *Dio, l.* lxix. *p.* 789. (90) *Aul. Gell. l.* i. *c.* 2. (91) *Suid. p.* 996. (92) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* vii. (93) *Aul. Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 18. *& l.* xv. *c.* 11. (94) *Suid. p.* 996. (95) *Themiſt. orat.* 5. (96) *Jul. Cap. in Antonin.* (97) *Aul. Gell. l.* xvii. *c.* 19. (98) *Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p.* 555. (99) *Suid. p.* 996. (100) *Arrian. Epic. p.* 1. (1) *Phot. c.* 58. (2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (3) *Themiſ orat.* 17. (4) *Phot. c.* 58. (5) *Idem, c.* 58. (6) *Idem ibid.* (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Idem, p.* 91. (9) *Voſſ. hiſt Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (10) *Lucian. in vit. Alex. Præſt.* (11) *Vide Salmaſ. in Solin. Et Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (12) *Ruald. vit. Plut.* (13) *Idem, p.* 29. (14) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 10. (15) *Suid. p.* 546. (16) *Ruald. c.* 25. (17) *Idem, c.* 6. (18) *Idem, c.* 5. *Et Suid. p.* 729.

a which was the preſent emperor's is thought to have been very ancient, but was not diſtinguiſhed very early with preferments in *Rome*. His grandfather *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, *His extraction and preferments.*

commonly aſcribed to him, ſome are thought to have been written by others; and many of his works have been loſt, as appears from the citations of *Gellius*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoret*, and others. *Marcus* and *Caninius Celer*, two celebrated ſophiſts, flouriſhed under *Adrian*, and publiſhed ſome declamations (19). *Polemon*, another famous ſophiſt, in great favour with *Adrian*, was a native of *Laodicea* upon the *Lycus*, which ſome place in *Caria*, others in *Phrygia*; but ſpent the greateſt part of his life at *Smyrna*, whither the youth flocked from all parts to hear him. He was ſeveral times ſent by that city in quality of embaſſador to the emperor *Adrian*, of whom he obtained great ſums for the inhabitants, tho' that prince was more addicted, ſays *Philoſtratus* (20), to the *Epheſians* than *Smyrneans*. As *Adrian* ſhewed an extraordinary kindneſs for him, he took care to turn it to his own advantage, and ſoon appeared with a train and equipage ill ſuiting his profeſſion; which drew upon him the envy of many, and the hatred of all. *Antoninus* treated him with great reſpect, tho' he had juſt occaſion to complain of his ruſticity, or rather inſolence. *Herodes Atticus* having heard him declaim, ſent him a conſiderable ſum, which, however, he refuſed as too ſmall; ſo that *Herodes*, to content him, was obliged to ſend him one much larger, which he condeſcended to accept. The king of *Boſporus*, who was well verſed in moſt branches of learning, coming to *Smyrna* to ſee that city, and the learned men there, ſhewed a great deſire of conferring with *Polemon*: but the proud and ſelf-intereſted philoſopher would neither viſit him, nor be viſited by him, till the king had ſent him a preſent of ten talents, and then he deigned to admit him into his houſe (21). Being greatly tormented with the gout, he retired to *Laodicea*, his native city, and there, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, placing himſelf among his dead anceſtors, ordered the tomb to be ſhut up, that the ſun as he ſaid, might never ſee him ſilenced (22). He left no writings beſides declamations. Under *Trajan* and *Adrian* flouriſhed, according to *Suidas* (23), *Ptolemæus Chennus*, *Zenobius*, *Cephaleo*, and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*. *Ptolemæus* wrote ſeveral books, and, among the reſt, one intituled *the ſurpriſing hiſtory* (24). *Zenobius* taught at *Rome* under *Adrian*, and tranſlated the hiſtory of *Salluſt* into *Greek*. He likewiſe made a collection of proverbs, which is ſtill extant (25). He is ſometimes called *Zenodotus*. *Cephaleo*, being baniſhed his own country, retired into *Sicily*, where he publiſhed in the reign of *Adrian* a hiſtory, beginning with *Ninus*, and ending with *Alexander* (26). *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, deſcended from the famous hiſtorian of that name, was a ſophiſt, and is commonly ſtyled *Dionyſius* the *Atticiſt*, and the *muſician*, becauſe he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of muſic, and publiſhed ſeveral works upon that ſubject, and one among the reſt divided into thirty-ſix books, and containing an account of the moſt famous poets, and players upon inſtruments (27).

Herennius Philo, born in the city of *Byblos* in *Phœnicia*, wrote one book on *Adrian*'s reign, twelve on the choice of books, and thirty on various cities, and the eminent perſons they had produced: the latter work was abridged by one *Ælius Severus Athenæus*. *Origen* quotes a paſſage out of *Herennius Philo* concerning the *Jews*, for whom, it ſeems, he had no great kindneſs (29). *Philo* tranſlated into *Greek* the hiſtory of *Phœnicia* written by *Sanconiatho*, in his native language, about the time of the *Trojan* war (30). The preface, and ſome paſſages of this tranſlation, have been conveyed to us by *Euſebius* (31). *Philo* himſelf wrote the hiſtory of *Phœnicia*, which is quoted by *Euſebius* (32) and *Stephanus* of *Byzantium* (33). *Hermippus* of *Berytus*, or of that neighbourhood, was one of *Philo*'s diſciples, and highly eſteemed by *Adrian*, tho' the ſon of a freedman. He wrote five books upon dreams, which are quoted by *Tertullian* and others (34). The book of *legiſlators*, quoted by *Origen* (35), is generally aſcribed to another *Hermippus*, a native of *Smyrna*, who flouriſhed long before *Adrian*'s time. *Paulus* of *Tyre*, contemporary with *Philo*, publiſhed a treatiſe of *rhetoric*. He obtained of *Adrian* the title of *metropolis* for the city of *Tyre* (36. *Leander Nicanor* of *Alexandria*, the ſon of *Hermias*, publiſhed ſeveral grammatical and hiſtorical pieces (37). *Diogenianus*, a native of *Heraclea*, publiſhed ſeveral writings of grammer and geography, which *Heſychius* made uſe of in compiling his *lexicon* (38). His collection of ancient proverbs is ſtill extant. Under *Adrian* flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius* (39), *Jaſon* of *Argos*, who compriſed in four books the hiſtory of *Greece*, to the death of *Alexander*. *Ælian*, author of the *tactica*, lived at this time; for he addreſſed his work to *Adrian*. Another writer of the ſame name flouriſhed about a hundred years after; whence it is no eaſy taſk to determine, which of theſe two was the author of the *hiſtory of animals*, of the *hiſtoria varia*, and of other pieces which are by the ancients aſcribed to an *Ælian*, but long ſince loſt.

Under *Adrian* flouriſhed the two *Latin* hiſtorians *Suetonius* and *Florus*. *C. Suetonius Tranquillus* was the ſon of *Suetonius Lenis*, or *Lætus*, a *Roman* knight, who, at the battle of *Bedriacum*, commanded a legion in quality of tribune, as we have related in the foregoing volume. The hiſtorian was born about that time; for he was very young in 88. that is, twenty years after the death of *Nero* (40). *Pliny* the younger had a great kindneſs for him, kept him conſtantly with him, and wrote to one of his friends, that the more he knew him, the more he loved him, on account of his probity, ingenuity, prudent conduct, and application (41). We may therefore ſuppoſe him to be the *Tranquillus*, whom, in one of his letters, he encourages to plead a cauſe, without being under any apprehenſion from a dream, which ſeemed to threaten him with bad ſucceſs (42). In another letter (43), he ſeems very anxious about purchaſing for him a little place of retirement near *Rome*, proper for a man of ſtudy and application. In other letters he exhorts him to publiſh his writings, ſince they were finiſhed (44); and aſks his advice even as to his own conduct on a particular occaſion (45). He obtained for him the poſt of a tribune; which *Suetonius* begged him to confer upon *Cæſennius Silvanus*, his kinſman: this generous action is

(19) *Philoſtr. ſoph.* 24. (20) *Idem, ſoph.* 25. (21) *Idem ibid.* (22) *Idem ibid. Et Suid. p.* 554. (23) *Idem, p.* 646, 1126, 1447. (24) *Phot. c.* 190. (25) *Voſſ. c.* 11. (26) *Suid. ibid. Phot. c.* 68. (27) *Suid. p.* 743. *Voſſ. c.* 12. *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 8. (28) *Suid. p.* 1065. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 10. (29) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* i. *p.* 13. (30) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* i. *c.* 1. (31) *Euſeb. præp. l.* i. *c.* 9. (32) *Idem ibid. l.* iv. *c.* 16. (33) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 16. (34) *Tertull. de anim. c.* 46. *Voſſ. ibid. Orig. in Celſ. Suid. p.* 1043. (35) *Orig. ibid.* (36) *Suid. p.* 465. (37) *Suid. p.* 229. *Voſſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 12. (38) *Suid. p.* 737. (39) *Voſſ. ibid.* (40) *Suet. vit. Oth. & Dom.* (41) *Plin. l.* x. *ep.* 200. (42) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 18. (43) *Idem ibid. ep.* 24. (44) *Idem, l.* v. *ep.* 11. (45) *Idem, l.* x. *ep.* 34.

Fulvus, or *Fulvius*, was the firſt conſul, of the *Aurelian* family. His father *Aurelius* a
Fulvus was likewiſe honoured with that dignity, and univerſally eſteemed on account of his extraordinary accompliſhments and integrity. *Arrias Antoninus*, his grandfather on the mother's ſide, was twice conſul, and eſteemed one of the greateſt and moſt virtuous men in *Rome* [p]. He married *Boionia Procilla*, deſcended from an illuſtrious family; and had by her *Arria Fadilla*, the mother of *Antoninus*, who, after the death of her huſband *Aurelius Fulvus*, married *Julius Lupus*, and had by him a daughter named *Julia Fadilla*. This daughter died before the emperor, but left a ſon named *Mummius Quadratus* [q]. *T. Antoninus* was born at *Lavinium*, on the nineteenth of *September* of the year 86. *Domitian* being then conſul the twelfth time, with *Cornelius Dolabella*. He is ſtyled by *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life, *T. Aurelius* b
Fulvius Boionius Antoninus; but from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions it appears, that, inſtead of *Fulvius*, we ought to read *Fulvus* [r]. As from his infancy he behaved himſelf in a very dutiful and obliging manner towards all his relations, many of them left him their eſtates, by which means he became exceeding rich. He was a great lover of the country and country-diverſions, but nevertheleſs did not decline public employments, in which he acquitted himſelf with great reputation and univerſal applauſe. He was conſul in 120. afterwards one of the four conſulars appointed by *Adrian* to govern *Italy*, and then ſent into *Aſia* with proconſular authority;

[p] Idem ibid. p. 17. [q] Idem, p. 25. [r] Vide Salmas. in not. ad Anton. vit. p. 47.

is greatly cried up by *Pliny*. *Suetonius* married, but had no children. However, *Pliny*, from *Bithynia*, wrote to *Trajan*, begging him to grant to his friend the privileges, which thoſe enjoyed who had three children (46). The emperor ſeldom granted ſuch favours, but nevertheleſs could not help complying with the requeſt of *Pliny* (47). *Suetonius* was afterwards ſecretary to *Adrian*, but diſcharged on account of his diſreſpectful behaviour towards the empreſs *Sabina* (48). *Suidas* ſtyles him a *Latin* grammarian, and aſcribes to him ſeveral grammatical works; adding, that he likewiſe wrote a book upon the ſports of the *Greeks*, two upon the ſhews of the *Romans*, two upon the *Roman* laws and cuſtoms, one of the life of *Cicero*, a catalogue of illuſtrious *Romans*, and the lives of the emperors, which has reached our times (49). He wrote likewiſe in three books the hiſtory of the kings, which *Paulinus* abridged in verſe (50). His book concerning the inſtitution of offices, quoted by *Priſcian*, is probably the ſame with that of the *Roman* laws and cuſtoms. He wrote, according to the ſame *Priſcian*, eight books *of the prætors*. A book likewiſe intituled *de rebus variis*, is by ſome aſcribed to him. From the great number of authors, who have quoted his works, it appears, that they were generally read, and greatly eſteemed, both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Tertullian* quotes his book of the *Roman* ſhews (51), and St. *Jerom* that of illuſtrious men, upon the plan of which he wrote his own (52): perhaps the lives of the illuſtrious grammarians, orators, and poets, commonly aſcribed to *Suetonius*, were part of that work. The life of *Pliny* the elder is thought not to have been done by *Suetonius*, but by a much more modern writer (53). *Vopiſcus*, ſpeaking of his hiſtory of the twelve *Cæſars*, calls him an impartial and correct writer; but adds, that he cannot compare him to *Salluſt*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, or *Trogus* (54). His writings are no leſs lewd and infamous, ſays St. *Jerom*, as quoted by *Voſſius* (55), than were the lives of the emperors, whoſe hiſtory he writes. And truly, both he and *Lampridius* have mixed too much lewdneſs, as well as meanneſs in their writings; whence they are juſtly cenſured by *Rualdus*, as teaching their readers to be vicious (56).

Florus is thought to have been a native of *Spain*, and of the family of the *Senecas*; that his family-name was *L. Annæus Seneca*, and that being adopted by one *Florus*, he took the name of *L. Julius Florus*. We read of one *Julius Florus*, who, in the reign of *Tiberius*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* with great applauſe (57). *Spartian*, in the life of *Adrian*, quotes ſome verſes compoſed by a poet named *Florus*, whom moſt writers take to be the epitomizer of the *Roman* hiſtory; for that epitome was written in the reign of *Trajan*, and ſeems to be the product of a poetical genius. It is greatly eſteemed by the learned, who nevertheleſs find fault with the author for not obſerving with due punctuality the order of time. It is not an abridgment of *Livy*; for with him the author often diſagrees. Whether the ſummaries prefixed to each book of *Livy*'s hiſtory were done by *Florus*, is uncertain (58). The poet *Florus* uſed, it ſeems, to frequent taverns and eating-houſes, which was looked upon in thoſe days as highly unbecoming perſons of a liberal education. Hence *Florus* having written to *Adrian* the following verſes;

Ego nolo Cæſar eſſe,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

That is, *I deſire not to be* Cæſar, *to ramble among the* Britons, *and to endure the froſts of* Scythia: *Adrian* anſwered thus;

Ego nolo Florus eſſe,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Culices pati rotundos.

That is, *I deſire not to be* Florus, *to ramble among the taverns and eating-houſes, and to be ſtung with gnats* (59). *Aulus Gellius* mentions one *Terentius Scaurus*, a celebrated grammarian, who flouriſhed under *Adrian*; and highly commends *T. Caſtricius*, whoſe diſciple he himſelf had been (60); but neither of them ſeems to have left any works behind them. *Scaurus* had been preceptor to *Adrian*; his ſon was preceptor to *L. Verus*, and his grandſon, or rather great-grandſon, to *Alexander Severus* (61).

(46) *Idem*, *l.* x. *ep.* 100. (47) *Idem ibid. ep.* 101. (48) *Spart. p.* 6. (49) *Suid. p.* 934. (50) *Auſ. ep.* 19. (51) *Tertull. ſpec. c.* 5. (52) *Hier. vir. illuſ. præf* (53) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 31. (54) *Vopiſc. in Firm.* (55) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 31. (56) *Ruald. in vit. Plut. c.* 28. (57) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 30. (58) *Voſſ. ibid.* (59) *Spart. p.* 8. (60) *Aul. Gell. l.* xi. *c.* 15. & 13. (61) *Vide Caſaub. in vit. L. Ver. p.* 35.

a rity; where, by the mildneſs of his government, his affability, and engaging behaviour, he gained the eſteem and affections of perſons of all ranks. Upon his return to *Rome*, *Adrian* appointed him one of his council, and tranſacted nothing without his advice [s]. He married *Annia Galeria*, the ſiſter of *Marcus Aurelius*'s father, and *His iſſue.* had by her two ſons and two daughters. The eldeſt of the daughters was married to *Lamia Syllanus*, but died ſoon after: ſhe was probably named *Aurelia Fadilla*; for we find one of that name called in an ancient inſcription the daughter of the emperor *T. Antoninus* [t]. The other, named *Annia Fauſtina*, was married to *M. Aurelius*, her couſin german [u]. The two ſons, *M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus*, and *M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus*, muſt have died very young; for no mention is made of them in

b hiſtory.

Antoninus is celebrated by all the ancients as one of the beſt princes that ever *His character.* ſwayed a ſceptre. His behaviour to all was extremely obliging: he was always ready to hear with patience the meaneſt of the people: to no one was ever admittance denied to his palace or preſence, eſpecially when they came to complain of his officers, miniſters, or procurators. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and oſtentation. His table, ſays his hiſtorian, was rich without extravagance, and frugal without meanneſs. He never courted the favour of the people, but ſeemed rather to deſpiſe popular applauſe, which had been the idol of moſt of his predeceſſors. He never flattered others, nor ſuffered any one to flatter him. He obſerved with great exact-

c neſs, but without the leaſt affectation, the *Roman* laws and ceremonies. He offered *His religion, conſtancy in friendſhip, &c.* in perſon, as high pontiff, the ſacrifices, which for other emperors had been offered by inferior prieſts; and never failed to aſſiſt, unleſs prevented by ſome indiſpoſition, at all public acts of religion, ſhewing always a profound reſpect for the deity [w]. It appears from an inſcription of the year 143, the fifth of his reign, that the ſenate erected a monument to his honour, in conſideration of his great and extraordinary regard for the public ceremonies [x]. As he never admitted any to his friendſhip with whom he was not thoroughly acquainted, he was a moſt conſtant friend, hearkened to no calumnies againſt them, nor entertained any fears or jealouſies, as *Adrian* had done, who in the end was weary of all his old friends, and diſcharged them with ig-

d nominy. He was naturally of a ſweet and mild temper, ever inclined to mercy, *His clemency and mildneſs.* which he ſhewed even to the moſt vicious and wicked, chuſing rather to deprive them of the means of doing miſchief, than to puniſh them according to their deſerts. During his long reign of twenty-three years, he is ſaid never to have done any thing that ſavoured of cruelty, ill-nature, or could give to any perſon whatſoever juſt motive of offence [y]. When he arrived in *Aſia*, with the character of proconſul, he choſe to lodge the firſt night in the houſe of *Polemon* the celebrated ſophiſt, which was the beſt and largeſt in *Smyrna*. But the proud and unmannerly ſophiſt, who was then in the country, returning home about midnight, and finding the proconſul in his houſe, inſtead of thanking him for the honour he had done him, made ſuch com-

e plaints of the liberty he had taken, as the clown was pleaſed to ſtyle it, that *Antoninus*, to quiet him, was obliged to leave the houſe at that time of night, and ſeek for a lodging elſewhere. However, when *Antoninus* was raiſed to the empire, *Polemon* did not fail to come to *Rome* to wait upon him. The emperor received him in a moſt obliging manner, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace; but at the ſame time put him in mind of what had paſſed in *Smyrna*, by ordering his domeſtics to take care that no one turned him out of his apartment [z]. A commedian complaining to the emperor, that *Polemon* had driven him out of the theatre at mid-day, *Antoninus* anſwered, He drove me out of my lodgings at mid-night, and nevertheleſs I made no complaints [a]. As *M. Aurelius* was weeping for the death of one of his

f preceptors, the courtiers, creatures for the moſt part void of humanity, repreſented to him, that it was beneath a prince to ſhew ſo much tenderneſs and concern; but *Antoninus* checked them with the following remarkable words; *Pray let him weep, and give him leave to be a man; for neither philoſophy nor the imperial dignity ought to extinguiſh in us the ſentiments of nature* [b]. The emperor going one day to ſee the *Diſſembles affronts.* fine houſe of *Valerius Omulus*, and admiring there, amongſt other things, certain pillars of porphyry, he aſked him where he had purchaſed them? But *Omulus*, inſtead

[s] Dio, l. lxx. p. 800. Jul. Cap. p. 17. [t] Vide Mabill. analect. c. iv. p. 500. [u] Jul. Cap. p. 18—23. [w] Idem, ibid. Paus. l. viii. p. 18. Dio, ibid. [x] Rein. inſcript. p. 308. [y] Jul. Cap. ibid. [z] Philos. ſoph. 25. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Jul. Cap. ibid.

ſtead of being pleaſed to ſee the emperor take notice of the ornaments of his houſe, returned him this rude anſwer, *In other peoples houſes you muſt learn to be deaf and dumb* [c]. Thus *Omulus*, who was a man of a ſatirical temper, and given to raillery, treated on this, and ſeveral other occaſions, the good-natur'd prince, who could not, as he often owned, prevail upon himſelf to puniſh any perſon for bare words, however free and diſobliging. Having ſent for *Apollonius*, the celebrated ſtoic, who reſided at *Chalcis* in *Syria*, to inſtruct *M. Aurelius* in the principles of that ſect, the philoſopher flew to *Rome*, attended by a great number of diſciples, all *Argonauts*, ſays *Lucian* [d], gaping after the golden fleece. Upon their arrival, *Antoninus* invited *Apollonius* to court, in order to deliver his diſciple to him. The haughty pedant anſwered with great inſolence, that the maſter was not to come to the diſciple, but the diſciple to the maſter; which words being related to *Antoninus*, *Does* Apollonius *then*, ſaid he, ſmiling, *think it a more troubleſome journey from his lodgings to the palace, than from* Chalcis *to* Rome? However, he ordered *M. Aurelius* to wait upon him [e].

What prompted Adrian *to adopt him.*

T. Antoninus was adopted by *Adrian*, as we have related above, upon the death of *Ælius Verus Cæſar*. Some authors write, that *Adrian* was induced to prefer him to ſo many other great men, by the particular reſpect and tender regard which *Antoninus* ſhewed to his father-in-law, whom, as he was very old and decripit, he uſed conſtantly to conduct to the ſenate, attending him like a ſlave: *Adrian* ſeeing him one day leading and ſupporting the old man, was ſo pleaſed with that ſight, that he adopted him for that very reaſon [f]. But *Adrian* could not by this alone be prompted to confer ſo great an honour upon one, who had given ſo many proofs of his extraordinary talents and ability. He choſe him, therefore, becauſe he judged him to be, of all the great men in *Rome*, the beſt qualified for the ſovereign power [g]. He was adopted on the twenty-fifth of *February* of the year 138. and at the ſame time inveſted with the proconſular and tribunitial power, honoured with the name of *Cæſar*, now peculiar to the preſumptive heir of the empire, and diſtinguiſhed, as we conjecture from ſome ancient coins, with the title of emperor [h], which had hitherto been given to none but the ſovereign. We are told, that his ſucceſſion to the empire was preſaged long before by many omens. While he governed part of *Italy* in quality of proconſul, one from among the croud cried out to him, while he was adminiſtering juſtice, *May the gods proſper your undertakings, O* Auguſtus! Upon his arrival in *Aſia*, the prieſts of the city of *Tralles* in *Lydia* received him not with the uſual ſalutation, *Ave, proconſul! Hail proconſul!* but ſtyled him emperor. At *Cyzicus*, a crown belonging to the ſtatue of one of the gods was found upon that of *Antoninus*, &c. [i] *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus* upon condition, that he ſhould adopt *M. Annius Verus*, the ſon of his wife's brother, and *L. Commodus*, the ſon of *L. Verus Cæſar*, which he did accordingly before the death of *Adrian*, probably the ſame day on which he himſelf was adopted [k]. The next day *Antoninus* returned the emperor thanks in the ſenate for the honour he had conferred upon him, diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiery and populace, employing on this occaſion his own, and not the public, money; and beſides, paid what *Adrian* had promiſed them. All the cities of the empire uſed, on ſuch occaſions, to preſent the adopted prince with ſums of money inſtead of crowns, which were thence called *aurum coronarium*. Theſe ſums the generous prince remitted intirely to the cities of *Italy*, and a moiety to all the reſt. He even contributed out of his private fortune a great deal towards the works which *Adrian* was carrying on, and obeyed that prince, ſo long as he lived, with as much reſpect and ſubmiſſion as the meaneſt of his ſubjects, except when he attempted to murder himſelf, or others [l]. *Adrian* dying at *Baiæ*, on the tenth of *July*, he prevailed upon the ſenate, much againſt their will, to confer ſuch honours upon him as had been decreed to the beſt of emperors, and continued all thoſe in their employments, who had been preferred by him. It was, according to ſome writers, on account of this tender and filial reſpect for the memory of his father, that the ſenate decreed him the glorious ſurname of *Pius*. Others think, that they diſtinguiſhed him with that title in regard of the great care he had of his father-in-law in his old age, or of *Adrian* in his ſickneſs, or becauſe he ſaved many whom *Adrian* had

His future grandeur preſaged.

His generoſity.

He cauſes Adrian *to be be ranked among the gods.*

Why honoured with the title of pius.

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Lucian. in vit. Demonact. p. 552. [e] Jul. Cap. p. 23. [f] Idem, p. 17. [g] Dio, l. lxix. p. 796. 797. [h] Goltz. p. 70. [i] Jul. Cap. p. 8. [k] Spart. in Adr. p. 12. Jul. Cap. p. 16. Dio, p. 797. [l] Jul. Cap. p. 18.

a had commanded to be murdered, or finally, on account of the natural ſweetneſs of his temper, and the extraordinary reſpect he ſhewed on all occaſions for religion and all religious perſons[m]. Be that as it will, he bears the epithet of *Pius* in ſeveral medals of this very year, and is chiefly known by it in hiſtory[n]. *Pauſanius* thinks he deſerved not only this title, but that likewiſe which was given to *Cyrus*, viz. *the father of mankind*, in conſideration of the paternal care he ſeemed to have of all men[o]. *Commodus*, and the emperors who ſucceeded him, aſſumed the ſame title; which ſerved only to render their wickedneſs the more remarkable[p]. This year *Antoninus* was likewiſe honoured with the title of *Auguſtus* and of *high pontiff*, and his wife *Fauſtina* with that of *Auguſta*. He refuſed many other honours which the b ſenate offered him, and among the reſt the title of *the father of his country*[q]; which, however, he accepted the following year[r]. We are told, that *Antoninus*, in the beginning of his reign, ordered the proconſul of *Africa* to conſult the goddeſs *Cæleſtis*, who was worſhipped at *Carthage*, about his ſucceſſors and the ſtate of the empire; and that the pretended deity, after having uttered, like other oracles, many things obſcure and unintelligible, repeated the name of *Antoninus* eight times; whence it was concluded, that *Antoninus* ſhould reign eight years. But as he reigned near twenty-three, another conſtruction was long after put upon the oracle, *viz.* that eight emperors ſhould reign bearing the name of *Antoninus*; which interpretation we ſhall examine in the reign of the emperor *Opilius Macrinus*.

Honours conferred upon him by the ſenate.

c We know but very little of the actions of this great prince, and are almoſt quite at a loſs as to the order of them, with reſpect to what we know. *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life and inſcribed it to the emperor *Dioclefian*, is but a very indifferent hiſtorian, and greatly confuſed and perplexed in his accounts. What *Dion Caſſius* wrote of *Antoninus* has been loſt eight hundred years ſince, and conſequently before *Xiphilin* undertook the epitomizing of that author; ſo that we can only give our readers a general idea of this excellent prince's government and conduct. He lived, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, after his acceſſion to the empire, in the ſame manner as he had lived while he was yet a private perſon; no alteration appeared in his behaviour towards his friends, nor had any of his enemies ever the leaſt motive to be d grieved for his preferment. He would ſuffer none but ſlaves to wait upon him, ſhewing on all occaſions the greateſt reſpect imaginable for the equeſtrian and ſenatorial orders. He never tranſacted any buſineſs of conſequence without the advice of the ſenate, paying them, when emperor, that regard which he deſired to ſee paid to them by other emperors while he was a ſenator. He frequently gave an account, even to the people, of all his actions and negotiations. When he demanded the conſulſhip, or other employments, either for himſelf or his children, he appeared like a private perſon among the other candidates; which ſhews, that he allowed the people, according to their ancient right, to chuſe the magiſtrates. *M. Aurelius* owns, that *Antoninus* convinced him by his example, that one might lead a private e life even in a court. He moderated moſt of the impoſts and tributes, and ſtrictly injoined his receivers and collectors to exact them without any ſeverity or oppreſſion, ſaying, that he choſe rather to be poor, than have his coffers filled at the expence of an oppreſſed people. He was no ſooner raiſed to the empire, than he diſpoſed of the greateſt part of his private eſtate in favour of the indigent citizens; and the empreſs *Fauſtina* repining at his generoſity, he told her; That a prince ought to have no private intereſt, no private property, and nothing in view but the public welfare. He choſe for governors of provinces ſuch only as were perſons of known integrity, and is ſaid never to have preferred an undeſerving man to any employment whatſoever. Hence ſome continued in their poſts during the whole time of his reign; for f he was not for removing ſuch as diſcharged their office to the ſatisfaction of the people, unleſs they themſelves deſired it, as did *Orfitus* governor of *Rome*, and ſome others. *Gavius Maximus* was for the ſpace of twenty years captain of the prætorian guards; and others held their employments during the whole time of his reign. His paternal eſtate, which was very great, he laid out in bounties and largeſſes; but was very ſparing of the public money: whence at his death his private coffers were found empty, but the exchequer full. He deprived ſeveral uſeleſs perſons of the penſions which had been ſettled upon them by *Adrian*, ſaying, he could not bear to ſee the ſtate devoured by

His extraordinary reſpect for the ſenatorial and equeſtrian orders.

He leſſens the tributes.

Prefers only men of merit.

Takes care of the public revenues.

[m] Idem, p. 17. [n] Spanh. l. viii. p. 714. [o] Paus. l. viii. p. 275. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Dio, l. lxx. p. 799. [r] Goltz. p. 71. [s] Jul. Cap. in Macrino. Jul. Cap. p. 18. Dio, l. lxx. p. 799. Paus. l. viii. p. 275.

by thoſe who were no-ways ſerviceable to it, but lived in idleneſs upon the labours of others. Among thoſe whom he thus treated, was *Meſomedes*, a lyric poet, whom *Adrian* had rewarded with a yearly penſion on account of ſome verſes in praiſe of his beloved *Antinous*. Tho' he was thus ſparing of the public money, yet no one ever charged him with avarice; for he gave daily inſtances of an unbounded generoſity. He would accept of no legacies from ſuch as had children, and ordered the eſtates of thoſe who had been condemned for extortion, to be reſtored to their children, after the perſons, whom they had pillaged, had been fully ſatisfied. Under no prince fewer eſtates were confiſcated than under him. He utterly extirpated the whole tribe of informers, and was ready, upon the leaſt misfortune that happened to any city or province, to leſſen their tribute and taxes [u]. Many obtained the privileges of *Roman* citizens for themſelves, and not for their children, who, in that caſe, remained *Greeks*, according to the expreſſion of an ancient hiſtorian, and conſequently were incapable of enjoying their fathers eſtates, which fell to the exchequer, if the deceaſed had no *Roman* citizen amongſt his relations. But this regulation, favourable indeed to the avarice of princes, but repugnant to humanity, *Antoninus* utterly aboliſhed [w]. He beſtowed great privileges and ſalaries in all the provinces of the empire upon ſuch men of learning as undertook the educating of youth; maintained incredible numbers of children, whoſe parents were indigent; ſupplied all ſenators and magiſtrates with large ſums to defray the expences of their neceſſary journies, and ſpent conſiderable ſums in ſhews and ſpectacles, complying therein with the inclinations of the people, tho' he himſelf had an utter averſion to ſuch diverſions. Tho' he was no-ways addicted to building, yet he raiſed a great number of ſtately edifices at *Rome*, and in the neighbourhood. He cauſed a port to be made at *Caieta*, now *Gaeta*; repaired that of *Terracina*; finiſhed *Adrian*'s magnificent mauſoleum; built a ſtately palace at *Lorium* in *Hetruria*, about ten miles from *Rome*, in which place he had been educated; and contributed large ſums towards the repairing of ſeveral ancient buildings in *Greece*, *Ionia*, *Syria*, and *Africa*. The village of *Pallantium* in *Arcadia* was by him made a city, and exempted from all manner of tribute, becauſe *Evander* was ſuppoſed to have built, and peopled with the inhabitants of that village, a city in the place where *Rome* ſtood [x]. He promiſed, in the beginning of his reign, to ſpill the blood of no ſenator; which promiſe he obſerved ſo religiouſly, that one being convicted of parricide, he contented himſelf with baniſhing him, even after he had owned his crime, to a deſart iſland. *Attilius Tatianus* and *Priſcianus* being accuſed of conſpiring againſt the life of the emperor, the latter laid violent hands on himſelf, and the former was only baniſhed. Of his ſon *Antoninus* took particular care, and brought him up as if he had been his own child. He would ſuffer no inquiry to be made after their accomplices, anſwering the ſenate, when they preſſed him to it, I do not care the world ſhould know by how many perſons I am hated. He never engaged in any war which he could avoid, and was often heard to ſay, that he had rather ſave one citizen, than deſtroy a thouſand enemies. By this means he gained the affections, not only of his own people, who looked upon him as their father and protector, but likewiſe of the declared enemies of *Rome*, who entertained ſuch an opinion of his equity, juſtice and moderation, that in their diſputes they choſe him for their judge and arbitrator; and truly no *Roman* emperor was ever more eſteemed and revered by all foreign nations than *Antoninus*. The king of the *Parthians*, having raiſed a formidable army and invaded *Armenia*, retired, contrary to the expectation of all, and diſbanded his troops upon the receipt of a letter from *Antoninus*. The kings of *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and *India*, ſent embaſſadors to him, courting his friendſhip, and deſiring his alliance. *Pharaſmanes* king of *Iberia* came in perſon to wait upon him at *Rome*, and ſhewed a far greater reſpect and veneration for him, than he had formerly done for *Adrian*. The *Lazi*, the *Armenians*, the *Quadi*, and ſeveral other nations, readily received ſuch princes as he was pleaſed to appoint over them, tho' they were not then ſubject to the empire [y]. *Antoninus* is by ſome hiſtorians compared, by others even preferred, to *Numa*, on account of the tranquillity which *Rome* enjoyed during the greateſt part of his reign, and his extraordinary care of all things belonging to the worſhip of the gods and to religion. *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, that he was by perſons of all ranks revered to ſuch a degree, that neither the people nor ſoldiery could, for the ſpace of

Inſtances of his equity.

Favours men of learning.

His public works.

Promiſes to put no ſenator to death, and obſerves his promiſe.

Is eſteemed even by the enemies of Rome.

And revered by all ranks of men.

[u] Jul. Cap. p. 20——50. [w] Pausan. l. viii. p. 273. [x] Jul. Cap. p. 17—20. Pausan. l. viii. p. 273. [y] Jul. Cap. p. 20. Birag. p. 194. Spart. l. ix. p. 831, 832.

a a hundred years and upwards, look upon any one as truly emperor, who did not bear the name of *Antoninus*; which was therefore assumed by all his successors during a whole century: nay, *Severus* appointed, that the name of *Antoninus* should be peculiar to the emperors, like that of *Augustus* [z]; so great was the veneration he had for *Antoninus!* That great name was indeed profaned and dishonoured by *Antoninus Caracalla*; but nevertheless respected to such a degree, even after his reign, that the emperor *Macrinus* obliged his son *Diadumenus* to assume it, fearing the soldiers would not acknowledge him emperor, unless distinguished by that still venerable name [a].

Adrian died, as we have related above, on the 10th of *July* 138. *Camerinus* and *Niger* being consuls. These were succeeded by the emperor *Antoninus*, the second time consul

b and *Caius Bruttius Præsens*. This year *Antoninus* gave his daughter *Annia Faustina* in marriage to *M. Aurelius*, whom he created *Cæsar*, and at the request of the senate, tho' this year only quæstor, named for the consulate of the year ensuing; which he discharged with him, as appears from an ancient inscription on a monument raised to the honour of *M. Aurelius* by the two captains of the prætorian guards, *Petronius Mamertinus* and *Gavius Maximus*, and by the other officers of the ten prætorian cohorts, and the city-guards [b]. In another inscription, which antiquaries take to be of this year, *Antoninus* is styled the benefactor and preserver of the city of *Mopsuestia*, for having maintained the inhabitants in the possession of their ancient rights and privileges [c]. From a third inscription we learn, that *Antoninus* ended this year an aque-

c duct, which had been begun by *Adrian* at *New Athens* in the island of *Delos* [d]. The next consuls were *M. Peducæus Siloga* and *T. Hoenius Severus* [e], during whose administration one *Celsus* revolted; but all we know of his revolt is, that on this occasion the empress *Faustina* was greatly displeased with the kindness which the good-natured emperor shewed to his enemies [f]. Soon after *Faustina* died, and was, notwithstanding the dissolute life she had led, at the request of *Antoninus*, honoured with divine worship, priests, temples, statues of gold and silver, *&c.* Games were instituted to her honour, and her statue was, by *Antoninus*'s order, carried amongst those of the other gods at the *Circensian* sports. The emperor was not unacquainted with her ir-

d regular conduct; but had done all that lay in his power to keep her disorders concealed from the multitude [g]. The following year, *L. Cuspius Rufinus* and *L. Statius Quadratus* being consuls, *Antoninus* instituted solemn sports at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*, which were styled *Pia* and *Pialia*, and were to be celebrated the second year of each olympiad [h]. The next consuls were *C. Bellicius Torquatus* and *Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes*. The latter, who is greatly cried up by *Aulus Gellius* [i] and *Philostratus* [k], was a native of *Athens*, and the most eloquent orator of his time. He had an extraordinary talent at making speeches off-hand; but not having succeeded as he expected in one which he made while he was yet a youth before the emperor *Adrian*, he attempted to drown himself in the *Danube*. He instructed *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue, and was greatly esteemed by *Antoninus*, who ap-

e pointed him governor of the free cities of *Asia*. He died in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, and 176. of the christian æra, and left behind him many speeches, letters, and other works, none of which have reached our times. In the following consulship of *Lollianus Avitus* and *Claudius Maximus*, the *Brigantes* in *Britain* revolted; but were soon reduced by *Lollius Urbicus* governor of that province, who deprived them of great part of their country, subdued the more northern nations, and built a new wall between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* [l]. For the victories gained by *Lollius*, *Antoninus* was honoured, as appears from some ancient medals, with the title of *Britannicus* [m]. The next year *Antoninus* entered upon his fourth consulship, having for his collegue *M. Aurelius Cæsar*, the second time consul, and gave

f the manly robe to *Lucius Verus* his adopted son, who had ended the fourteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of *December* of the preceding year. He imitated therein *Augustus*, who had taken upon him the consular dignity when he gave the manly robe to his adopted children *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars*. The same year *Antoninus* consecrated the temple which he had built to the honour of *Adrian*, and on that occasion distributed considerable sums among the populace [n]. In the next consulship of *Sex. Erucius*

Marries his daughter Faustina *to* M. Aurelius.

The empress Faustina *dies, and is ranked among the gods.*

The Brigantes *revolt, and are reduced.*

[z] Spart. in Geta, p. 90. [a] Idem in Diad. [b] Grut. p. 258. [c] Onuph. p. 225. [d] Idem, p. 224. [e] Cuspin. p. 353. Onuph. in fast p. 225. [f] Coss. vit. per Vulcat. p. 43. [g] Jul. Cap. p. 18. [h] Idem, p. 13. Pagi, p. 211. [i] Aul. Gel. l. ix. c 2. [k] Philost. soph. xxvii. [l] Vide Alford. annal. Britan. ad ann. 142. Usser. Britan. eccles. antiq. p. 1024. [m] Vide Casaub. in Spart. p. 50. [n] Jul. Cap p. 36.

Erucius Clarus and *Cn. Claudius Severus*, ſome diſturbances were raiſed in *Germany* a and *Dacia*; but were ſoon compoſed by the governors of thoſe provinces. The *Alani* likewiſe, attempting to invade the *Roman* dominions, were driven back into their own country with no ſmall loſs [o]. During the adminiſtration of the following conſuls *Largus* and *Meſſalinus*, the emperor inveſted *M. Aurelius* with the tribunitial and proconſular power. By *Fauſtina*, the daughter of *Antoninus*, he had already a daughter named *Lucilla*, who was afterwards married to *L. Verus*. The emperor on all occaſions ſhewed a particular eſteem for *M. Aurelius*, conſulted him in all affairs of moment, often followed his advice, and ſuffered him to govern as if he had been his partner in the ſovereign power, giving no ear to the malicious inſinuations of thoſe who attempted to eſtrange his mind from the young prince, as if he wiſhed for his b death [p]. As the conduct of *L. Verus* was very different from that of *M. Aurelius*, the emperor treated him in a quite different manner, not beſtowing upon him either the title of *Cæſar*, or any other peculiar to the apparent heir of the empire; nay, he did not, during the whole time of his reign, inveſt him with any power whatſoever; which was a plain indication, that he diſliked him, and not without reaſon, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and only ſuffered him, becauſe he had been obliged by *Adrian* to adopt him [q]. This year, being by the *Romans* reckoned the nine hundredth of their city, the ſecular games were celebrated by *Antoninus* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence [r]. In the conſulate of *Torquatus* and *Julianus*, the *Moors* took up arms, upon what provocation we know not, but were utterly defeated, c driven quite out of their own country, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves in the moſt diſtant parts of *Libya* beyond mount *Atlas* [s]. The three following years were quite barren of events. In the firſt *Servius Scipio Orfitus* and *Q. Nonius Priſcus* were conſuls; in the ſecond *Glabrio Gallicanus* and *Vetus*; and in the third *Quintilius Condianus* and *Quintilius Maximus*. The two latter were brothers, and are mightily cried up by the ancients, on account of their learning, their experience both in civil and military affairs, their wealth, and, above all, in regard of their mutual unity and concord; for they acted on all occaſions, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, as if they had not been two, but one perſon: whence they are known in hiſtory by the name of the *Quintilii*. They governed the provinces together, the one being lieutenant to the other; were d conſuls together; wrote to the emperor, received anſwers, judged cauſes, publiſhed books, in common, and were in the end unjuſtly condemned and executed together by order of the emperor *Commodus*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that prince's reign [t]. They were natives of *Troas*, and highly eſteemed by *M. Aurelius*, under whom they governed *Greece* in 173. and *Pannonia* in 178. They publiſhed a treatiſe on agriculture, whereof ſome fragments have reached our times [u].

Shews a great eſteem for M. Aurelius.

But none for L. Verus.

The two brothers Quintilii.

The following year, the fifteenth of *Antoninus*'s reign, *Sextus Junius Glabrio* and *C. Omullus Verianus* being conſuls, that eminent champion of the chriſtian religion, *Juſtin* the martyr, publiſhed his firſt apology, and preſented it to the emperor, to his adopted ſons, and to the ſenate. As *Antoninus* was a prince of a mild diſpoſition, e he was ſo far moved by it, and by the informations which he had received from other parts of the empire, that he wrote a letter to the whole province of *Aſia* in favour of the diſtreſſed chriſtians, which he concluded with theſe words; *If any one for the future ſhall moleſt the chriſtians, and accuſe them merely on account of their religion, let the perſon who is arraigned be diſcharged, tho' he is found to be a chriſtian, and the accuſer be puniſhed according to the rigour of the law* [w]. At the ſame time the emperor wrote in behalf of the chriſtians to the *Athenians*, *Theſſalonians*, *Lariſſeans* in *Theſſaly*, and to all the *Greeks* [x]. Theſe letters put a ſtop to the perſecution; which however broke out anew, and raged with great violence under *Marcus Aurelius*, *Antoninus*'s f ſucceſſor, as we ſhall relate hereafter. The following year, when *C. Bruttius Præſens* and *A. Junius Rufinus* were conſuls, the *Tiber*, overflowing its banks, laid the lower parts of *Rome* under water. The inundation was followed by a fire, which conſumed part of the city, and a famine, which ſwept off great numbers of the citizens, notwithſtanding the care which the good-natured emperor took to have corn conveyed to the city from the moſt diſtant provinces. The ſame year the cities of *Narbonne* in *Gaul*, and *Antioch* in *Syria*, and the great ſquare at *Carthage*, were in great

Antoninus *favourable to the chriſtians.*

Several calamities.

[o] Idem, p. 19. [p] Idem, p. 24. [q] Idem in Ver. p. 36. [r] Aur. Vict. & Noris. epiſt. conſ. [s] Pausan l. viii. p. 273. [t] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 814. Casaub. in Spart. p. 94. Philost. ſophiſt. xxvii. [u] Vide Casaub. in Spart. p. 94. [w] Euseb. l. iv. c. 26. Just. apol. p. 100. Chron. Alex. p. 608, 610. [x] Euseb. ibid. & l. iv. c. 13.

a great part conſumed by accidental fire; but ſoon reſtored by *Antoninus* to their former condition [y]. This year *L. Verus* diſcharged the office of quæſtor, and exhibited on that occaſion public ſhews, at which he preſided, ſitting between *Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius*. The following year he was raiſed to the conſulſhip, and had for his collegue *T. Sextius*, or, as he is called by others, *Sextilius Lateranus*. *C. Julius Severus* and *M. Rufinus Sabinianus* diſcharged that office next, and were ſucceeded by *M. Ceionius Silvanus* and *C. Serius Augurinus*, during whoſe conſulſhip the cities of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, with ſeveral others in *Lycia* and *Caria*, were overturned by a violent earthquake; but ſoon reſtored to their former luſtre, *Antoninus* contributing thereunto immenſe ſums, and making good the loſſes which the inhabitants had ſuſtained [z].

b The four following years are quite barren of events: the conſuls were *Barbarus* and *Regulus*; *Tertullus* and *Sacerdos*; *Plautius Quintillus* and *M. Statius Priſcus*; *Appius Annius Bradua* and *T. Vibius Bradus*. The two latter were ſucceeded by *M. Aurelius Cæſar* the third time, and *L. Verus* the ſecond time, conſul. During their adminiſtration, the emperor was ſeized with a violent fever at *Lorium*, one of his country-ſeats, which in a few days put an end to his life on the ſeventh of *March*, after he had lived ſeventy-three years, five months, and ſixteen or ſeventeen days, and reigned twenty-two years, ſeven months, and twenty-ſix days. When he found death approaching, he ſent for the captains of the prætorian guards, and the chief officers of the court, and in their preſence confirmed his adoption of *M. Aurelius*,

c and recommended to him the empire, without taking the leaſt notice of *L. Verus*. He then ordered the golden image of *Fortune*, which always ſtood in the emperor's bed-chamber, to be removed to the room of *M. Aurelius*. When the tribune came for the parole, the word he gave him was *equanimity*. He left his paternal eſtate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domeſtics. Though he died in an advanced age, he was no leſs lamented by all the ſubjects of the empire, than if he had been ſnatched from them in the bloom of his youth [a]. His funeral was performed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, and his body depoſited in the pompous mauſoleum of his predeceſſor *Adrian*; on which occaſion two funeral orations were pronounced; one by *M. Aurelius*, and another by *L. Verus*. He was by the ſenate

d ranked among the gods, a temple was built to his honour, prieſts, ſacrifices, and annual ſports inſtituted, *&c.* [b] *Gordianus*, who aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus* at *Carthage* in the year 237. wrote in his youth an elegant poem, intituled *Antoninades*, deſcribing the lives, the wars, the public and private actions, of *Antoninus* and his ſucceſſor *M. Aurelius*, named likewiſe *Antoninus*; but that work has not reached our times. Some ſpeeches were publiſhed under the name of *Antoninus*, which *Marius Maximus* maintained to be his, tho' they were commonly thought to have been written by others [d]. Of the writers who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (E).

Is taken ill and dies.

He is univerſally lamented.

M.

[y] Jul. Cap. p. 20. Vict. epit. [z] Jul. Cap. p. 21. [a] Idem, p. 22. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem in Gord. [d] Idem in Anton. p. 21.

(E) Theſe were *Juſtin*, *Julius Paulus*, *Appian*, *Callinicus Sutorius*, *Calviſius Taurus*, *Apollonius*, *Ptolemy* the aſtrologer, *Fronto*, *Telephus*, *and Claudius Maximus*. *Juſtin* is thought to have inſcribed his abridgment of *Trogus Pompeius* to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. That writer, in an ancient manuſcript, is ſtyled *M. Junianus Juſtinus*. His work was known to St. *Jerom*, St. *Auſtin*, and *Oroſius*, who often copies him. Some have confounded *Juſtin* the hiſtorian with *Juſtin* the martyr, who flouriſhed about the ſame time; but never publiſhed any work in the *Latin* tongue, not even the apologies which he wrote at *Rome*, and preſented to the emperor *Trogus Pompeius*, whoſe hiſtory *Juſtin* abridged, is ranked among the beſt hiſtorians of *Auguſtus*'s reign, and put upon the level with *Livy*, *Salluſt* and *Tacitus* (61). *Julius Paulus* publiſhed ſeveral poetical pieces, and is commended by *Aulus Gellius*, on account of his great erudition and probity. He lived in *Gellius*'s time, but died before that grammarian began to write: whence he is thought to have flouriſhed under *Adrian* and *Antoninus* (62). *Appian*, who wrote the *Roman* hiſtory in *Greek*, was a native of *Alexandria*, pleaded ſome time at *Rome*, and was afterwards employed by the emperors to take care of their private eſtates and revenues (63). He lived in the reign of *Trajan*, *Adrian* and *Antoninus*, and wrote in the year 900. of *Rome*, the tenth of *Adrian*'s reign (64). His *Roman* hiſtory is, properly ſpeaking, a ſeparate and diſtinct hiſtory of all the nations ſubject to *Rome*, from the earlieſt times to the reign of *Auguſtus*, tho' he ſometimes carries it down to the time of *Adrian* (65). He ſpeaks of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* under *Adrian*, as happening in his time (66). His hiſtory of the wars of *Africa*, *Syria*, *Parthia*, *Pontus*, *Iberia*, *Spain*, *Illyricum*, and of *Hannibal* and *Mithridates*, with five books of the civil wars, of which he wrote ſeven, have reached us; and beſides, ſome fragments of ſeveral other hiſtories copied by *M. Valois* from the collections of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*. He likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of the wars of *Judæa*, and of that which *Trajan* waged with

(61) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 19. & 23. (62) *Aul. Gel. l.* i. *c.* 92. *l.* v. *c.* 4. *l.* xvi. *c.* 10. *l.* xix. *c.* 7. *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 52. (63) *Appian. in Syr. Suid. p.* 353. (64) *Appian. p.* 7. (65) *Idem, p.* 4. *Evagr. l.* vi. *c.* 24. (66) *Appian. in Syr. p.* 83.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, *ſurnamed* The Philoſopher.

His extraction, preferments.

M. Aurelius is by all the ancients reckoned the beſt prince that ever ſwayed a ſceptre, and his reign commonly ſtyled *The golden age*; for he made good the ſaying which he had borrowed of *Plato*, and had often in his mouth, *viz.* That ſtates would be happy, when princes were philoſophers [c]. He was of the *Annian* family, which ſome writers derive from *Numa Pompilius*. However that be, it is certain, that his great-grandfather *Annius Verus*, originally of *Succubæ*, a city of *Bætica* in *Spain*, was the firſt ſenator of the *Annian* family, and afterwards created prætor. His ſon, who bore

[c] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 815. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 33.

with the *Dacians* (67). *Photius* admires the elegance of his ſtyle, but chiefly commends him as an unbiaſſed writer, and one who, in his accounts, aimed moſtly at truth (68). He borrowed many things of *Polybius* and *Plutarch*, whom he often copies (69). *Scaliger* is of opinion, that many things unworthy of ſo great an hiſtorian have been, by the ignorant tranſcribers, inſerted into his hiſtory of *Syria*. His plan, which was to write the hiſtory of *Rome*, and all the provinces of the empire, was much admired by *Evagrius* (70). *Callinicus Sutorius* was a native of *Petra* in *Arabia*; but ſpent moſt part of his life at *Athens*. He wrote the hiſtory of *Alexandria* in ten books, quoted by St. *Jerom* (71), and publiſhed ſeveral other pieces on various ſubjects (72). Some fragments in *Greek* by one *Callinicus*, publiſhed by *Leo Allatius*, are aſcribed by *Voſſius* to *Callinicus Sutorius* (73). But *Jonſſius* ſuppoſes *Callinicus Sutorius* to have flouriſhed in the time of the emperor *Gallienus*, to whom, and not to *Galen* the celebrated phyſician, he inſcribed, in his opinion, one of his works (74). *Calviſius Taurus* is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who went to hear him while he inſtructed the *Athenian* youth in the principles of the *Platonic* philoſophy (75). He was a native of *Tyre*, according to *Philoſtratus*; but, according to *Suidas* (76), and *Euſebius* (77), of *Berytus*. He publiſhed ſeveral works, one among the reſt ſhewing the difference between the doctrine of *Plato* and that of *Ariſtotle*. *Aulus Gellius* quotes a treatiſe written by him on anger, and the firſt book of his comments upon *Plato*'s *Gorgias* (78). The ſame writer commends him on account of his abſtinence; for he lived chiefly upon lentils (79). *Telephus*, who inſtructed *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue, was born in *Pergamus*, and wrote a book on the rhetoric of *Homer*, another on the perfect agreement between that poet and *Plato*; the lives of ſuch poets as had written comedies or tragedies; inſtructions on the choice of books; a deſcription of *Pergamus*, with the hiſtory of its kings and laws; an account of the laws and cuſtoms of *Athens*; and a collection of epithets (80). *Claudius Maximus* was by birth a *Tyrian*, and one of *M. Aurelius*'s preceptors whom he inſtructed in the principles of the *Stoics*. He publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical pieces, and diſcourſes on the *Platonic* philoſophy, which have reached our times, and are deſervedly eſteemed by the learned. Some writers are of opinion, that he was conſul in the year 144. the ſeventh of *Antoninus*'s reign, and afterwards proconſul of *Africa* (81). We have already mentioned *Apollonius* the ſtoic, who was another of *M. Aurelius*'s preceptors, and whom that prince went frequently to hear, even after he was raiſed to the empire. Moſt writers aſcribe to him a work mentioned by *Photius*, wherein the author gives an account of illuſtrious women, of ſuch eſpecially as had applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy (82). *Ptolemy*, the celebrated aſtrologer and geographer, flouriſhed under *Adrian* and *Antoninus*. He made his laſt aſtronomical obſervation on a *Wedneſday*, the ſecond of *February* in the year 141. the fourth of *Antoninus*'s reign; but nevertheleſs *Suidas* ſuppoſes him to have lived to the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and gives us a catalogue of his works. His geography is greatly commended by the ancients; but we are told, that ſome of the manuſcript copies of that work are very different from the printed copies (83). *Suidas* writes, that he was born in *Alexandria*; but *Voſſius* maintains, that he was a native of *Peluſium*, and ſuppoſed to have been an *Alexandrian*, becauſe he made his aſtronomical obſervations in that city (84). *Sulpitius Apollinaris*, a celebrated grammarian, is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who ſeems to have entertained a great opinion of him (85). He left ſome letters and ſome grammatical writings, wherein he found fault with another grammarian, by name *Cæſellius Vindex* (86). Some of his obſervations upon *Terence* have reached our times (87). *M. Cornelius Fronto* is cried up by the ancients, as one of the beſt orators of his age, and by ſome put upon the level with *Cicero*. *Aulus Gellius* tells us, that he never viſited him, which he did frequently while he was yet very young, without profiting much by his inſtructions (88). In *Adrian*'s time he paſſed for the moſt eloquent orator of that age, and was afterwards appointed by *Antoninus* to teach *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the *Latin* eloquence. *M. Aurelius* valued him above all his preceptors, cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him in *Rome*, and honoured him with the conſular dignity (89). St. *Jerom* ſtyles him an illuſtrious orator (90); and *Sidonius* ſpeaks of him as the author of a particular kind of diction, more grave, and leſs flouriſhed, than that of the ancient orators (91). He publiſhed ſeveral harangues, one of which, againſt *Pelops*, was highly eſteemed, and preferred to all the reſt (92). *Soſipater Chariſius* publiſhed ſome letters of his, and other writings, on the propriety of words, in the collection of authors who have written on the *Latin* tongue (93). *Sidonius* commends one *Leo*, a man of great rank in the fifth century, for adopting the ſtyle of *Fronto*, from whom he was deſcended (94). We read in *Minucius Felix*, that one *Fronto*, a native of *Cirtha* in *Numidia*, publiſhed ſome diſcourſes againſt the chriſtians, which were in great requeſt about the beginning of the third century (95). Theſe diſcourſes are, by ſome able critics, aſcribed to *Fronto* the orator.

(67) *Idem ibid. p.* 10. *Phot. c.* 57. (68) *Phot. ibid.* (69) *Voſſ. Hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 13. (70) *Evag. l.* vi *c.* 24. (71) *Hier. in Dan.* (72) *Suid. p.* 1360. (73) *Voſſ. ibid.* (74) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 9. (75) *Aul. Gel l.* xviii. *c.* 10. (76) *Suid. p.* 871. (77) *Euſeb. in chron.* (78) *Aul. Gel. l.* i. *c.* 26. *l.* vi. *c.* 14. (79) *Idem, l.* xvii. *c.* 8. (80) *Suid. p.* 897. (81) *Vide P. Pagi. p.* 144. (82) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *Phot. p.* 161. *Spanh. p.* 53. (83) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 17. *Cyp. diſput. append. c.* 16. (84) *Voſſ. ibid.* (85) *Aul. Gel. l.* iv. *c.* 17. *l.* xiii. *c.* 17. *&c.* (86) *Aul. Gel. l.* vi. *c.* 6. *l.* xx *c.* 6 *l.* xiii. *c.* 19 *&c.* (87) *Vide Calviſ. an.* 163. (88) *Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 26. (89) *Jul. Cap. in Aurel. p.* 23. (90) *Hier. in chron.* (91) *Sid. l.* i. *epiſt.* 1. *l.* iv. *epiſt.* 3. (92) *Sid. l.* viii. *ep.* 10. (93) *Vide Caſaub. in Spart. M. Aur.* (94) *Sid. l.* viii. *epiſt.* 3. (95) *Min. Fel. p.* 8.

a bore the ſame name, was by *Veſpaſian* raiſed to the rank of a patrician, appointed governor of *Rome*, and honoured twice with the conſulſhip. He had three children, *Annius Verus*, the father of *M. Aurelius*; *Annius Libo*, who was conſul; and *Annia Galeria Fauſtina*, who was married to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. *Annius Verus* married *Domitia Calvilla*, called alſo *Lucilla*, the daughter of *Calviſius Tullus*, who had been twice conſul, and had by her *M. Aurelius* and a daughter named *Annia Cornificia*. *M. Aurelius* was born in *Rome*, during his grandfather's ſecond conſulſhip, on the 26th of *April* of the year 121, which was the fourth of *Adrian*'s reign. His firſt name was *Catilius Severus*, that of his mother's grandfather, who had been governor of *Rome*, and twice conſul. Upon the death of his father, who died in
b his prætorſhip, he was adopted by his grandfather *M. Annius Verus*, and took his name. The emperor *Adrian* uſed to call him *M. Annius Veriſſimus*, on account of his great ſincerity; and under that name *Juſtin* the martyr addreſſes him in his ſecond apology. When he was adopted by *Antoninus*, he took the names of *M. Ælius Aurelius Verus*, the name of *Aurelius* being peculiar to the family of *Antoninus*, and that of *Ælius* to the family of *Adrian*, into which *Antoninus* had been adopted. Upon his acceſſion to the empire, he left the name of *Verus* to *L. Commodus*, his brother by adoption, and took for himſelf that of *Antoninus*; but is generally diſtinguiſhed from his predeceſſor, either by the prænomen of *Marcus*, or the ſurname of *Philoſophus*; which was given him by the unanimous conſent of hiſtorians, and not by any public
c act or decree of the ſenate [f]. He was from his tender years brought up by the em- *His education.*
peror *Adrian*, whom *Dion Caſſius* calls his kinſman [g]. That prince would have willingly adopted him, and named him for his ſucceſſor; but choſe in his room, as he was then too young, *T. Antoninus*, who had married his aunt, obliging him to adopt his nephew [h]. *Annius Verus*, his grandfather, committed the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, to a matron, who lived in his houſe; but *M. Aurelius* thanks the gods, that he was but a ſhort while under her tuition [i]; for *Adrian*, taking him from his grandfather, brought him up in the palace, employing the greateſt men of that age to inſtruct him in every branch of literature. He applied *His ſtudies and learning.*
himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy under the celebrated ſophiſt *Apollonius Sextus* of
d *Chæronea*, *Plutarch*'s nephew, *Junius Ruſticus*, *Claudius Maximus*, *Cinſia Catullus*, and *Claudius Severus*; to that of eloquence under *Herodes Atticus* and *M. Cornelius Fronto*; and to the ſtudy of the law under *L. Voluſius Metianus*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Mæcianus*, the moſt learned civilian of that age. *M. Aurelius* is ſaid to have excelled in all theſe branches of learning, and to have been one of the greateſt orators, philoſophers, and civilians of his time. He delighted chiefly in the ſtudy of philoſophy, was thoroughly acquainted with the tenets and principles of the different ſects, and, when he was but twelve years old, entered himſelf among the philoſophers, wore their habit, and practiſed all their auſterities, lying on the ground, faſting, and abſtaining from ſeveral meats. He ſhewed, even after he was emperor, great reſpect to thoſe *His reſpect to his preceptors.*
e who had inſtructed him, eſpecially to *Junius Ruſticus*, of whom we have ſpoken in our notes; tranſacted nothing without his advice (for he was a perſon well verſed in the arts both of peace and war); ſaluted him always before the captains of the guards; raiſed him twice to the conſulſhip; and, after his death, prevailed upon the ſenate to erect him a ſtatue. He ſhewed no leſs gratitude and veneration towards his other maſters, ſetting up in his cloſet their images in gold, viſiting frequently their ſepulchres, and adorning them with crowns, victims, and flowers. His great application to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and the auſterities he practiſed, impaired his *Practiſes the auſterities of the philoſophers.*
health to ſuch a degree, that he became very weak and infirm, tho' naturally of a robuſt conſtitution [k]. To ſtrengthen his ſtomach, greatly weakened by faſting
f when he was but a youth, he uſed to take every day ſome treacle, which was made up for him by one of his phyſicians, named *Demetrius*, and, after his death, by the celebrated *Galen* [l]. As he led a very regular life, he lived, notwithſtanding his bad health, almoſt to the age of ſixty, and performed great things, applying himſelf to the diſpatch of buſineſs with more care and aſſiduity, than any of his predeceſſors had done. He had an utter averſion to all ſorts of ſhews, ſports and diverſions, being *His averſion to ſhews, and all diverſions.*
naturally grave and ſerious; but nevertheleſs appeared at them ſometimes, tho' very ſeldom, that he might not ſeem to condemn thoſe who frequented them. He uſed, while

[f] Dio, l. lxix. p. 797. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. Justin. apol. ii. Grut. p. 300. [g] Dio, ibid. [h] Jul. Cap. p. 23. Eutrop. [i] M. Aur. de ſeip. l. i. c. 14. [k] Jul. Cap. ibid. M. Anton. l. i. c. 3. [l] Galen. prog. p. 460. de antidot. c. 2. & lib. de ther. p. 457.

while he was emperor, to read, write or talk to his miniſters about public affairs, during the whole time of the ſports, for which he was often rallied by the populace, but deſpiſed their ralleries [m]. When he was but ſixteen, he made over his paternal eſtate to his ſiſter, ſaying, that his grandfather's eſtate was enough for him. *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus Pius*, as we have related above, upon condition, that he ſhould adopt *M. Aurelius*, at that time eighteen years old, and *L. Commodus*, who was only in the ſeventh or eighth year of his age, but already *Adrian*'s grandſon by adoption, being the ſon of *L. Ælius Cæſar*. Theſe adoptions happened, in all likelihood, on the ſame day that *Antoninus* was adopted, that is, on the twenty-fifth of *February* of the year 138. *M. Aurelius* was ſo far from being elated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he could not help betraying great uneaſineſs and concern, telling thoſe who came to congratulate him upon his promotion, that they knew not how difficult and dangerous a thing it was to command. *Adrian* at the ſame time appointed him quæſtor for the enſuing year, tho' he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of *Rome* for the diſcharge of that dignity [n]. The ſame prince had betrothed to him, when he was but fifteen, the daughter of *L. Verus Cæſar*, named, as is commonly believed, *Fabia*; and appointed, that *Antoninus* ſhould give his daughter *Annia Fauſtina* to young *Lucius*. But upon the death of *Adrian*, *Antoninus* propoſed a match between his daughter and *M. Aurelius*, who agreed to it, married her ſome years after, and had a daughter by her in the year 147. the ninth of *Antoninus*'s reign, named *Lucilla*, who was married to *L. Verus* in 164. and afterwards to *Pompeianus*. He had ſeveral other daughters by her, of whom three were ſtill alive in the year 193. and one was put to death by *Caracalla* in 212. *Annia Fauſtina* brought him likewiſe ſeveral ſons, *viz. Commodus*, who was afterwards emperor, *Antoninus Geminus*, *Severus*, or rather *Verus*, ſtyled on ſome medals *Annius Verus*, *T. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *T. Ælius Aurelius*. *Commodus* and *Antoninus Geminus* were twins, born on the thirty-firſt of *Auguſt* of the year 161. the firſt of their fathers reign [o]. In the year 139. *Antoninus* named *M. Aurelius* conſul for the enſuing year, declared him *Cæſar*, lodged him in the palace of *Tiberius*, and took him in a manner for his partner in the empire. *M. Aurelius*, without being in the leaſt elated with theſe extraordinary honours, purſued his former courſe of life, viſited his friends, as if he had been a private perſon, frequented the ſchools of the philoſophers, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Greek* and *Latin* eloquence, *&c.* In the beginning of the year 147. *Antoninus* inveſted him with the proconſular and tribunitial power, and thenceforth tranſacted nothing without his advice, which he generally followed, as he entertained a high opinion of his integrity, penetration, and extraordinary accompliſhments [p].

His iſſue by Fauſtina, *the daughter of* Antoninus.

Antoninus having declared, a little before he died, *M. Aurelius* his ſucceſſor, and recommended to him the empire and his daughter in the preſence of the chief officers of the court, the ſenate, as ſoon as he expired, obliged *M. Aurelius*, ſays the author of his life, to accept the ſovereignty, and take upon him the management of affairs, without ſo much as mentioning *L. Verus*, who was likewiſe the ſon of *Antoninus* by adoption, but very different in his temper and conduct both from his father and brother, being intirely abandoned to all manner of debauchery, and more inclined to tread in the footſteps of *Nero* and *Caligula*, than to imitate the virtues of *T. Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius* [q]. *Antoninus*, who was well acquainted with his temper, had never inveſted him with any power, nor even conferred upon him the title of *Cæſar*. However, *M. Aurelius* immediately declared him not only *Cæſar*, but *Auguſtus*, and his partner in the ſovereign power; ſo that *Rome* ſaw herſelf then for the firſt time governed by two ſovereigns at once. As they were at the ſame time conſuls, this year, the 161ſt of the chriſtian æra, is diſtinguiſhed in the *Faſti* and inſcriptions by the conſulate of the two *Auguſti*. This action of *Marcus Aurelius* is cried up by *Ariſtides* as the greateſt, and the moſt heroic and magnanimous, that is recorded in hiſtory of any prince [r]. In raiſing *Lucius* to the empire, he gave him the name of *Verus*; ſo that he was thenceforth named *Lucius Verus*, inſtead of *Lucius Commodus*: he added that of *Antoninus*, which he aſſumed himſelf; whence he is ſtyled in moſt ancient inſcriptions *M. Aurelius Antoninus* [s]. The two emperors went together from the

He takes L. Verus *for his partner in the ſovereignty.*

[m] Jul. Cap. p. 23. [n] Jul. Cap. p. 24. [o] Jul. Cap. ibid. & in L. Ver. p. 39. Herodian. l. i. p. 46. & l. iv. p. 546. Grut. p. 252. Pagi, p. 180. [p] Jul. Cap. p. 25. Aristid. orat. 9. p. 107. [q] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 25. & in Ver. p. 36. [r] Aristid. orat. 16. p. 421. [s] Vide Goltz. p. 34.

a the ſenate to the camp of the prætorian guards, where they promiſed the ſoldiers a bounty of twenty thouſand ſeſterces, *M. Aurelius* ſpeaking for both. They performed afterwards with great pomp the funeral of their deceaſed father, cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and inſtituted a new college of prieſts, called *Aureliani*, (from the name of his family) or *Aurelian* prieſts. They both governed with great mildneſs and unity, *Lucius* behaving himſelf rather as *Aurelius*'s lieutenant, than his partner in the ſovereignty. Their adminiſtration was ſuch, that no one had occaſion to regret the loſs of *Antoninus*, whoſe meaſures were purſued by both princes. That their union might be the more laſting, *M. Aurelius* betrothed his daughter *Lucilla* to *L. Verus*, and on that occaſion both princes added a great number of children to

They both govern with great mildneſs and unanimity.

b thoſe who were ſupplied with corn at the public expence [s]. But the tranquillity and happineſs, which *Rome* and the whole empire enjoyed under the two ſovereigns, was ſoon interrupted by a dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, which happened in the beginning of the following year, when *Ruſticus* and *Aquilinus* were conſuls, overturned many private houſes and public buildings in the city, carried away great numbers of people and cattle, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. This inundation was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in ſeveral provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced an infinite number of inſects, that deſtroyed what the flood had ſpared, and occaſioned a famine in *Rome*. Theſe calamities were in great meaſure allayed by the care and preſence of the two

Many calamities happen in the beginning of their reign.

c emperors, who, at their own expence, ſupplied the diſtreſſed city with corn, and made good the loſſes ſuſtained by particulars [t]. At the ſame time, the *Parthian* war broke out, the *Catti* made irruptions into *Germany* and *Rhætia*, and the *Britons* began to revolt. Againſt the latter was diſpatched *Calpurnius Agricola*, and *Aufidius Victorinus* againſt the *Catti*: but it was thought proper, that *L. Verus* ſhould march in perſon againſt the *Parthians*, while *M. Aurelius* continued at *Rome*, where his preſence was judged neceſſary. The good emperor was not diſpleaſed to have ſuch a ſpecious pretence of removing his collegue from *Rome*, hoping that a warlike life would give him a diſtaſte to the idle amuſements and debaucheries of the town: but he was therein greatly diſappointed, as we ſhall ſee anon [u]. What ſucceſs attended

d *Agricola* and *Victorinus*, we are no-where told. All we know of the wars with theſe nations is, that *Didius Julianus*, who reigned after *Pertinax*, is ſaid to have overcome the *Chauci* and likewiſe the *Catti*, who had made inroads into the *Roman* dominions. The war in *Britain* muſt have likewiſe laſted a long time; for it was not ended eight years after, when that of the *Marcomanni* broke out [w]. As for the *Parthians*, they had at this time for their king *Vologeſes*, probably the ſon of *Coſrhoes*, who reigned in the times of *Trajan* and *Adrian*. *Antoninus* had refuſed to reſtore to him the

The Parthians *declare war.*

golden throne, which had been ſeized by *Adrian*. This perhaps occaſioned the war; for before *Antoninus* died, the *Parthian* had made vaſt preparations, and ſoon after his death appeared in the field at the head of a formidable army [x]. Great diſturbances,

Diſturbances in Armenia.

e of which we find but a very confuſed account in the ancients, happened likewiſe at this time in *Armenia*, raiſed, in all likelihood, and fomented by the king of the *Parthians*. *Sohemus*, king of *Armenia*, was driven from the throne, and the king of the *Henochii*, a people dwelling between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* ſeas, was killed by a petty prince, named *Tiridates*, who was afterwards taken priſoner by the *Romans*, and by *M. Aurelius* confined to *Britain* [y]. *Severinus*, a native of *Gaul* and governor of *Cappadocia*, having entered *Armenia* at the head of ſeveral legions, was there attacked by the *Parthians* near a place called *Elegia*, and cut off with all his men: we are told, that not a ſingle perſon of the whole army eſcaped the general ſlaughter. *Dion Caſſius* aſcribes this victory to *Vologeſes*; but he obtained it by *Oſrhoes*, or, as *Lucian*

f calls him, *Othryades*, who commanded the army, and was in all likelihood ſome prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, on whom *Vologeſes* deſigned to beſtow the crown of *Armenia* [z]. *Vologeſes*, elated with this victory, entered *Syria* at the head of a very numerous army, committing dreadful ravages both in that province and in *Cappadocia*, which he likewiſe invaded, after having put to flight *Antidius Cornelianus*, who commanded in *Syria*. Againſt ſo formidable an enemy, it was judged proper, that one of the emperors ſhould march in perſon; and accordingly *L. Verus* ſet out from *Rome*

Vologeſes *king of the* Parthians *invades* Syria.

L. Verus *goes into the eaſt.*

[s] Jul. Cap. p. 25. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem in Ver. p. 37. [w] Spart. in Julian. p. 60. [x] Arist. orat. ix. p. 119. Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 25. [y] Dio, l. lxxi. d. 802. [z] Lucian. pſeud. p. 485. & hiſt. p. 347. Dio, p. 802.

Rome this year for *Syria*. *M. Aurelius* accompanied him as far as *Capua*, whence he was ſcarce returned to *Rome*, when news was brought him, that his collegue had been ſeized at *Canoſa* with a violent diſtemper, occaſioned by the debaucheries and diſorders to which he had abandoned himſelf on the road: for the luxurious prince, inſtead of purſuing his march with all poſſible expedition, and haſtening to ſave *Syria*, which was over-run by the *Parthians* and ready to revolt from *Rome*, ſtopt in all the cities through which he paſſed, ſpending his time in banquets and revels, and plunging himſelf into the moſt infamous debaucheries. Upon the news of his illneſs, *M. Aurelius* cauſed vows and ſacrifices to be offered for his recovery, and took a ſecond journey to ſee him. When he began to recover, *M. Aurelius* returned to *Rome*, and *L. Verus* ſoon after purſued his journey, paſſing over into *Greece*, and from thence into *Aſia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*. As he ſtopped in every place that could afford him any kind of diverſion, he arrived, when the year was already far ſpent, in *Syria*; and chuſing *Antioch* for the place of his reſidence, abandoned himſelf there to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, while the officers who commanded under him carried on the war. Theſe were *Statius Priſcus*, *Avidius Caſſius*, *Martius Verus*, *Saturninus*, *Fronto*, and *Tatianus*, all perſons of great experience, and generally eſteemed the beſt commanders of that age. As for the emperor *Verus*, he was ſo taken up with his pleaſures and diverſions, that tho' the war laſted four years, he never once appeared at the head of his army, which conſiſted of the flower of the *Roman* troops; but wallowed in all manner of lewdneſs at *Antioch*, *Daphne*, and *Laodicea*, while his officers were ſignalizing themſelves in the field [a]. All we know of this war is, that many great exploits were performed in *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Media*, and upon the banks of the *Tigris* [b]; that the *Romans* beſieged *Edeſſa* in the province of *Oſrhoene*, and gained many ſignal victories [c]; that *Oſrhoes* was once forced to ſave himſelf by ſwimming croſs the *Tigris* [d]; that the *Parthians* received a dreadful overthrow at *Europa*, a city of *Syria* on the *Euphrates*, a little below *Zeugma* [e]; and that in the end, *Oſrhoes*, who commanded the *Parthian* troops, having loſt his army, was obliged to conceal himſelf in a cave [f]. *Lucian*, who wrote about this time, is not aſhamed to tell us, that in the above-mentioned battle three hundred and ſeventy thouſand of the enemy were killed; and that the *Romans* loſt only two men, and had but nine wounded [g].

His debaucheries on the road.

He abandons himſelf to all manner of pleaſures, and ſuffers his lieutenants to carry on the war.

The Parthians *overthrown.*

While *L. Verus* wallowed in all ſorts of pleaſures at *Antioch*, *M. Aurelius* made it his whole ſtudy to reform, by his example and ſeveral wholſome laws, the manners of the *Romans*, to redreſs abuſes, to reward the virtuous, and reclaim, rather by gentle means than ſeverity, the vicious. The people enjoyed under his mild adminiſtration all the bleſſings of liberty, and were truly no leſs free than their anceſtors had been in the beſt times of the republic. He paid a greater deference to the ſenate than *Antoninus* himſelf had ever done, referring to them the deciſion of ſuch cauſes as belonged to his own tribunal, and undertaking nothing without their advice, to which he readily ſubmitted, ſaying, It was more reaſonable for him to follow the advice of ſo many wiſe men, than for ſo many wiſe men to follow his. He never failed attending the ſenate, delivering his opinion there like a private ſenator. He adminiſtered juſtice in perſon with great aſſiduity and impartiality; heard with patience ſuch as complained of his miniſters, and endeavoured, ſo far as was conſiſtent with equity, to diſmiſs no one from his preſence diſſatisfied. He ſuffered no criminal to be condemned or executed, till he had examined with great care and attention the charge, and heard what the perſon accuſed could alledge in his defence. He was naturally inclined to mercy; but nevertheleſs puniſhed ſuch as were guilty of any enormous crime with the utmoſt rigor. However, we have innumerable inſtances of his clemency, and very few of his ſeverity. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that he obliged the inhabitants of *Nicea* to ſend yearly to *Rome* a certain quantity of corn, for having beaten one of their citizens, by name *Hipparchus*, a man of great learning and extraordinary accompliſhments [h]. They continued to pay this tribute to the time of *Conſtantine*, by whom it was remitted.

Rome *happy under* M. Aurelius.

His clemency and good-nature.

The following year, *L. Ælianus*, or *Lælianus*, and *Paſtor*, being conſuls, *Statius Priſcus* made himſelf maſter of *Artaxata*, and a place called *The new city*, which ſoon became,

Artaxata *taken by the* Romans.

[a] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 26. & in Ver. p. 37. Philost. ſoph. xxvii. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 775. & l. lxxi. p. 802. [b] Lucian. hiſt. p. 362. [c] Idem, p. 358. [d] Idem, p. 356. [e] Idem, p. 361. [f] Idem, p. 356. [g] Idem hiſt. p. 357. [h] Aur. Vict. in Conſtant. Aristid. orat. ix. Dio, p. 804. Jul. Cap. in. M. Aur. p. 26.

a became, says *Dion Cassius*, the first city of *Armenia*. *Priscus* being soon after sent against the *Parthians*, *Martius Verus* took upon him the command of the troops in *Armenia*; and partly by force, partly by his wise conduct and obliging behaviour, prevailed upon the *Armenians* to submit to the *Romans*, and to restore *Sohemus* to the throne, who, being driven out by *Vologeses*, had resided some time at *Rome*, and had been there created senator, and honoured with the consulship [i]. On several medals of this year mention is made of the reduction of *Armenia* by *Verus*, who, in some inscriptions, is said to have given a king to *Armenia* [k]. Tho' he had no share, as we have related above, in that conquest; yet the senate distinguished both him and *M. Aurelius* with the title of *Armeniacus*, and both assumed this year that of *imperator* [l], no doubt, for the reduction of *Armenia*. The following year, when *Macrinius* and *Celsus* were consuls, *M. Aurelius* sent his daughter *Lucilla* into *Syria*, to be married there to *L. Verus*, to whom she had been for some time betrothed. She was attended by her sister *Cornificia*, by *Civica Pompeianus*, uncle to *L. Verus* by the father, and by many other persons of distinction. *M. Aurelius* would have willingly accompanied her in person into the east, but parted with her at *Brundusium*, and returned to *Rome*, that he might not seem to assume to himself the glory of finishing the *Parthian* war [m]. The next year, the fourth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign, *Gavius Orfitus* and *L. Arrius Pudens* being consuls, *Vologeses*, having attacked the *Romans* at the head of a very numerous army, was utterly defeated by *Cassius*; who, pursuing the c advantages of his victory, advanced to *Ctesiphon*, took that city, and laid the palace of the *Parthian* monarchs in ashes. He likewise made himself master of *Edessa*, of *Babylon*, and all *Media*. The city of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris* opened its gates to him, and received the *Romans* as friends; but nevertheless *Cassius* ordered the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thousand souls, to be inhumanly massacred, and the city to be utterly demolished. Some writers ascribe this calamity to the treachery of the inhabitants; others to the cruelty of *Cassius*, who thus retaliated upon the *Parthians* the dreadful slaughters which the *Romans* had in former times suffered from them. On his return, he lost great numbers of his men, who died of distempers, or perished for want of provisions [n]. For these successes the senate bestowed on *L. Verus*, tho' d he had never stirred from *Antioch*, the glorious title of *The conqueror of the* Parthians *and* Medes, as appears from several ancient inscriptions and medals of this and the following year [o]. Of this war the ancients give us no farther account; but from *Rufus Festus* [p] and *Dion Cassius* [q] it appears, that towards the end of the reign of *Commodus*, the provinces of *Osrhoene* and *Adiabene*, with the city of *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*, were subject to the *Romans*. Many *Greek* historians immediately published accounts of this war; but were guilty, it seems, of considerable mistakes; which prompted *Lucian* to compose his treatise on the manner of writing history [r]. The war being ended, *Lucius Verus* appointed kings over the foreign nations which had submitted to *Rome*, and left the senators who had attended him governors of the *Roman* provinces. *M. Aurelius* e had sent *Annius Libo* his cousin-german into *Syria*, to govern that province in quality of lieutenant, while *L. Verus* resided there; but he dying suddenly, *L. Verus*, upon his leaving *Syria*, appointed *Cæsonius Vectilianus* governor of that province in his room. *Libo* was said to have been poisoned by *Verus*, not able to bear with his haughty and imperious temper. But *Antoninus* gave no credit to that report; nay, at the request of *Verus*, he suffered *Agaclytes*, one of his collegue's freed-men, to marry *Libo*'s widow, and even assisted at the nuptial ceremonies, tho' no-ways pleased with the marriage [s].

Armenia *reduced.*

M. Aurelius *marries his daughter* Lucilla *to* L. Verus.

The Parthians *utterly defeated by* Cassius, *who takes most of their cities,* &c.

The death of Annius Libo.

The next year, *Q. Servilius Pudens* and *L. Fusidius Pollio* being consuls, *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph with *M. Aurelius*, who took his children with him in the triumphal chariot. The title of *Parthicus* was given by the senate f to both emperors, and both assumed that of *Father of their country*, which *M. Aurelius* had declined till the return of his brother. *L. Verus*, after his triumph, begged, that the title of *Cæsar* might be conferred on the two sons of *M. Aurelius*, viz. *Commodus* and *Annius Verus*; who accordingly received it on the twelfth of *October* of this year. The return of *L. Verus* proved fatal, we may say, to the whole world; for he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he passed; so that the infection not only spread through *Italy*, but extended to the most distant countries that

L. Verus *returns to* Rome *and triumphs with* M. Aurelius.

A dreadful plague rages in all the provinces of the empire.

[i] Dio, ibid. [k] Occo. p. 302, 303. [l] Occo. ibid. [m] Jul. Cap. p. 26. [n] Dio, p. 802. Lucian. hist. p. 358. Ammian. l xxiii. [o] Occo. p. 283. Birag. p. 218, 236. [p] Fest. p. 551. [q] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 848. [r] Lucian. de hist. p. 347. [s] Dio, p. 811. & Jul. Cap. in Aur p. 22, & Ver. p. 38.

that were ſubject to, or had any communication with, *Rome*, or the *Romans*. We are told by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that this plague firſt broke out at *Seleucia*, where the ſoldiers, pillaging the temple of *Apollo*, found a little golden coffer under ground, which, upon their opening it, caſt out ſuch a peſtilentious air, as immediately infected the neighbouring country, and ſoon ſpread into moſt parts of the world [t]; but thoſe who wrote at this very time, and before the infection reached the provinces of the *Roman* empire, aſſure us, that it began in *Ethiopia*, and was thence carried into *Egypt*, and from *Egypt* into the country of the *Parthians*, where it infected *L. Verus*'s army [v]. Be that as it will, it was, without all doubt, brought into *Italy* by the troops which had been employed againſt the *Parthians*, and made a dreadful havock in all the provinces of the empire, raging with great violence for ſome years, eſpecially in *Italy* and at *Rome*, where it carried off many thouſands, and among the reſt great numbers of illuſtrious perſons. *M. Aurelius* cauſed ſuch of the common people as died to be buried at his own expence, and enacted on that occaſion ſome laws concerning burials and ſepulchres, which were ſtill in force in *Dioclefian*'s time [w]. The plague was followed by a dreadful famine, by earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. At the ſame time, the *Marcomanni* one of the moſt warlike nations in *Germany*, invaded the empire, having firſt drawn into their alliance all the barbarous nations which bordered on the *Roman* dominions, from *Gaul* to *Illyricum*, *viz.* the *Nariſci*, the *Hermonduri*, the *Quadi*, the *Suevians*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Victovales*, *Roxolani*, *Baſternæ*, *Coſtobochi*, *Alani*, *Vandali*, *Iazyges*, and ſeveral other nations. This war, which by the hiſtorians of theſe times is called one of the greateſt wars *Rome* ever ſuſtained, was kindled while the flower of the *Roman* troops were yet employed in the eaſt againſt the *Parthians*; but ſuſpended for ſome time by the addreſs of the commanders on the frontiers, that *Rome* might not be at the ſame time engaged in two ſuch dreadful wars. The affairs of the eaſt were no ſooner ſettled, and *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, than *M. Aurelius* acquainted the ſenate, that a war with the *Marcomanni* was inevitable, and of ſuch conſequence, that it required the preſence of both emperors; for *M. Aurelius* did not care to commit the whole management of the war to *Verus*,, judging him unfit to carry it on with ſucceſs; and was, on the other hand, unwilling to leave him at *Rome*, where he began to be daily more and more deſpiſed on account of his enormous debaucheries. The ſenate approved his propoſal; ſo that both emperors, after having offered an infinite number of ſacrifices, and implored by all ſorts of ceremonies, both foreign and *Roman*, the protection of the gods, left *Rome* about the cloſe of the year, in their military apparel, and haſtened to *Aquileia*, to make the neceſſary preparations there for taking the field early in the ſpring [x].

And is followed by a famine, by earthquakes, &c.

War with the Marcomanni

Both emperors ſet out from Rome.

The next conſuls were the emperor *L. Verus*, the third time, and *M. Quadratus*, nephew to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. Early in the ſpring the two emperors took the field, and their approach ſtruck the enemy with ſuch terror, that they repaſſed the *Danube* and even put to death the authors and promoters of the war. The *Quadi*, whoſe king was dead, promiſed not to crown the perſon whom they had choſen in his room, without the conſent and approbation of the emperors. Moſt of the nations who had taken arms diſpatched embaſſadors either to the emperors or their generals, to make their ſubmiſſions, and aſk pardon for having diſturbed the peace of the empire. Hereupon *Verus*, who had left the diverſions of the city much againſt his will, and panted after them, was for returning immediately to *Rome*; but *M. Aurelius*, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the barbarians, continued ſome time at *Aquileia*, fortifying that place with new works, and then paſſed, together with *Verus*, the neighbouring *Alps*; provided with great care for the ſafety of *Italy* and *Illyricum*, and returned to *Rome* about the end of this year [y]. The following year, *Apronianus* and *Paulus* being conſuls the ſecond time, the war ſeems to have broke out anew; for it appears from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, that both princes took this year, the eighth of their reign, the title of *imperator*; which was never done but on occaſion of ſome victory [z]: and in the chronicle of *Euſebius* we read, that the *Romans* gained this year a ſignal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Dacians* [a]. The next year, in the conſulate of *Q. Soſius Priſcus* and *P. Cælius Apollinaris*, the *Germans*, notwithſtanding their late defeat, renewed the war with more vigor than ever; inſomuch, that both emperors left *Rome* in the depth of winter, and returned to *Aquileia*,

The Marcomanni *and other* German *nations ſue for peace.*

But renew the war with great vigor.

[t] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 251, 253. [u] Lucian. de hiſt. p. 355. [w] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 28. Oros. l. vii. c. 15. [x] Idem ibid. p. 28, & 39. [y] Dio, p. 808. Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 28. [z] Occo p. 285, & 309. [a] Euseb. chron. p. 136.

a *Aquileia*, with a design to attack the barbarians early in the spring; but the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it advisable to leave the place and hasten back to the metropolis. As they were on the road in the same coach, *L. Verus* was seized with an apoplexy near *Altinum*, *M. Aurelius* caused him to be immediately taken out of the coach and blooded, by which means he brought him alive to *Altinum*, where he lay three days speechless and then died, after having lived thirty-nine years, and reigned eight and some months [b]. *M. Aurelius* conveyed his body to *Rome*; caused it to be interred with extraordinary pomp, by that of his father *L. Cæsar*, in the mausoleum of *Adrian*; prevailed upon the senate, notwithstanding the hatred they bore him, to rank him among the gods; appointed him priests, b sacrifices, *&c.* and took particular care of all his relations; nay, even of his wicked and debauched freed-men, whom, however, he removed from the court, retaining only one of that herd, by name *Eclectus*, who afterwards murdered his son *Commodus*, as we shall relate hereafter. *L. Verus* was a prince intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, passing his whole time in revels and banquets, and often scouring the streets in the night-time, as *Nero* had formerly done, and committing great disorders in the public-houses and shews, which he used to frequent in disguise, and mix with the mob, by whom he was often roughly handled. During his four years stay in *Syria*, he was so taken up with pleasures and lewd amours, that he was with much-ado prevailed upon by his officers to march twice to the banks of the *Eu-* c *phrates*, whence he hastened back to *Daphne*, one of the suburbs of *Antioch*, a place so infamous for all manner of lewdness, that *to live after the manner of* Daphne was become a proverb to express the most dissolute and luxurious way of living, and that all who had any regard to their reputation avoided appearing there. In that place *Verus* abandoned himself without restraint to all sorts of abominations, while his generals were carrying on the war against the *Parthians* and their allies; which gave occasion to many severe lampoons, the *Antiochians* being greatly addicted to satire. But *Verus* preferred his pleasures to his reputation: he brought with him out of *Syria* a great number of comedians, players, buffoons, *&c.* and passed most of his time in their company. Soon after his return to *Rome*, he is said to have spent at one entertain- d ment six millions of sesterces; for he presented each of the guests, who were twelve in number, with crowns of gold, and with all the gold and silver plate, great part of which was set with jewels, which they had made use of during the banquet, and likewise with golden boxes filled with precious ointments; and at their parting he gave to each of them a chariot, and mules richly caparisoned, to carry them home. He turned the court, says the writer of his life, into a tavern; for after he had supped with *M. Aurelius*, he used to withdraw to his own company, and pass the whole night in drinking with his debauched companions and lewd women. He was so fond of a horse named *Celer*, or the *Swift*, that he erected a statue to him in gold, fed him with raisins and almonds, covered him with purple, ordered him to be kept in a room of e the palace, and, when he died, erected a stately monument to him on the *Vatican*. He suffered his slaves to be as free with him at all times, as they were with their masters, according to the *Roman* custom, during the feast of *Saturn*, and was intirely governed by them, his freed-men, and his concubines. He built a magnificent villa on the *Clodian* way; and there spent most of his time in revelling with his freed-men and such women as were infamous for their lewdness. He once invited thither *M. Aurelius*, who complied with his invitation, and staid five days with him, hoping to reclaim him from his vices by the example of his regular and blameless conduct; but finding he was not to be reclaimed, the good emperor bore with him patiently, dissembled his disorders, concealed them as much as lay in his power, and even f endeavoured to excuse them. However, it was privately whispered abroad, that *Verus*'s horrible excesses, and his arbitrary manner of proceeding after his return from the east, occasioned a misunderstanding between him and *M. Aurelius*, who was thought to have intimated in his speech to the senate, that he was not much grieved for the death of his collegue, which enabled him to do good to all without controul or restraint; nay, as the best of princes are often maliciously censured, *M. Aurelius* was said to have delivered himself from so troublesome a collegue, either by poison, or by ordering his physician *Posidippus* to let him blood unseasonably [c]. *Dion Cassius* seems inclined to believe, that *M. Aurelius* thought it expedient to prevent by that

L. Verus *dies.*

His character.

His debaucheries, revels, banquets, &c.

M. Aurelius *said by some to have caused him to be murdered.*

[b] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 28. & in Ver. p. 39. Galen. prog. t. iii. p. 459. [c] Jul. Cap. p. 28—34.

that means *Verus* from raiſing diſturbances in the ſtate[d]; for he is ſaid to have formed a
But cleared from that aſperſion by others. a conſpiracy, with a deſign to murder *M. Aurelius*, and reign alone[e]. But it is a crime, ſay other hiſtorians, to imagine, that ſuch a prince as *M. Aurelius*, to whom flattery itſelf has never equalled any other, would by any means contribute to the death of his brother, whatever his life and actions might deſerve[f]. Only ſuch fratricides as *Caracalla*, and perſons guilty of the moſt enormous crimes, can entertain ſuch thoughts of *Aurelius*[g]. Some charged the empreſs *Fauſtina* with his death, as if ſhe had poiſoned him for having diſcovered to his wife his inceſtuous converſation with her. Others ſaid, that he was poiſoned by his wife *Lucilla*, jealous of the great paſſion he had for his own ſiſter *Fabia*, whoſe power ſhe could not brook[h].

M. Aurelius, now delivered from ſo vicious and troubleſome a partner, made it b
his whole ſtudy to oblige all with his engaging behaviour and unbounded generoſity. He ſeemed to excel not only his predeceſſors, but even himſelf, governing with ſuch
M. Aurelius *prepares for the war againſt the* Marcomanni. moderation and mildneſs, as can hardly be expreſſed[i]. The neceſſary preparations for the war with the *Marcomanni* ingroſſed at this time his whole care and attention. His lieutenants gained, it ſeems, ſome advantages over that formidable enemy in the very beginning of the enſuing year, while *M. Cornelius Cethegus* and *C. Erucius Clarus* were conſuls; for ſoon after the death of *L. Verus*, and before the twenty-fifth of *February* of this year, he took upon him the title of *imperator*, as appears from ſeveral medals and inſcriptions[k]. However, the *Marcomanni* ſoon reſumed their cou- c
rage, and falling upon *Vindex*, captain of the guards, cut both him and moſt of his men in pieces[l]. After this victory, they approached the *Roman* territories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire. Hereupon a bloody battle enſued, which laſted many hours, both the *Romans* and barbarians fighting with
The Romans *defeated with great ſlaughter.* incredible courage and reſolution; but at length the *Romans* were utterly defeated, and put to flight, after having loſt near twenty thouſand men. The *Marcomanni* purſued the fugitives to the very walls of *Aquileia*; which city they had taken, had not the *Roman* generals rallied their men with great ſkill and conduct. The barbarians entered *Italy* itſelf, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and committing everywhere moſt dreadful devaſtations[m]. The news of this fatal overthrow filled *Rome* with terror and conſternation. As the plague, which ſtill raged in moſt pro- d
vinces of the empire, had greatly weakened the army, ſlaves, gladiators, and even the banditti of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*, were admitted into the army. Beſides, *M. Aurelius* prevailed upon ſome mercenary *Germans* to ſerve againſt their countrymen. Thus a conſiderable army was ſoon raiſed; but as money was wanting to pay them, and defray the other charges of ſo dangerous a war, the good-natured emperor, not being able to prevail upon himſelf to burden his people with new taxes, expoſed to
M. Aurelius *ſells the plate, jewels, and rich furniture of the palace, to defray the charges of the war.* public ſale the furniture of the palace, the gold and ſilver plate, all the valuable pictures and ſtatues belonging to the crown, and even his wife's rich garments embroidered with gold, and a curious collection of pearls, which *Adrian* had purchaſed during his long progreſs through the provinces of the empire, and lodged in a parti- e
cular cabinet, called *Adrian's cabinet*. The ſale laſted two months, and produced ſuch an immenſe ſum, as enabled the emperor to relieve the people this year, when proviſions were very dear, with an extraordinary largeſs; to defray the charges of a five years expenſive war; and to buy back, when the war was ended, part of what he had ſold, allowing, however, the buyers full liberty to keep their purchaſes, or return them and take their money again[n]. When he was upon the point of ſetting out from *Rome*, he married his daughter *Lucilla*, the widow of *L. Verus*, to *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was originally of *Antioch*, and the ſon of a private *Roman* knight, but a perſon of extraordinary merit, and famed for his wiſdom and integrity, which *M. Aurelius* ever preferred to wealth and nobility[o]. *Julian*, ſurnamed the apoſtate, blames *M.* f
Aurelius for having left the empire to his ſon *Commodus*, and not to *Pompeianus*, who was every way qualified for it; whereas *Commodus* was altogether unfit for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt[p]. However, neither *Lucilla* herſelf nor her mother *Fauſtina* were pleaſed with the match. *Lucilla* retained the title of *Auguſta*, and all the
Annius Verus, *the emperor's ſecond ſon, dies* badges of ſovereignty[q]. Before the emperor left *Rome*, his ſon *Annius Verus Cæſar* died

[d] Dio, p. 802. [e] Philost. ſoph. xxvii. p. 548. [f] Jul. Cap. in Ver. p. 39. [g] Herodian. l. iv. p. 645. Aur. Vict. [h] Jul. Cap. [i] Idem, p. 29. Eutrop. [k] Birag. p. 221. [l] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 805. [m] Idem ibid. & Lucian. pſeud. p. 493. [n] Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 29. Eutrop. & Birag. p. 221. [o] Lamprid. in Comm. p. 48. Herodian. l. i. p. 464. [p] Julian. Cæs p, 13. [q] Jul. Cap. p. 31. Herodian. l. i. p. 427.

died at *Paleſtrina*, in the ſeventh year of his age. *M. Aurelius* loved him with all the tenderneſs of a father; but nevertheleſs bore his death with great firmneſs, comforting the empreſs *Fauſtina*, and the phyſicians, who are ſaid to have occaſioned his death by opening unſeaſonably a ſwelling under his ear [r]. The emperor ſet out at length for *Germany*, whither he ſhewed a great deſire of carrying *Galen* with him; but that celebrated phyſician chuſing to ſtay at *Rome*, the good-natured prince would not preſs him to leave it. He left likewiſe at *Rome* his ſon *Commodus*, under the care of *Pitholaus*, his chief chamberlain, injoining him to employ none but *Galen*, in caſe his ſon ſhould be taken ill during his abſence [s].

THE ancients compare this war to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars; but, at the ſame time, give us a very ſuccinct and confuſed account of it. The barbarians, ſay they, laid waſte ſeveral provinces of the empire; defeated great armies. The *Marcomanni* and the *Vandals* made themſelves maſters of *Pannonia*, and held it for ſome time. The *Caſtobochi* over-ran *Greece*, and advanced as far as *Elatea*, a famous city of *Phocis* in *Achaia*; they overturned cities, and committed every-where dreadful devaſtations [t]. However, they were at length overcome by *M. Aurelius*, who, during this bloody and deſtructive war, gave innumerable inſtances of an extraordinary prudence and intrepidity, chuſing rather to prolong the war and tire out the enemy, than expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers. The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their leader, behaved with uncommon bravery; and the captains of the guards, as well as the other generals, ſignalized themſelves in a very eminent manner [u]. The *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Vandals* were conſtrained to abandon *Pannonia* and retire beyond the *Danube*. The emperor purſued them, and, coming up with them as they were paſſing that river, gave them a dreadful overthrow. The *Iazyges* were twice defeated, firſt in *Pannonia*, and the ſecond time as they were croſſing the *Danube* on the ice. A *Roman* ſoldier, who was upon guard during the night near the *Danube*, hearing one of his comrades, who had been taken by the barbarians, crying on the other ſide in an affecting manner, threw himſelf, armed as he was, into the river, croſſed it, reſcued his fellow-ſoldier, and returned with him to his poſt [w]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that the *Roman* ſoldiers having demanded of the emperor a largeſs after a bloody battle, in which they had behaved with extraordinary valour and obtained a complete victory, he refuſed it, telling them, That he could not inrich them, without impoveriſhing their parents and relations; and adding, as they ſeemed diſſatisfied with this anſwer, That their complaints gave him no uneaſineſs or concern, ſince he was well appriſed, that the gods alone diſpoſed of empires [x]. *Pompeianus*, the emperor's ſon-in-law, who commanded a body of troops, deſiring to have *Pertinax* joined in the commiſſion with him, *M. Aurelius* readily complied with his requeſt, tho' he had, not long before, upon ſome complaints, deprived *Pertinax* of an employment which he had in *Dacia*. *Pertinax* was attended with great ſucceſs in his new commiſſion, which induced the emperor to admit him into the ſenate. Being ſoon after convinced, that the complaints brought againſt him were quite groundleſs, to repair the injury he had done him, he honoured him with prætorial ornaments, and appointed him governor of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, whence he drove the *Germans*, who had broke into that province, and was on that account, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his birth, raiſed by the emperor to the conſular dignity [y]. The emperor, during his firſt expedition againſt the *Marcomanni*, reſided for the moſt part at *Carnuntum*, a city of *Upper Pannonia* upon the *Danube*, which ſome take to be the preſent village of *St. Perronel* in *Auſtria* [z].

The barbarians over-run ſeveral provinces of the empire.

M. Aurelius *carries on the war in perſon with great ſucceſs.*

His firmneſs and intrepidity

Pertinax *created a ſenator.*

BEFORE the war with the *Marcomanni* was ended, another broke out in *Egypt*, the robbers and ſhepherds of that country, who were numerous, taking up arms, at the inſtigation of their prieſts, and committing dreadful diſorders. Being headed by one *Iſidorus*, a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, they killed a *Roman* centurion and ſome ſoldiers, by treachery; and afterwards, the *Egyptians* joining them in great numbers from all parts, they defeated the *Roman* troops in a pitched battle; over-ran the whole country, and would have made themſelves maſters of *Alexandria* itſelf, had not *Caſſius*, whom *M. Aurelius* had appointed governor of *Syria*, marched againſt them. *Caſſius* was reckoned the beſt commander of his age, and had ſignalized himſelf

Diſturbances in Egypt.

[r] JUL. CAP. p. 31 [s] GALEN. prog. 459. & 461 [t] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 425. JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 29. PAUSAN. l. x p. 352 [u] JUL. CAP. p. 31. ARISTID. orat. ix. p. 117. [w] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 804, 805. AUR. VICT. p. 31. [x] Dio, p. 803. [y] Idem, p. 810. JUL. CAP. in Pertin. p. 54. [z] Dio, ibid. BAUDRAND. p. 165.

himſelf both in the *Parthian* and *German* wars. However, he did not think it adviſeable to engage ſo bold and deſperate an enemy; but having found means to ſow diviſions among them, as he was a man of great craft and addreſs, he obliged them at laſt to ſubmit and lay down their arms [a]. *Caſſius*, having thus quelled the diſturbances in *Egypt*, marched into *Armenia* and *Arabia*, where he performed great exploits; but neither of them, nor of this year, which ſeems to have laſted ſome time, any farther mention is made in hiſtory. At the ſame time, the *Moors* over-ran almoſt all *Spain*, ravaging that country with fire and ſword; but were in the end driven out by the emperor's lieutenants. *Severus*, afterwards emperor, was at that time quæſtor of the province of *Bætica* [b]. There were likewiſe ſome diſturbances in the country of the *Sequani*, now the *Franche-Comté*; but theſe the emperor compoſed with his authority and ſeaſonable ſeverity [c]. The next conſuls were *Herennianus* and *Severus*, uncle to the emperor of that name, who, at his requeſt, was by *M. Aurelius* admitted into the ſenate [d]. During their adminiſtration, a great diſpute ariſing between *Herodes Atticus* and the city of *Athens*, the emperor ſeemed inclined to favour the latter; which ſo provoked *Herodes*, who was a man of a violent and fiery temper, that when the cauſe was to be decided by the emperor then reſiding at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Pannonia*, inſtead of pleading with his uſual eloquence, tranſported with rage, he launched into bitter and ſcurrilous invectives againſt the emperor, telling him amongſt other things, that he ſuffered himſelf, which was highly unbecoming an emperor, to be governed by a woman and an infant only three years old; for the empreſs *Fauſtina* and her young daughter, inſtructed by her, had interceded with the emperor in behalf of the *Athenians*. When he had done railing againſt the emperor, *Baſſæus*, captain of the guards, told him, That his inſolent behaviour might perhaps coſt him his life. But *Herodes*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern or remorſe, anſwered, That a man of his age had nothing to fear, and immediately withdrew. As for the emperor he heard him the whole time quite unconcerned; and when he withdrew, addreſſing the *Athenian* deputies, *You may alledge your reaſons*, ſaid he, *tho'* Herodes *has not been pleaſed to alledge his.* He heard them with great attention, and could not help ſhedding tears, when they deſcribed the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of *Herodes* and his freed-men, who had uſurped a kind of ſovereignty over the city, and oppreſſed the people in a tyrannical manner. However, the emperor did not condemn *Herodes*, but only his freed-men; and the puniſhment which he inflicted upon them was very ſmall, ſays our hiſtorian, and no-ways anſwerable to their crimes [e]; nay, to all he remitted part of it, and to one of them, named *Alcimedon*, the whole, thinking him ſufficiently puniſhed by the death of his two daughters, killed by a flaſh of lightning after their arrival at *Sirmium*. Some time after, *Herodes* wrote to the emperor, complaining, that he did not honour him, as he had done formerly, with his letters; and the good-natured prince immediately ſent him an anſwer, filled with the moſt tender and ſincere expreſſions of friendſhip, condeſcending, in a manner, to beg his pardon for having condemned perſons belonging to him [f]. *Baſſæus*, captain of the guards, whom we have mentioned above, is by *Dion Caſſius* ſtyled *M. Rufus Baſæus*. He was, according to that writer, a common peaſant; but being forced into the ſervice, gave ſuch proofs of his courage and integrity, that the emperor created him captain of the guards, tho' he was quite deſtitute of learning and ſpoke ſo broad, that he could hardly be underſtood [g]. The following year, when *Maximus* and *Orfitus* were conſuls, *M. Aurelius* gained, it ſeems, conſiderable advantages over the *Germans*; for, on all the medals of this year, mention is made of his victories in *Germany*, and on ſome he is ſtyled *Germanicus*; which title was given to his ſon *Commodus* this very year, on the fifteenth of *October* [h]. The next conſuls were *M. Aurelius Severus*, the ſecond time, and *T. Claudius Pompeianus*, during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened, which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. But the enſuing year, when *Gallus* and *Flaccus* were conſuls, *M. Aurelius*, by an event altogether miraculous, eſcaped being cut off with his whole army. This happened beyond the *Danube*, in the country of the *Quadi*, where *M. Aurelius* was this year making war, and near the river *Gran*, which riſing from the mountains of *North Hungary* falls into the *Danube* over-againſt the ancient city of *Strigonium*, to which

Which are ſuppreſſed by Caſſius.

Spain *invaded by the* Moors, *who are driven out.*

The emperor bears patiently the reproaches of Herodes Atticus.

M. Aurelius *in great danger of being cut off with his whole army by the* Marcomanni.

[a] Dio, p. 803. Vulcat. Gallican. in vit. Caſſ. [b] Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 31. & Spart. in Sever. [c] Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32. [d] Onuph. in faſt. p. 231. Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 108. [e] Dio, ibid. Philost. ſoph. xxvii. p. 558—561. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Dio, p. 803. & in excerpt. Val p. 717. [h] Birag. p. 223, 225. Lamprid. in Comm. p. 50.

which the *Gran* gives its name [i]. This memorable battle was begun by the enemy's
a slingers and archers, who, from the oppoſite banks of the *Gran*, galled the *Romans* to ſuch a degree, that the emperor thought it adviſeable to paſs the river, and diſlodge them; which was done accordingly, not without great ſlaughter on both ſides; but the enemy retiring in good order, as it had been concerted among them before-hand, drew the *Romans*, who advanced with more bravery than conduct, into a diſadvantagious place, among barren mountains, quite deſtitute of water. The *Romans* cloſing their ranks, defended themſelves with great bravery, and repulſed the enemy, who thereupon, giving over the attack, ſeized the avenues, and blocked them up on all ſides, hoping to reduce by thirſt thoſe whom they could not overcome by force
b of arms. The *Romans*, finding themſelves thus ſhut up among barren mountains, quite ſpent with their wounds and the fatigues of the battle, oppreſſed with heat, and tormented with an inſufferable drought, attempted to open themſelves a way through the midſt of the enemy; but all their efforts proving unſucceſsful, they found themſelves obliged to continue under arms, expoſed to the rays of the ſun, and oppreſſed with a violent thirſt, without being able either to fight or retire. In this deplorable extremity, both ſoldiers and officers began to abandon themſelves to deſpair, while the emperor, more affected with the miſeries of the ſoldiers than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to inſpire them with courage, and raiſe their drooping ſpirits; but as they ſaw no poſſible means of eſcaping the preſent danger, his words
c were to no purpoſe, and nothing was heard but groans and lamentations, nothing ſeen but marks of the utmoſt deſpair. In this diſtreſs, when they expected every moment to be either cut in pieces, or to become a prey to the barbarous enemy, who ſurrounded them, clouds appeared all on a ſudden gathering in the air; the ſky was overcaſt, and, to their inexpreſſible joy, rain fell in great plenty; which the fainting ſoldiers received, holding their mouths, helmets, and bucklers up to heaven, as they are repreſented on the famous column of *Antoninus* at *Rome*. In this poſture the barbarians fell upon them; ſo that they were obliged at the ſame time to drink and fight; for they were ſo oppreſſed with drought, that ſuch of them as were wounded drank their own blood mixed with the water which they had received in their helmets.
d As they were more eager to quench their thirſt than to repulſe the enemy, they had been all cut in pieces, had they not been miraculouſly ſuccoured by a dreadful ſtorm of hail, attended with thunder and lightning, which diſcharged itſelf upon the barbarians, as they advanced againſt them. Thus were ſeen at the ſame time fire and water deſcending from heaven; water to refreſh the *Romans*, and fire to deſtroy their enemies; for either no fire fell upon the *Romans*, or what fell was immediately extinguiſhed; and the rain which fell upon the barbarians was ſo far from overcoming the flames which conſumed them, that, on the contrary, it doubled their violence, as if it had not been water, but oil. The enemy, thus deſtitute of water in the midſt of a heavy ſhower, were obliged either to wound themſelves, in order to extinguiſh
e with their blood the devouring flames, or to have recourſe to the *Romans*, and throw themſelves upon the mercy of *M. Aurelius*, who received and entertained them in a friendly manner [k]. Thus *Dion Caſſius* relates this memorable event, ſo much celebrated by *Apollinaris*, *Tertullian*, *Euſebius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Themiſtius* in his oration before *Theodoſius*, St. *Jerom*, *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, the poet *Claudian*, and the chronicle of *Alexandria*. It was engraved on the famous column of *Antoninus*, with the other exploits of *M. Aurelius* during the *Marcomannic* war, and on another which *Themiſtius* tells us he had ſeen [l]. The truth of this miraculous event has been univerſally acknowledged both by the chriſtian and pagan writers, who nevertheleſs diſagree as to the authors of it. *Dion Caſſius* aſcribes it to a celebrated magician of *Egypt*, named
f *Arnuphis*, who attended the emperor in this war [m]; *Suidas* to a magician, by name *Julianus*, who was originally of *Chaldæa*, and wrote ſeveral books of magic [n]. *Julius Capitolinus* [o], *Themiſtius* [p], and the poet *Claudian* [q] pretend, that this miraculous ſhower was owing to the emperor's own prayers. In the above mentioned column of the *Antonini* it is by the pagans aſcribed to their thundering *Jupiter*. But all the chriſtian writers aſſure us, that ſo ſignal a favour was granted by heaven to the prayers of the chriſtian ſoldiers, who ſerved in the *Roman* army. This *Euſebius* aſſerts upon the authority of *Apollinaris* biſhop of *Hierapolis*, which ought to be of great weight, ſince

They are relieved by a miraculous ſhower.

Which was obtained by the prayers of the chriſtian ſoldiers.

[i] Onuph. in faſt. p. 232. Tertul. apol. c. 5. Dio, l. lxxi. p. 805. Baudr. p. 330. [k] Dio, ibid. p. 805. 806. [l] Themist. orat. xv. [m] Dio, ibid. [n] Suid. p. 439. [o] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 32. [p] Themist. ibid. [q] Claud. in conſ. Honor. 6. p. 183.

The legion Melitina.

since this miraculous deliverance happened in his time [r]. The christians, by whose a
prayers the army was saved, belonged to the legion *Melitina*, mentioned by *Dion Cassius* [s], or, as *Xiphilin* expresses it, to the legion that had been raised or quartered at *Melitine*; for the legions, as is well known, often borrowed their names from the places where they were quartered. *Melitine* was one of the chief cities of *Armenia Minor*, and stood on the banks of the *Euphrates*. This legion, which, according to *Xiphilin*, consisted intirely of christians, and had been prompted by a vision, if *Gregory* of *Nyssa* is to be credited [t], to embrace the true religion, was in all likelihood the twelfth, which by *Titus* had been quartered in the city of *Melitine* in the year 70. [u] and was in *Cappadocia* in the year 230. the ninth of *Alexander Severus*'s reign [w]. The province of *Cappadocia* probably comprehended at that time *Armenia Minor*; b
so that we may suppose it to have been still at *Melitine*; for there we find it placed in a *notitia imperii*, or state of the empire, published many years after the death of *Severus*. The twelfth legion was distinguished by the surname of the *thundering* [x]; and *Apollinaris*, as quoted by *Eusebius* [y], tells us, that the legion *Melitina* was honoured with that title by the emperor, by way of reward for the above-mentioned miracle. The same thing we read in *Xiphilin*, and in *Onuphrius*, who maintains, that till the time of *M. Aurelius* no mention is made of the thundering legion [z]. But from an ancient inscription it appears, that the twelfth legion was distinguished by that surname even in *Trajan*'s time [a]. Of this legion, which still subsisted in the time of *Eusebius* [b], were the forty martyrs of *Sebaste*, so much spoken of by the ecclesiastic writers of the primitive times [c]. But what most of all confirms the truth c
of the above-mentioned miracle is, the letter which the emperor himself wrote to the senate, giving them an account of it, and of the victory he gained on that occasion [d]. *Tertullian* assures us, that in his letter he ascribed, tho' in a doubtful manner, his deliverance to the prayers of the christians; *Having obtained rain*, says he, as quoted by *Tertullian*, *perhaps by the prayers of the christians*. He expressed himself to the senate with great caution and circumspection, as the reader may observe; but of his being in his own mind fully convinced, that his safety was owing to the christians,

M. Aurelius *acknowledges himself indebted to the christians for his deliverance.*

he gave soon after a very strong proof, by enacting, that such as should thenceforth accuse a christian on account of his religion, should be punished with the utmost d
rigor, that is, as *Eusebius* understands it, with death [e]. As *Tertullian* quotes the emperor's letter in writing against the pagans, we cannot doubt but he had seen it, nor call in question what he says of it. *Eusebius* quotes some passages of it out of *Tertullian*, and speaks of it in his chronicle as a thing that was said to have been. But St. *Jerom*, in translating that passage of *Eusebius*, positively affirms, that it was still extant. *Orosius* and *Xiphilin* only say, that it was thought to be extant in their times [f]; whence it is manifest they had not seen it. A letter ascribed to *M. Aurelius* concerning the victory, which he obtained by the prayers of the christians, has reached our times. It is commonly annexed in *Greek* to the apologies of *Justin* the martyr, and is to be found in *Latin* in *Onuphrius* [g] and *Baronius* [h], translated, as they tell us, from the *Greek* text, which was itself a translation from the original e
Latin. They both look upon it as an authentic piece; but, notwithstanding their judgment, it is by the best critics rejected as spurious, to whose opinion we readily subscribe, finding it frequently contradicts all the historians who have described the reign of *M. Aurelius* [i]. After so glorious a victory, *M. Aurelius* was proclaimed emperor the seventh time, and the empress *Faustina* was honoured by the senate with the title of *mater castrorum*, or *the mother of armies* [k]. This memorable victory was gained by the *Romans* in the year of the *Christian* æra 174. the fourteenth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, many were taken prisoners, and the rest put to flight and dispersed.

Marcus Aurelius could not, however, be yet prevailed upon by his friends to leave *Germany*, and return to *Rome*, being desirous to reduce the countries of the *Marcomanni* and the *Sarmatians*, to *Roman* provinces, not out of vanity and ambition, says *Dion Cassius*, but because he found by experience, that he could not rely upon f
their

[r] Euseb. l. v. c. 5. [s] Dio, p. 806. [t] Greg. Nyss. orat. 2. de quadraginta. martyr. [u] Joseph. bell Jud. l. vii. c. 4. [w] Dio, l. lv. p. 565. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Euseb. l. v. c. 5. [z] Onuph. in fast. p. 233. [a] Vide Baron. ad ann. 176. & Euseb. chron. p. 233. [b] Euseb. ibid. [c] Greg. Nyss. de quadrag. martyr. [d] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 806. [e] Euseb. l. iii. c. 5. Tertull. apol. c. 5. [f] Oros. l. vii. c. 7. Dio, p. 806. [g] Onuph. fast p. 234. [h] Baron. ad ann. 176. [i] Vide P. Pagi, p. 174 & Scalig. in chron. Euseb. p. 223. [k] Dio, p. 806.

a their fidelity. This he would have compaſſed, had he not been interrupted in the midſt of his conqueſts by the revolt of *Caſſius*, which we ſhall relate anon. He continued in *Germany* great part of the following year, when *Piſo* and *Julianus* were conſuls; and having placed twenty thouſand men in the countries of the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, haraſſed theſe two nations to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to abandon their native ſoil and ſettle elſewhere. But *M. Aurelius*, having received timely notice of their deſign, prevented them from putting it in execution; ſo that their fields being laid waſte, and all communication with the neighbouring nations cut off, they were in the end conſtrained by famine to ſend embaſſadors to the emperor and ſue for peace. The *Quadi* ſent with their embaſſadors all the *Roman* b deſerters, and thirteen thouſand priſoners, whom they had taken during the war; and by that means obtained a peace, upon condition, that they ſhould not for the future traffic within the *Roman* dominions, nor ſettle within ſix miles of the *Danube*. But this peace was ſhort-lived; for the *Quadi*, inſtead of executing the articles of their agreement, joined the *Iazyges*, who were ſtill in arms, and drew over the *Marcomanni*. At the ſame time, they drove out *Furtius*, their king, for diſapproving their meaſures, and, of their own authority, appointed one *Ariogeſes* in his room; which *M. Aurelius* reſented to ſuch a degree, that tho' the *Quadi* promiſed to ſet at liberty fifty thouſand *Roman* captives, upon condition, that he concluded a peace with them, and confirmed to *Ariogeſes* the title of king, the emperor would not : hearken to the propoſal, but on the contrary proſcribed the new prince and ſet a price upon his head. Hereupon the *Quadi*, being joined by the *Marcomanni*, the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, the *Nariſci*, and many other nations, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory, attacked the *Romans*, but were, after a long, bloody, and obſtinate diſpute, put to the rout and utterly defeated. *Ariogeſes* himſelf was taken priſoner and brought to the emperor, who, notwithſtanding his late menaces and reſentment, generouſly ſpared his life, and contented himſelf with confining the captive to the city of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of *Egypt*[l]. After this victory, moſt nations in *Germany* ſent deputies to ſue for peace, offering to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the emperor ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. The *Quadi* ſeem to have continued in d arms till the reign of *Commodus*. The *Marcomanni*, after ſo many loſſes, ſubmitted and obtained a peace, upon condition, that they ſhould not ſettle within five miles of the *Danube*. *Zantiches*, king of the *Iazyges*, came in perſon to wait on *M. Aurelius*, attended by all the great men of the nation, and was by him received into favour, but obliged to retire with his people farther from the *Danube* than the *Marcomanni*. They were a very powerful and warlike people, and had taken above an hundred thouſand priſoners, during this war, whom they ſet at liberty upon the concluſion of the peace, this being in all likelihood one of the articles of it. Beſides, they ſupplied *M. Aurelius* with a body of eighty thouſand horſemen, of whom he immediately ſent five thouſand into *Britain*, where the *Romans* were threatened with e a new war. The *Buri*, *Nariſci*, and other *German* nations, obtained a peace upon ſuch terms as the emperor would never have granted, had he not been obliged by all means to put an end to this war, in order to lead his troops againſt *Caſſius*, whoſe revolt was likely to bring dreadful calamities upon the empire, as it had already raiſed the courage of the barbarians.

The Marcomanni *and* Quadi *ſue for peace.*

They receive a great overthrow.

The Marcomanni *and other nations obtain a peace.*

Avidius Caſſius *revolts.*

Avidius Caſſius, whom we have frequently mentioned in deſcribing the *Parthian* and *Egyptian* wars, was, as ſome authors write, deſcended by the mother from the ancient family of the *Caſſii*. His father, by name *Avidius Severus*, raiſed himſelf, according to the author of his life[m], from the degree of a centurion to the firſt employments in the ſtate; and was, on account of his extraordinary parts, highly f favoured by the emperor *M. Aurelius*, but died before the revolt of his ſon. Such is the account which *Vulcatius Gallicanus* gives us of his extraction. But another hiſtorian writes, that *Caſſius* himſelf owned, that he had nothing, except the name, common to him with the famous *Caſſius* who killed *Cæſar* the dictator; and adds, that he was originally of *Cyrrhum* in *Syria*, and the ſon of one *Heliodorus*, who had the good fortune to raiſe himſelf by his eloquence to the government of *Egypt*[n]. One of *Adrian*'s ſecretaries was named *Heliodorus*, and him a modern writer takes to have been the father of *Caſſius*[o]. He was remarkable for maintaining diſcipline among

His extraction.

[l] Dio, p. 808. & in excerpt. Val. p. 717. [m] Vulcat. Gallican. in Caſſio. [n] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 810. Aristid. orat. 26. [o] Vales. in excerpt. Dionis, p. 193.

among the troops; but his ſeverity, according to *Vulcatius*, ſavoured of cruelty; for a
if any ſoldier was found to take but the leaſt thing by violence from the people of
His ſeverity towards the ſoldiers. the provinces, he cauſed him to be immediately crucified in the place where the fact
was committed: ſome he ordered to be burnt alive; others, chained together, to be
thrown into ſome river or into the ſea. He uſed to puniſh deſerters with cutting
off their hands and legs, ſaying, that the ſight of a criminal living in miſery, made
a deeper impreſſion than his being put to death at one blow. As he had been attended
with wonderful ſucceſs againſt the *Parthians*, *M. Aurelius*, in his firſt war with the
Marcomanni, ſent him againſt the *Sarmatians* their confederates. As he was en-
camped near the *Danube*, ſome auxiliaries of his army, upon intelligence, that the
enemy lay careleſly on the banks of that river, went without his knowledge to attack b
them, killed three thouſand of them, and returned to the camp loaded with booty.
Their centurions, who had put them upon this enterprize, and headed them in the
action, expected ſome great reward from *Caſſius* for having with a handful of men
killed ſuch a number of the enemy, while the tribunes and other officers had neg-
lected ſo favourable an opportunity. But *Caſſius*, looking upon this as a bad pre-
A ſignal inſtance of it. cedent, which might be attended with worſe conſequences, inſtead of rewarding the
centurions, cauſed them all to be ſeized and crucified like ſlaves. This ſeverity
occaſioned a mutiny in the army; but *Caſſius*, without betraying the leaſt fear, ap-
peared naked and unarmed in the midſt of the incenſed multitude, crying aloud to
them, *Kill me, and, to your neglect of duty, add, if you dare, the murder of your general.* c
This intrepidity allayed their fury; and no one daring to utter a ſingle word of
complaint, they all returned to their tents, and thenceforth made it their whole ſtudy
to learn and obſerve the military laws, knowing they ſerved under a general who
could not by any fears or menaces be prevailed upon to wink at their faults, or ſuffer
them to paſs unpuniſhed. This inſtance of ſeverity made ſuch a deep impreſſion on
the minds of the *Sarmatians*, that deſpairing to conquer a people thus obſervant of
military diſcipline and the rules of war, they immediately ſent embaſſadors to the
Appointed governor of Syria. emperor to beg peace for a hundred years[p]. After the firſt *Marcomannic* war, he
was by *M. Aurelius* appointed governor of *Syria*, the emperor judging him the beſt
qualified of any in the empire to reſtore the ancient diſcipline intirely neglected by d
the troops quartered in that province (F). Nor was he miſtaken in his judgment;
He reſtores the military diſcipline among the troops. for in a few months the moſt diſſolute were reclaimed from their pleaſures and luxu-
rious manner of living, the ancient diſcipline revived, and the whole army thoroughly reformed. *Caſſius*, upon his arrival at *Antioch*, ordered all the ſoldiers and
officers to repair forthwith to their colours, publiſhed a proclamation forbidding them,
on pain of being caſhiered, to appear at *Daphne*, every ſeventh day examined their
cloaths, arms, and equipages, and frequently obliged them to perform their exerciſes
all in a body, ſaying, It was a ſhameful thing that wreſtlers and gladiators ſhould
be continually exerciſed, and not ſoldiers, whoſe labours are leſſened in proportion
as they become accuſtomed to them[q]. As for *Caſſius*'s other qualities, the author e
of his life repreſents him as a man endowed with great virtues, which, however, were
allayed with no leſs vices, inſomuch, that he was by ſome called a ſecond *Catiline*.
But to us that writer ſeems to contradict himſelf in the character he draws of *Caſſius*;
for

[p] Vulcat. Gall. ibid. p. 46. [q] Idem, p. 47.

(F) The emperor, upon his appointing him governor of *Syria*, wrote the following letter to his lieutenant in that province: "I have given to *Avi-*
"*dius Caſſius* the command of the legions in *Syria*,
"which *Cæſonius Vetilianus* found, as he informs
"me, diſſolved in luxury, and abandoned to all ſorts
"of pleaſures. He is, you know, a ſtrict obſerver
"of the ancient diſcipline, without which the ſol-
"diers can never be kept to their duty. You re-
"member the old verſe,

"*Moribus antiquis res ſtat Romana virilis.*

"And truly the ſtrict obſervance of the ancient
"diſcipline is the chief ſupport of the empire. Take
"care that ſufficient proviſions be got ready for the
"legions, which, if I am not deceived in *Avidius*
"*Caſſius*, will not be miſapplied." To this letter the lieutenant returned the following anſwer: "You
"could not prefer to the command of the legions
"in *Syria* a man better qualified for that important
"truſt than *Avidius Caſſius*: for only an officer of
"his ſeverity can reclaim them from their volup-
"tuous manner of living, and put them out of
"conceit with the pleaſures of the effeminate *Greeks*,
"to which they have intirely abandoned themſelves.
"He will ſhake their flowers off of their heads, and
"teach them their duty. The neceſſary proviſions
"for the legions are already laid up; and nothing
"can be wanting, ſo long as they have ſuch an ex-
"cellent commander as *Avidius Caſſius* (14).

(14) *Vulcat. Gall. in vit. Caſſ.*

a for in one place he paints him not only as ſevere, but cruel and inhuman towards his ſoldiers; and in another tells us, that he was greatly beloved by them. How can his being ſtyled a *ſecond Catiline*, on account of his virtues and vices, his good and his bad qualities, be reconciled with what he writes elſewhere, *viz.* that had he attained the empire, he would have proved an excellent prince, a prince of great clemency and moderation [r]. *Dion Caſſius* ſpeaks of him, not only as an eminent commander, but as a perſon equal to, and in every reſpect worthy of, the ſovereign power [s]. He always abhorred an abſolute and monarchical government, and is by ſome thought to have had nothing elſe in view, when he revolted, but to reſtore the commonwealth to its former authority. He had been charged in the reign of b *Antoninus Pius* with a deſign of depoſing that prince; but his father, who was a man of great intereſt at court, having prejudiced the emperor in his favour, the accuſation was dropt. However, he was thenceforth looked upon as a ſuſpicious and diſaffected perſon. When he commanded in the *Parthian* war under *L. Verus*, that prince, ſuſpecting him, and indeed not without reaſon, wrote the following letter concerning him to *M. Aurelius*, his partner in the empire. "*Avidius Caſſius* ſeems "to me to aſpire at the empire, as it is well known he did in the reign of our father "*Antoninus Pius*. I therefore adviſe you to keep a watchful eye over him. He c "cenſures and condemns all our actions, grows exceeding rich, and ſpeaks of us "both with the utmoſt contempt, calling you a doating philoſopher, and me a "luxurious fool. Conſider what is to be done: I bear no hatred to the man, but "would have you to reflect, that by inveſting ſuch a perſon with power, and truſting "him with the command of the troops, by whom he is greatly beloved, you may "injure both yourſelf and your children." Nothing can give us a greater idea of the virtue truly heroic of this excellent prince, than his anſwer to this letter, which was couched in the following terms: "I have peruſed your letter, in which you "betray greater fear and uneaſineſs than becomes an emperor, or is conſiſtent with "the equity of our reign. If the empire is allotted by heaven to *Avidius Caſſius*, "it will not be in our power to cut him off. You know the ſaying of our grand-"father *Adrian*, that *no man cuts off his ſucceſſor*. If *Caſſius* is not deſtined to the d "empire, he will fall of himſelf, without our cruelty, into the fatal ſnare. Beſides, "we cannot in juſtice treat a perſon as a criminal, who is accuſed by none, and is, "as you write, beloved by the army, and conſequently a man of merit and a good "commander. In caſes of treaſon, even when the crime is proved, the world is "apt to think the ſufferer injured; which made your grandfather *Adrian* complain "of the hard fate of emperors, who are never thought to have been in danger till "they are killed. I chuſe to name *Adrian* rather than *Domitian*, who was the firſt "author of this ſaying, becauſe a thing, however well ſaid, has not its due weight "and authority when it comes from a tyrant. Let therefore *Avidius Caſſius* purſue "his own meaſures; he is an excellent officer, and a man of great courage, and e "uſeful to the ſtate. As for my children, to whoſe ſafety you would have me to "ſacrifice him, if he deſerves to be more beloved than they, if his life promiſes "greater advantages to the ſtate than theirs, let *Avidius Caſſius* live, let the children "of *M. Aurelius* periſh [t]." The good-natured emperor took no farther notice of what *Verus* had wrote to him; for, upon the return of *Caſſius* from the eaſt, where he had performed great exploits, he put him at the head of an army, which he ſent againſt the *Sarmatians*, and afterwards appointed him governor of *Syria*, as we have related above. In the mean time, the *Marcomanni* and other *German* nations, renewing the war with great vigor, *Caſſius* laid hold of that opportunity to ſeize the empire. Some authors write, that the empreſs *Fauſtina*, being well apprifed, f that her ſon *Commodus* was no-ways qualified for the ſovereign power, and fearing that ſome one might ſeize it, who would deſtroy her and her little children, ſolicited *Caſſius* to declare himſelf emperor as ſoon as he ſhould hear the news of *M. Aurelius*'s death, and promiſed in that caſe to marry him. They add, that a report being ſpread of the emperor's death, *Caſſius* immediately cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed in his room, and that, tho' the rumour proved afterwards falſe, he found himſelf too far engaged to recede. Others clear *Fauſtina* from being any ways privy to the deſign

Is an enemy to monarchy.

L. Verus's letter concerning him.

M. Aurelius's anſwer.

He aſſumes the title of emperor.

[r] Idem, p. 41—45. [s] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 810. [t] Idem, p. 40, 41.

deſign of *Caſſius* (G), and tells us, that the report of the emperor's death was ſpread abroad by *Caſſius* himſelf, in order to induce the governors of the eaſtern provinces to join him, *M. Aurelius* being greatly beloved, and his ſon no leſs hated [u]. Be that as it will, he ſoon became maſter of all the countries beyond mount *Taurus*, and of *Egypt* itſelf, *Flavius Calviſius*, governor of that province, having declared in his favour. The troops in *Bithynia* were likewiſe inclined to ſide with him, but reſtrained by *Clodius Albinus*, their commander, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Several foreign princes and nations eſpouſed his cauſe, but none with more zeal than the *Jews* [w].

And is joined by moſt of the eaſtern nations.

Martius Verus, governor of *Cappadocia*, was the firſt who gave the emperor notice of this revolt. *M. Aurelius* concealed it for ſome time; but when he found it divulged by public fame, he acquainted the ſoldiers with it in a very judicious and modeſt ſpeech, only complaining of the ungrateful return which *Caſſius* made him for the kindneſs he ever had, and ſhould ever have, for him, notwithſtanding his revolt, as he hoped to ſhew as ſoon as he had brought him to a ſenſe of his duty. Neither did *Caſſius* on his ſide utter any injurious reflections againſt *M. Aurelius*, but only charged him with neglecting the moſt important affairs of the ſtate to attend the ſtudy of philoſophy, and with ſuffering, thro' an exceſs of goodneſs, many diſorders, which it was incumbent upon him as emperor to correct [x]. In the mean while, *M. Aurelius* having terminated the war with the *Marcomanni* and other *German* nations, as the time approached for his ſon *Commodus* to put on the manly robe, he ſent for him from *Rome* and gave him it, with the uſual ceremonies, on the ſeventh of *July*, ordering on that occaſion conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among the *Roman* people [y]. At *Rome* the ſenate were no ſooner informed of the revolt, of *Caſſius*, than they declared him a public enemy and confiſcated his eſtate, which the emperor ordered to be returned, not into his private coffers, as his predeceſſors had done, but into the public treaſury. At length *M. Aurelius* left *Germany* and ſet out for *Illyricum*, with a deſign to purſue his march thence into the eaſt and meet *Caſſius*, declaring, that he was ready to reſign the empire to him, if the gods ſhould judge it expedient for the public good, that *Caſſius* ſhould reign, and not *M. Aurelius*: For it is not, added he, any private intereſt or ambition, but the public welfare, that prompts me to undergo ſo many labours, to expoſe myſelf to ſo many dangers. He was not advanced far on his march, when news was brought him, that *Caſſius* had been killed by a centurion named *Antonius*, and another officer of a ſtill inferior rank, who had the command only of ten men [z]. *Dion Caſſius* gives us but a confuſed account of his death; and *Vulcatius Gallicanus* promiſes to inform us how he was killed, and where he was overcome, but is not ſo good as his word. However, from what he writes, it is plain, that a battle or encounter happened between him and the emperor's troops, probably commanded by *Martius Verus*; for on his bravery the emperor chiefly relied, and had therefore ſent him before him into *Syria*, giving him the government of that province, inſtead of the government of *Cappadocia*. We are told, that a great many letters, written to *Caſſius* by his friends and correſpondents, falling into *Verus*'s hands, the generous commander committed them to the flames, ſaying, he did not doubt but that would pleaſe *M. Aurelius*; and if it did not, that he choſe, however, to ſave many lives at the expence of one [a]. Others write, that theſe letters were brought to *M. Aurelius*, who ordered them,

M. Aurelius *marches againſt him.*

Caſſius *is killed;*

[u] Vulcat. Gall. in Caſſ. p. 42, 43. [w] Idem ibid. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 718. Albin. vit. p. 81. [x] Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32. Dio, l. lxxi. p. 809, 812. [y] Lamprid. in Commod. p. 45. & Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 32. [z] Dio, p. 812. [a] Dio, p. 813.

(G) *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, to clear the empreſs from this charge, produces two letters written by her to *M. Aurelius* on occaſion of this revolt. In one ſhe expreſſes herſelf thus: "My mother *Fauſtina*, in the time of the defection of *Celſus*, adviſed your father *Antoninus Pius* to ſhew his kindneſs in the firſt place to his own family, and next to others. And truly it is incumbent upon every good prince to take care of his wife and children. Your ſon *Commodus* is yet very young, and your ſon-in-law *Pompeianus* is ſtricken in years and a ſtranger. Do not therefore ſpare men, who, had they conquered, would neither have ſpared you, nor your wife and children. You will hear from *Cæcilius*, whom I ſhall ſend to you, what reports have been ſpread of you by the wife of *Caſſius*, by his ſon and his ſon-in-law, &c." In the other letter ſhe preſſes him to purſue *Caſſius* and his accomplices with the utmoſt ſeverity, if he loves her and his children, aſſuring him, that if he neglects to oppreſs them, they will not fail to oppreſs him (15).

(15) *Idem ibid.*

a them, ſealed as they were, to be immediately burnt in his preſence[b]. With *Caſſius* was killed his captain of the guards, and ſoon after his ſon *Metianus*, whom he had appointed governor of *Egypt*, to ſecure that important province. No other perſon of diſtinction, at leaſt of the ſenatorial order, periſhed on account of his rebellion; nay, theſe were put to death without the emperor's knowledge and againſt his will; for he was greatly concerned that the blood of any ſenator ſhould have been ſhed during his reign: hence, when the head of *Caſſius* was brought to him, he expreſſed great ſorrow, turned his eyes away, and cauſed it to be honourably interred, complaining, that he had been robbed of an opportunity of ſhewing his mercy. The reign of *Caſſius*, or rather his dream, as *Dion Caſſius* ſtyles it, laſted but three months *And his head brought to the emperor, who is concerned for his death.*

b and ſix days[c]. *M. Aurelius* himſelf would neither try, impriſon, nor condemn any ſenator concerned in the conſpiracy; but referred the whole to the ſenate, appointing the criminals a day to appear before their judges. In the mean time, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, wherein, after acquainting them, that he had appointed *Pompeianus*, his ſon-in-law, conſul for the enſuing year, he thus exhorts them to proceed, rather with clemency than rigor, againſt thoſe whom they were to try: "As for *His letter to the ſenate.*
"what concerns the defection of *Caſſius*, I beg and conjure you, conſcript fathers,
"to have a tender regard to your characters and to mine: let no one ſenator be put
"to death; let the blood of no perſon of diſtinction be ſpilt; let ſuch as have been
"already baniſhed return, nay, and enjoy their eſtates. I wiſh I could raiſe from
c "the dead thoſe who periſhed in the firſt heat of the war. Revenge is never com-
"mendable in an emperor; it ill becomes him in his own cauſe, let it be never ſo
"juſt. You will therefore pardon the children of *Avidius Caſſius*, his ſon-in-law,
"and his wife. But why do I ſay, *pardon*, when they have committed no crime?
"Let them live in ſafety and enjoy their paternal eſtate, with all their father's
"plate and furniture. Let them have full liberty to live where they pleaſe, that
"they may be ſo many inſtances of your clemency and of mine. I further beg
"and deſire, that all the ſenators and *Roman* knights in general, who have been
"privy to this rebellion, be by your authority exempted from death, proſcription,
"infamy, in ſhort, from all kind of puniſhment. Allow it to be ſaid to your ho-
d "nour and mine, that in this rebellion ſuch only periſhed as were killed in the hurry
"of the war"[d]. The ſenate not only complied with his requeſt, but returned him thanks for the regard he had ſhewn even to the moſt undeſerving members of their body. As for the children of *Caſſius*, the emperor took them under his protection, *His kindneſs to the children of* Caſſius, forbidding any one to reproach them with the misfortunes of their family, and ſeverely puniſhed ſuch as did. *Vulcatius* tells us, that he even raiſed the ſons of *Caſſius* and *Druncianus* or *Druentianus*, who had married one of his daughters, by name *Alexandra*, to great preferments, which was the more commendable, as the emperor was well appriſed, that *Caſſius*'s wife, children, and ſon-in-law, had, with many ill-natured reflections, endeavoured to bring him into diſcredit with the people
e and ſoldiery. Of the many perſons concerned in this revolt, only a few centurions were executed, and ſome officers of greater diſtinction baniſhed. Among the latter was *Flavius Calviſius*, governor of *Egypt*, who was confined to an iſland; but the emperor would not ſuffer his eſtate to be confiſcated. An impoſtor, who pretended to be inſpired by the gods, and was ſaid to have foretold the revolt of *Caſſius*, was baniſhed to the iſland of *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. All the accomplices of *Calviſius* were pardoned, as were likewiſe the cities that had declared for *Caſſius*. The empreſs *Fauſtina*, in a letter which ſhe wrote to her huſband on occaſion of this revolt[e], preſſed him to purſue the accomplices of *Caſſius* with the utmoſt ſeverity. But the emperor, hearkening only to the impulſe of his own good-nature, returned her the
f following anſwer: "I have read your letter, my dear *Fauſtina*, wherein you adviſe *His letter to* Fauſtina *on this occaſion.*
"me to treat the accomplices of *Caſſius* with the utmoſt ſeverity, which you think
"they well deſerve. This I look upon as a pledge of the love you bear to your
"huſband and children. But give me leave, my dear *Fauſtina*, to ſpare the chil-
"dren of *Caſſius*, his ſon-in-law, and his wife, and to write to the ſenate in their
"behalf. Nothing can more recommend a *Roman* emperor to the eſteem of the
"world, than clemency. This placed *Cæſar* among the gods; this conſecrated *Au-*
"*guſtus*; this procured to your father the title of *Pius*. I am grieved even for the
"death

[b] Val in excerpt. Dio. [c] Dio, p. 815. Vulcat. Gall. in Caſſ. p. 43. Noris ep. conſ. p. 110. [d] Vulcat. Gall. ibid. p. 44. & Jul. Cap. in Aur. p 33. [e] Vide not. G.

" death of *Caſſius*, and wiſh it had been in my power to ſave him. Be therefore a
" ſatisfied, and don't abandon yourſelf to fear or revenge. *Marcus Antoninus* is
" protected by the gods" [f]. Some of his friends openly blaming his clemency, and taking the liberty to tell him, that *Caſſius* would not have been ſo generous, had fortune proved favourable to him, the emperor immediately replied, We have not lived nor ſerved the gods ſo ill, as to think they would favour *Caſſius*: he added, that the misfortunes of ſome of his predeceſſors were intirely owing to their own ill conduct and cruelties, and that no good prince had ever been overcome or ſlain by an uſurper. *Nero*, *Caligula*, and *Domitian*, ſaid he, deſerved the doom that overtook them; neither *Otho* nor *Vitellius* were equal to the empire; the downfal of *Galba* was occaſioned by his avarice, an unpardonable fault in a prince [g]. Thus the rebel- b
lion of *Caſſius* ſerved only to give new luſtre to the unparallelled clemency, good-nature and generoſity of *M. Aurelius*, who could not prevail upon himſelf to take away the lives of thoſe who had conſpired againſt his and that of his ſon.

The rebellion being quaſhed at once by the death of *Caſſius*, *M. Aurelius* wrote a letter to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he had named *Pompeianus*, his ſon-in-law, conſul againſt the enſuing year; adding, that he would have honoured him long before with that dignity, had he not thought himſelf obliged in juſtice to confer it firſt upon ſeveral perſons of extraordinary merit, and well-deſerving of the republic. The ſenate, in their anſwer to the emperor's obliging letter, begged him to return to *Rome*, and to inveſt his ſon *Commodus* with the tribunitial power [h], c
With the latter requeſt he complied, as appears from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions. But as for the other requeſt, the emperor either did not return to *Rome*, or his ſtay there was very ſhort; for we are told, that, immediately after the death of *Caſſius*, he went into the eaſt, and that he had begun his march thither even before he received that news [k]: it is not therefore likely, that he interrupted it to return to *Rome*. He had ſent *Pertinax* before him into *Syria* to make head againſt the rebels; but upon the news of the death of *Caſſius*, he recalled him, and appointed him governor of *Illyricum*, in which province he had gained no leſs reputation by his prudence and moderation, than by his many victories over the *Germans* during the *Marcomannic* war; ſo that he was greatly eſteemed and revered both by the *Romans* and d
foreigners, nay, even by the enemies of the *Roman* name [l]. The emperor took with him into the eaſt his ſon *Commodus* and his wife *Fauſtina*, who died ſuddenly in a village called *Halala*, at the foot of mount *Taurus*. She was a woman of a looſe and wanton life, and altogether unworthy of having ſuch a father as *Antoninus*, ſuch a huſband as *M. Aurelius*, whom ſome did not believe to be father of *Commodus* [m].

Commodus *inveſted with the tribunitial power.*

The emperor goes into the eaſt.

Fauſtina *dies.*

Her character.

Dion Caſſius writes, that it was queſtioned whether ſhe died of the gout, or laid violent hands on herſelf, to avoid the ſhame of being named among the accomplices of *Caſſius*, who, according to that writer, was chiefly prompted by her to take arms and revolt [n]. Her chief gallants were *Tertullus*, *Utilius*, *Orfitus*, and *Moderatus*, whom nevertheleſs *Antoninus*, either not giving credit to what was ſaid of the em- e
preſs, or diſſembling her irregular conduct, preferred to ſeveral employments. Her lewdneſs and her intimacy with the above-mentioned perſons, eſpecially with *Tertullus*, were ſo publicly known, that a mimic having one day aſked his companion upon the ſtage, in the preſence of the emperor, what was the name of the perſon who was too familiar with his wife? the other repeated the name of *Tullus* three times; whereby the whole audience perceived, that he meant *Tertullus*, the firſt ſyllable of his name ſignifying *three times* [o]. Some of the emperor's friends adviſed him to divorce her; but he anſwered, If I divorce her, I muſt return her her dower, that is, the empire, which I have received of her father. In one place he commends her free and open temper, her ſincerity in friendſhip, and her acquieſcence to his f
will [p]. He bewailed her, according to the emperor *Julian* [q], after her death, more than was becoming, in a man of his gravity, for a woman of the moſt unblemiſhed character. He pronounced himſelf her funeral oration, and begged the ſenate to rank her among the gods; for which he is deſervedly expoſed and ridiculed by the above-mentioned emperor [r]. He founded a ſociety of young women, whom he brought up at his own expence, and called after the empreſs's name. The village where

Extraordinary honours paid her by the emperor and the ſenate.

[f] Vulcat. Gall. p. 32. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem in Caſſ. p. 45. [i] Onuph. in faſt. p. 235. P. Pagi, p. 218. Noris de votis decennalib. imperator. c. 3. & ep. conſul. p. 120. [k] Dio, p. 813. Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32. [l] Idem in Pertin. [m] Idem in M. Aur. p. 30. [n] Dio, p 813. [o] Jul. Cap. ibid. [p] M. Antonin. de ſeip. l. i. c. 14. [q] Julian. Cæs. p. 13. [r] Idem ibid. p. 50.

a where ſhe died he made a colony and a city, ſtyling it *Fauſtinopolis*, and erected a temple in it to her honour, which was afterwards conſecrated to *Heliogabalus*, the moſt lewd and debauched of all the *Roman* emperors. The ſenate, out of flattery and complaiſance to the emperor, not only ranked among the goddeſſes a perſon unworthy of a place among women of any modeſty and reputation, but erected ſtatues to her and to *M. Aurelius*, with an altar, ordaining, that young women, immediately after their marriage, ſhould repair to it, and there offer a ſolemn ſacrifice[s]. By this ſcandalous inſtitution, they deſerved that their daughters ſhould all reſemble *Fauſtina* and their ſons *Commodus*. *Fauſtina* being dead, *Fabia*, the ſiſter of *L. Verus*, who had been formerly betrothed to *M. Aurelius*, did all that lay in her power to induce him to marry her; but he not thinking it adviſeable to ſubject his b children to the authority of a ſtep-mother, took in the room of a lawful wife the daughter of one of the deceaſed emperor's domeſtics[t]; for to that purity, which the chriſtian religion requires and commands, even the moſt virtuous among the pagan philoſophers were utter ſtrangers. As the *Syrians*, looking upon *Caſſius* as their countryman, had readily joined him, a law paſſed at this time, enacting, that no one ſhould be ſent with the character of governor into his own country[u].

The next conſuls were *T. Vitraſius Pollio* and *M. Flavius Aper*, both for the ſecond time[w]. *Claudius Pompeianus*, the emperor's ſon-in-law, and *Clodius Albinus*, who had reſtrained the legions in *Bithynia* from joining *Caſſius*, as we have related above, were likewiſe conſuls this year. *M. Aurelius*, arriving in the eaſt, freely forgave all the cities and communities there, which had ſided with *Caſſius*, except *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that metropolis having diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the reſt by their zeal for *Caſſius* and their hatred to him. He therefore publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt them, deprived them of all their privileges, ſuppreſſed their public aſſemblies, and took from them their ſhews and ſpectacles, to which they were greatly addicted. But his anger being ſoon appeaſed, before he left *Syria*, he reſtored them to their former condition, and even condeſcended to viſit their city. From *Syria* he paſſed into *Egypt*, where he not only forgave, but inriched with ſeveral privileges the city of *Alexandria*, which had likewiſe ſided with *Caſſius*. Having viſited moſt of the chief cities in the eaſt, and given every-where innumerable d inſtances of his humanity and good-nature, he ſailed from *Smyrna*, where he had ſtaid ſome time, and had ſeveral conferences with the celebrated ſophiſt *Ariſtides*, and arrived at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleuſinian* myſteries. He conferred many favours on the city of *Athens*, and eſtabliſhed there public profeſſors of all ſciences, with handſome allowances to be paid them yearly out of the exchequer[x]. From *Athens* he ſailed for *Italy*; and landing at *Brunduſium*, commanded his ſoldiers immediately to reſume, as he did himſelf, the *Roman* gown; for neither he, nor any of his officers or ſoldiers, ever appeared in *Italy* in a military habit. He returned to *Rome* with his ſon *Commodus*, whom he named conſul, tho' at that time but ſixteen, for the enſuing year. Soon after, he honoured him with the title of *imperator*, which he himſelf aſſumed for the eighth time, probably on account of ſome victory gained by *Pertinax*, governor of *Illyricum*, over the *Germans*. At length, on the e twenty-third of *December*, both he and his ſon *Commodus* entered *Rome* in triumph, diſtributing on this occaſion large ſums among the people and ſoldiery, that is, as many pieces of gold a head as he had been years abſent, which, according to *Dion Caſſius*, were eight[y], but, according to the calculation of others, in our opinion more exact, only ſix. At the ſame time, he exhibited moſt pompous and magnificent ſhews, tho' he took no pleaſure himſelf in ſuch diverſions. The following year *Aurelius Commodus Cæſar* and *Quintillus* being conſuls, *Commodus* was honoured by the ſenate with the title of the father of his country, and by the emperor with that f of *Auguſtus*; on which occaſion *M. Aurelius* remitted whatever was due from particulars, either to the emperor or to the treaſury, ever ſince the time in which *Adrian* had forgiven all ſuch debts[z]. The ſame year he preſented the inhabitants of *Smyrna* with large ſums, enabling them by that means to rebuild their city, which was almoſt utterly ruined by a dreadful earthquake deſcribed at length by *Ariſtides* in one of his orations[a]. As the emperor continued all this year at *Rome*, or in the neighbourhood of that city, he reformed, partly by his example and partly by wholſome laws,

The emperor's clemency and goodneſs to the cities that had ſided with Caſſius.

He returns to Rome;

Which he enters in triumph with his ſon Commodus.

Inſtances of his generoſity and good-nature.

[s] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 813. [t] Vulcat. Gall. p. 34. [u] Dio, ibid. p. 813. [w] Idat. Onuph. &c.
[x] Dio, p. 814. Philostr. ſoph. xxxvii. Aristid. orat. [y] Dio, ibid. Jul. Cap. p. 29.
[z] Dio, ibid. Oros. l. vii. c. 15. Euseb. chron. [a] Aristid. orat. 20.

laws, ſeveral abuſes. He could not ſuppreſs the combats of gladiators without diſ- a
obliging the people; however, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and bloodſhed, he allowed the combatants only blunt ſwords, in the nature of our foils, ſaying, that with them they might equally diſplay their ſkill and dexterity[b]. The next year, when *Orfitus* and *Julianus Rufus* were conſuls, the *Marcomanni* and their confederates renewing the war with great vigor, the emperor reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. But before he left *Rome*, he married his ſon *Commodus* to *Criſpina*, the daughter of *Bruttius Præſens*; and repairing to the ſenate, deſired leave to take out of the public treaſure the neceſſary ſums for carrying on the war, ſaying, that an emperor had nothing of his own, not even the palace he lived in, but that all belonged to the ſenate and people[c]. He then went to the capitol, where he declared b
upon his oath, that, ſince his acceſſion to the empire, no ſenator had been put to death by his orders; that ſuch as had periſhed in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowledge; and that he would have ſpared them all, *Caſſius* himſelf not excepted, had it been in his power ſo to do. As he was eminently ſkilled in philoſophy, many perſons of learning earneſtly intreated him to explain to them, before he left *Rome*, the moſt difficult and intricate points of the different ſects of philoſophers, which he did accordingly, ſpending therein three whole days. They ſeemed to apprehend, that by his death this knowledge might have been loſt; which ſhews how thoroughly he was verſed in the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers[d]. At length he ſet out from *Rome*, with his ſon *Commodus*, on the c
fifth of *Auguſt* of the year 178. the eighteenth of his reign[e]. The following year, *Commodus Auguſtus* and *T. Annius Aurelius Verus* being conſuls the ſecond time, *M. Aurelius* gained a ſignal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Hermonduri*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatians*; for which both he and his ſon *Commodus*, as appears from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions, took the title of *imperator*[f]. All we know of this action is, that the *Roman* army was commanded by *Paternus*, and the *Germans* were utterly defeated[g]; inſomuch, that all *Germany*, and the different nations inhabiting it, would have been obliged to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke, had not *Antoninus* been prevented by death from crowning his conqueſts with the reduction of ſo powerful and extenſive a country. He died the following year, *Præſens* and *Sex. Quintilius Condianus* d
being conſuls, on the ſeventeenth of *March*, after having lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and reigned, from the death of *Antoninus Pius*, nineteen years and ten or eleven days[h]. *Dion Caſſius* poſitively affirms, that he was diſpatched by his phyſicians, deſirous to curry favour with *Commodus*; and adds, that when the tribune came to him the laſt time for the parole, he bid him go to *Commodus*, and court, not the ſetting, but the riſing ſun[i]. On the other hand, *Julius Capitolinus* ſeems to aſcribe his death to a contagious diſtemper; for he tells us, that the plague ſtill raged in the army; and adds, that the emperor, with much ado, prevailed upon his ſon and his friends not to abandon him; which he took ſo much amiſs, that he abſtained from all ſort of nouriſhment. Two days before he e
died, he recommended his ſon *Commodus* to the army, and conjured his friends to aſſiſt him with their advice. On the ſeventh day of his illneſs, he deſired to ſee his ſon again, but immediately diſmiſſed him, leſt he ſhould be infected with the ſame diſtemper. When he was gone, he compoſed himſelf, as if he deſigned to ſleep, and expired the following night[k]. He died, according to *Tertullian*[l], at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Sclavonia*; according to the two *Victors*, at *Vendobona*, now *Vienna*, in *Auſtria*. We need not mention the concern of the ſoldiery and *Roman* people for the loſs of ſo good and ſo great a prince. His body, or rather his aſhes, were conveyed to *Rome*, and depoſited in the monument of *Adrian*. He was immediately f
ranked among the gods, a temple was erected to him, and an order of prieſts appointed to his honour. Whoever had not ſome image or ſtatue of *M. Aurelius* in his houſe, was judged a ſacrilegious perſon, ſays *Julius Capitolinus*, in whoſe time, that is, in the reign of *Dioclefian*, he was ſtill worſhipped in moſt families among their domeſtic gods[m]. He was, without all doubt, one of the greateſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. His only fault was, according to *Dion Caſſius*, his too great goodneſs; for tho' he rewarded with great generoſity the good and virtuous,

Eſ marches againſt the Marcomanni.

And gains a ſignal victory over them.

His death.

He is ranked among the gods.

His fault.

[b] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 718. [c] Dio, p. 814. [d] Jul. Cap. in Caſſ. p. 41. [e] Spart. in Comm. p. 50. & Dio, p. 814. [f] Dio, p. 810. Birag. p 227. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 34. [g] Dio, p. 810. & 814. [h] Idem ibid. & Theoph. Antioch. l. iii. p. 137. Chron. Alex. p. 614. [i] Dio, p. 814. [k] Jul. Cap. p. 34. [l] Tertul. apol. c. 25. [m] Jul. Cap. p. 34.

a virtuous, yet he did not reſtrain and puniſh with due ſeverity the vicious and wicked; whence ſome governors of provinces, preſuming upon his good-nature, plundered, and often with impunity, the people committed to their care. *Julius Capitolinus* blames him for winking at the monſtrous exceſſes of his wife, and for promoting to the ſovereign power *L. Verus*, whom he muſt have known to be quite unequal to, and altogether unworthy of, that high dignity, ſince *Antoninus Pius* had not ſo much as honoured him with the title of *Cæſar*. The emperor *Julian* prefers *M. Aurelius* to *Cæſar*, to *Auguſtus*, and to all the other princes who had reigned till this time; but at the ſame time finds fault with him, for bequeathing the empire to his vicious ſon *Commodus*, and not to his ſon-in-law *Pompeianus*, who was a perſon of extraordinary
b parts, and well qualified for ſo great a truſt [x]. *The meditations* of *M. Aurelius*, which have reached our times, are highly commended by all the ancients, as an epitome of the beſt rules, which human reaſon or philoſophy can ſuggeſt for the conduct of a virtuous life. Some have queſtioned, whether what has been tranſmitted to us be the whole work, or only an abſtract of it, ſeeing it conſiſts of looſe and unconnected ſentences, whereof the ſenſe is not always complete. But the ableſt critics are of opinion, that *M. Aurelius* left the work ſuch as it is at preſent, having compoſed it only for his private uſe [y]. It conſiſts of twelve books, of which the firſt ſeems to have been compoſed in the height of the *Marcomannic* war, while he was encamped on the banks of the *Gran* in the country of the *Quadi* [z]. He ended the ſecond book at *Carnuntum*,
c of which city we have ſpoken above, where he reſided, according to *Eutropius*, three whole years. He ſeems to have put the laſt hand to this work before the death of *Fauſtina*; for in the ninth book he ſpeaks of her as yet living, and ready to ly-in; that is, before the end of the year 175. the fifteenth of his reign [a]. We muſt not confound this book with another, intituled *horologium principum*, which was publiſhed under the name of *M. Aurelius*, but is thought to have been compoſed by *Antonius Guavara* a *Spaniſh* biſhop [b]. As *M. Aurelius* was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers, eſpecially philoſophers, flouriſhed in his reign. *Tatian*, the diſciple of *Juſtin* the martyr, tells us, that the pagan philoſophers were ſo far from practiſing the poverty which they recommended to others, that, on the contrary,
d many of them enjoyed large penſions, receiving of the emperor above ſix hundred pieces of gold a year, without rendering any ſervice to the ſtate, or being commended by any other merit, but that of wearing long beards [c]. But of the writers who flouriſhed about this time, we ſhall give a particular account in our notes (H).

His meditations.

[x] Julian. Cæs. 13, 14, 22, 23, 41, 49. [y] Vide Voss. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 14. [z] M. Aurel. l. i. c. 15. [a] Idem l. ix. c. 3. [b] Prol. Voss. hiſt. Græc. [c] Tatian, p. 157.

(H) The moſt celebrated among the philoſophers were, *Creſcentius*, *Celſus*, *Lucian*, *Demonax*, *Alexander* the famous impoſtor, *Sextus* the ſtoic, *Sextus* the empiric, *Numenes*, *Hermogenes*, *Ariſtides*, &c. *Creſcentius* was a *Cynic* philoſopher, and according to the character which *Tatian* draws of him, intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs (16). He inveighed with great virulence againſt the chriſtians, whom he charged with impiety and atheiſm, tho', in ſeveral conferences and diſputes, he had been convinced of the truth by *Juſtin* the martyr, who was chiefly at his inſtigation crowned with martyrdom (17). We do not know that he left any writings behind him. We find two philoſophers bearing the name of *Celſus*, and both of the ſect of *Epicurus*, mentioned by *Origen* (18). Of theſe one flouriſhed under *Nero*, and the other under *Adrian*, and his immediate ſucceſſors (19). The latter wrote ſeveral books againſt magic, much commended by *Lucian*, who inſcribed to him his hiſtory of the celebrated impoſtor *Alexander*, which he undertook at his inſtigation (20). Some diſtinguiſh this writer from the author of the diſcourſes againſt the chriſtians, whom *Origen* confuted; but *Baronius*, and moſt critics, aſcribe to the ſame writer the books againſt magic, and thoſe againſt the chriſtian religion. It is certain, that *Celſus*, whom *Origen* anſwers, lived long before his time; but not before the reign of *M Aurelius:* for he not only ſpeaks of the *Marcionists*, who firſt appeared about the year 142. the fifth of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, but of the followers of *Marcellina*, a woman of the ſect of *Carpocrates*, who came to *Rome* in the year 157. the twentieth of *M Aurelius*'s reign (21). He probably publiſhed his work againſt the chriſtians during the perſecution of *M. Aurelius*; for he repreſents them as reduced to conceal themſelves through fear of being dragged to execution (22). *Chryſoſtom* mentions one *Celſus*, no doubt the ſame writer, who publiſhed ſome pieces againſt the chriſtian religion before the time of *Porphyrius* of *Batanea* (23). *Celſus* intituled his work againſt the chriſtians, *true diſcourſes*; but *Origen* ſhews, that he aimed at nothing leſs than truth, and confutes him with great learning, piety, and judgment. Many writers look upon *Origen*'s anſwer to *Celſus*, as the beſt apology for the chriſtian religion that ever was publiſhed (24). *Euſebius* thinks it contains whatever was, or ever will be, ſaid upon that ſubject (25). *Origen* wrote in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, who was killed in the year 249 (26).

The works of *Lucian* have reached our times, and are

(16) *Tatian. p.* 157. (17) *Euſeb. l.* iv. *c.* 16. (18) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* i. *p.* 8. (19) *Idem ibid.* (20) *Lucian pſeud. p.* 498. (21) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* viii. *p.* 424. & *l.* v. *p.* 272. *Iren. l.* i. *c.* 24. (22) *Idem ibid.* (23) *Chryſ. in* 1 *Corinth. hom.* vi. (24) *Vide Du Pin. tom.* 1. *p.* 388, 389. (25) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 36. (26) *Idem ibid.* & *Hier. p* 433, 434.

are deſervedly admired for the eloquence and purity of the ſtyle; but filled with impious and atheiſtical ſentiments: whence he had the ſurname of the *Atheiſt*, or the *Blaſphemer* (27). He was a native of *Samoſata* in *Syria*, and of a mean deſcent. In his youth he declaimed, and pleaded cauſes, and was in his old age regiſter to the governor of *Egypt* (28). *Suidas* writes, that he was thought to have been devoured by dogs, for having ridiculed the chriſtian religion, without ſparing even the author of it; but of ſuch a death no mention is made by any writer who flouriſhed before *Suidas*, Some ſay, that he embraced, and afterwards renounced the chriſtian religion; but this opinion is founded only on a wrong tranſlation of the word δημηγόρος in *Suidas* by *concionator*, and upon *Lucian*'s being better acquainted with the tenets and doctrine of the chriſtians than other pagans. He wrote the life of *Soſtrates* of *Bœotia*, a famous philoſopher, who practiſed great auſterities (29); but that work has not reached us. Some have, againſt all reaſon and authority, aſcribed to him the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, which was done by *Philoſtratus* (30). He wrote, according to *Eunapius* (31), the life of the philoſopher *Demonax*, whoſe diſciple he had been. He repreſents him as the greateſt philoſopher of his time; but after all, he was only a *Cynic*, ſomewhat more poliſhed and civilized than the reſt of his brethren. What we find moſt commendable in him is, that tho' he was of a noble family, rich, eloquent, and well verſed in moſt branches of learning; yet he lived in poverty, practiſed great auſterities, and would not ſuffer any one to attend him. When he grew old, and could no longer live without being aſſiſted by others, he choſe rather to die of hunger, than to ſuffer any one to perform the leaſt office about him. He was a native of *Cyprus*; but lived at *Athens*, where he was highly eſteemed in his life-time, and equally regretted after his death. The *Athenians* intending to eſtabliſh in their city a combat of gladiators, he told them, That they ought firſt to overturn and utterly demoliſh an altar which they had erected to *Mercy*. The emperor having deſired ſome of his friends to aſk him in his name, what was the beſt method of governing, he anſwered, To ſpeak little, to hear much, and to fall upon no provocation into a paſſion (31). *Lucian*, in his dialogue on friendſhip, ſpeaks of ſeveral wars between the *Scythians*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, and the other northern barbarians, eſpecially thoſe of *Boſporus*, who were in *Lucian*'s time governed firſt by *Leucanor*, and afterwards by *Eubiotes* his natural brother. *Leucanor* probably ſucceeded *Rhæmetalces*, who was king of *Boſporus* in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. The ſhips which ſaved *Lucian*, as we ſhall relate anon, were carrying the embaſſadors of *Eupator*, king of the ſame country, to *Pontus*, either to pay there the money which was yearly owing from them to the *Romans*, or to receive that which the *Romans* annually paid to them; for the words ἐπὶ κομιδῇ are capable of both ſenſes. *Eubiotes*, in his war againſt the *Scythians*, led with him all the *Greeks*, according to the expreſſion of *Lucian* (32); that is, as we ſuppoſe, the inhabitants of the *Greek* cities on the *Cherſoneſus*, which confirms the opinion of thoſe who maintain, that the kings of *Boſporus* were maſters of that country. The account which *Lucian* gives us of the celebrated impoſtor *Alexander* is very diverting. He was a native of *Abonitichos*, a maritime city of *Pamphylia*, and generally revered on account of his pretended predictions, and counterfeit miracles, as a prophet. *Lucian*, however, who was not eaſily deceived, looked upon him as an impoſtor, ridiculed his miracles, and expoſed him in all companies; which ſo provoked the pretended prophet, that he endeavoured to ſtir up his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Abonitichos*, againſt him. *Alexander* nevertheleſs, ſome time after, pretended to be reconciled to him, and even offered him a ſhip to convey him to *Amaſtris* in *Pontus*, whither his affairs called him. *Lucian* accepted the offer; but was not a little ſurpriſed, when, at a great diſtance from land, he obſerved the pilot burſting all at once into tears, and making various ſigns to the mariners. *Lucian* imagined the veſſel to be in danger; but was more terrified, when the pilot frankly owned to him, that he had received poſitive orders from *Alexander* to throw him into the ſea; but could not prevail upon himſelf, after having lived ſo long without reproach, to commit a murder in his old age. He left him, however, in a deſert and barren iſland, where he muſt have ſoon periſhed, had he not been ſaved by the veſſels of the king of *Boſporus*, which happened to ſail by. He was for proſecuting *Alexander* before the governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*; but that magiſtrate diſſuaded him from it, telling him, that he could not condemn *Alexander*, without incurring the diſpleaſure of *Rutilianus*, who was very powerful at court, and had in his old age married the daughter of the impoſtor, believing the moon to be her mother. Thus *Lucian* had no other means left of being revenged on *Alexander*, but by writing his life, and painting him in his true colours. This piece, however, he did not publiſh till the impoſtor's death, which ſeems to have happened in the reign of *M. Aurelius*.

Sextus was a native of *Chæronea* in *Bœotia*, by ſect a *Stoic*, and had been preceptor to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. Moſt writers ſuppoſe him to have been nephew to *Plutarch*. *M. Aurelius* went frequently to hear him after he was emperor, and owns in his meditations, that he was indebted to him for many excellent rules relating to the conduct of a moral and virtuous life (33), *Apulcius* glories in being deſcended from him by his mother (34). At the ſame time flouriſhed another philoſopher bearing the ſame name, but a native of *Libya*, and by ſect a *Pyrrhonian* (35). He is ſtyled by *Galen* and *Diogenes Laertius* the empiric. Some of his works have reached our times (36). *Suidas* confounds him with the other *Sextus*, and the other with *Sextus Condianus*, who was conſul in 180. There are ſtill extant four hundred and thirty ſentences of a philoſopher named *Sextus* or *Xyſtus*, which were tranſlated into *Latin* by *Rufinus* of *Aquileia*, under the name of St. *Sixtus*, pope and martyr (37). St. *Auſtin* was for ſome time deceived by them (38). But St. *Jerom*, in ſeveral places of his works, aſcribes them to ſome philoſopher of the ſect of *Pythagoras* (39). About this time *Numenes* is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed, whoſe writings are often quoted by *Euſebius* and *Theodoretus* againſt the pagans. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* quotes him for this famous ſaying, *that* Plato *was but* Moſes *ſpeaking* Greek (40). He was, according to *Suidas* (41), a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*. He ſhews, that *Plato* copied from *Moſes* what he wrote concerning God and the forming of the univerſe (42). He has been blamed by the pagans for explaining the myſteries of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*; which goddeſſes are ſaid to have appeared to him in the attire of common proſtitutes, to reproach him by that means with the ſtate to which he had reduced them, by acquainting the world with the ceremonies practiſed in the celebration of their myſteries; which is not

(27) *Suid. p.* 55. (28) *Lucian. hiſt. p.* 359. & *apol. p.* 262. (29) *Idem, in vit. Demonac. p.* 546. (30) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (31) *Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p.* 546——555. (32) *Idem, toxar. p.* 631——638. (33) *M. Ant. l.* i. *c.* 6. (34) *Apul. meta. l.* i. *p.* 103. (35) *Rualld. vit Plutarch. c.* 5. (36) *Vide Jonſ. l.* ii. *c.* 1. (37) *Bib. patr. p.* 565. (38) *Aug. retract. l.* ii. *c.* 42. (39) *Hier. ad Cre. c.* 2. *in Ezech.* xviii. *&c.* (40) *Clem. ſtrom.* 1. (41) *Suid. p.* 242. (42) *Idem, ibid.*

not much to their honour. He publiſhed ſeveral works, which are frequently quoted by *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoretus* and *Heſychius*; but none of them have reached us (43). He ſeems to have joined together the tenets of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*: whence he is by ſome ranked amongſt the followers of *Plato*; by others among the *Pythagoreans* (44). *Crones*, *Ariſtocles*, *Antiochus*, *Alexander*, *Hermogenes*, *Ariſtides*, and *Phrynicus*, were all contemporaries with *Numenes*. *Crones* was one of his diſciples, and wrote a treatiſe on the generation of things, which we find quoted by *Origen* and *Plotinus* (45). *Ariſtocles* was a native of *Pergamus*, and firſt a *Peripatetic* philoſopher; but afterwards he abandoned the ſtudy of philoſophy, and applied himſelf to that of eloquence under the celebrated *Herodes Atticus*. He declaimed in his own country; but did not meet with the applauſe he expected (46). *Antiochus* was a native of *Ægæ* in *Cilicia*, by profeſſion a ſophiſt, and one of the diſciples of *Dionyſius* the *Mileſian*, of whom we have ſpoken in the reign of *Adrian*. *Philoſtratus* ſeems to have entertained a great opinion of him, and not undeſervedly; for he is ſaid to have had an utter contempt for riches, and to have ſpent his whole eſtate in purchaſing corn for his poor countrymen during a famine, (47). *Alexander* was likewiſe by profeſſion a ſophiſt, and is greatly commended by *Philoſtratus*. He was born in *Seleucia*, compriſed at that time in *Cilicia*; but afterwards raiſed to the metropolis of *Iſauria*. His mother, tho' married, was thought to have had him by a criminal converſation with *Apollonius Tyanæus* (48), whoſe chaſtity has, by ſome writers, been mightily cried up. He was one of the diſciples of *Favorinus*, *Adrian*'s great favourite, and afterwards ſecretary for the *Greek* tongue to *M. Aurelius*. *Hermogenes*, a native of *Tarſus*, gained ſuch reputation among the ſophiſts, when he was but fifteen years old, that *M. Aurelius* went in perſon to hear him, was greatly taken with his extraordinary genius, and loaded him with preſents; but as he ſurpaſſed moſt men when he was but a child, ſo when he attained to man's eſtate, he deſerved to be ranked among children, ſays *Philoſtratus* (49). However, he lived to a great age, deſpiſed by thoſe who had once admired him (50). *Ariſtides*, one of the moſt celebrated ſophiſts of his time, was a native of *Adrianothera* in *Myſia*. He is highly commended, on account of his eloquence, by *Phrynicus* his contemporary (51), by *Philoſtratus* (52), and generally by all the ancients; but if he excelled, as he is ſaid to have done, all the other ſophiſts, ſeveral of his orations, which have reached our times (53), convince us, that we have no reaſon to regret the loſs of their works. He was ſubject to various infirmities, and conſtantly indiſpoſed. We read in his journal, which he intitles *ſacred diſcourſes*, many things relating to maladies and their remedies, which he pretends to have learnt of *Æſculapius* in his dreams (54). Notwithſtanding his infirmities, he lived to a great age, and died in the reign of *Commodus*.

Lucius, or, as he is ſtyled by others, *Saturantius Apuleius*, was a native of *Madaura*, a *Roman* colony, on the borders of *Numidia* and *Getulia*, the ſon of one of the chief men of that city, and of *Salvia*, one of the deſcendants of *Plutarch* (55). He paſſed his childhood partly in *Greece*, (for his mother was originally of *Theſſaly*) and partly at *Carthage*, where he learnt, without the aſſiſtance of an inſtructor, the *Latin*; but not without much labour, as he himſelf owns. From *Carthage* he went to *Athens*, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, geometry, dialectics, and muſic, and thoroughly informed himſelf of the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers; but embraced that of *Plato*, which, however, did not prevent him from ſtudying magic with great application. He is even ſaid to have been ſo well ſkilled in that art, as to work ſeveral miracles, which the pagans oppoſed to thoſe of our Saviour (56). Theſe miracles, however, are not well atteſted; and *Apulcius* himſelf, being accuſed as a magician before *Claudius Maximus* proconſul of *Africa*, endeavoured to clear himſelf from that charge, as from an enormous crime, by an excellent diſcourſe, which has reached our times (57). He is thought to have ſtudied that art in *Theſſaly*, where it was in great requeſt (58). St. *Auſtin* (which to us ſeems very ſtrange) doubts whether what *Apuleius* writes of his being, by a magic potion, tranſformed into an aſs, was true or fabulous (59). The pagans themſelves looked upon his metamorphoſes as only fit to amuſe children (60). He wrote with great elegance both in *Greek* and *Latin*; but his ſtyle is ſomewhat affected: he is fond of antiquated words, coins new ones, and frequently gives new ideas to old ones. He was reckoned one of the moſt eloquent men of his age; but neither his eloquence, nor his other extraordinary accompliſhments, ever raiſed him to any dignity in the empire, tho' he was far from deſpiſing honours, as appears from the manner in which he ſpeaks of a ſtatue erected to him at *Oea*, a city of the province of *Tripolitana*, where he married a woman named *Pudentilla*; and of the office of pontiff conferred upon him in his own country, which gave him a right to exhibit combats of gladiators and wild beaſts. Several pieces of *Apuleius*'s are ſtill extant, and ſome fragments of others, which have been long ſince loſt. Of the former ſome are but a bare tranſlation of *Ariſtotle*, or of other ancient writers (61). He is often quoted by the ancients, as appears from the collection of ſuch quotations perfixed to his works, but eſpecially by St. *Auſtin*, who takes great pains to confute his falſe theology (62).

Amongſt the hiſtorians who flouriſhed under *M. Aurelius*, thoſe of chief note are *Polyænus* a *Macedonian*, who inſcribed to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the eight books of ſtratagems publiſhed by *Caſaubon* (63). He left other works, (and among the reſt a deſcription of the city of *Thebes*) which have been long ſince loſt (64). *Amyntianus* wrote and addreſſed to *M. Aurelius* the hiſtory of *Alexander the Great*, which was not much admired. He likewiſe publiſhed the life of *Domitian*, and the lives of ſome other *Latin* and *Greek* princes (65); but none of his works have reached our times. Thoſe of *Damophilus* have undergone the ſame fate: He was a philoſopher and ſophiſt, brought up, as *Suidas* informs us (66), by *Julianus*, who was conſul in the year 173. the fifteenth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign. He is frequently quoted by the emperor *Julian*, who ſuppoſes him to have been a native of *Bithynia*. Some of his works he inſcribed to *Lollius Maximus* (67). The hiſtory of *Greece* written by *Pauſanias* in ten books has reached us. The author deſcribes with great care and exactneſs the ſituation and antiquities of each city, and all the curioſities which in his time were to be ſeen in a country once ſo famous; but ſome critics find fault with him for interweaving his hiſtory with ſo many fables, which, however, are of great uſe for

(43) *Vide Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 10. (44) *Idem ibid.* (45) *Idem ibid.* (46) *Philoſtr. ſoph.* xxix. (47) *Idem, ſoph.* xxxi. (48) *Idem ibid.* (49) *Idem ibid.* (50) *Dio. l.* lxxi. *p.* 802. (51) *Phot. c.* 158. (52) *Philoſ ſoph.* xxxv. (53) *Vide Phot. c.* 246, *&c.* (54) *Philoſt. ibid. Suid. p.* 426. (55) *Apul. met. l.* ii. *p.* 115. *& prol. p.* 29. (56) *Hier. pſ.* lxxx. *Lax. l.* v. *c.* 3. *Aug. epiſt.* cxxxvi. (57) *Apul. apol.* (58) *Vit. Apul. p.* 15. (59) *Aug. civit. Dei. l.* xviii. *c.* 18. (60) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *Macrob. in ſom. Scipion. l.* i. *c.* 2. (61) *Apul. prol.* (62) *Aug. civ. Dei. l.* viii. *c.* 14. (63) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 14. (64) *Suid. p.* 559. (65) *Phot. c.* 131. (66) *Suid. p.* 640. (67) *Vide Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 11.

for the right underſtanding of the ancient writers (68). It appears from the quotations of *Stephanus* the geographer, that he deſcribed after the ſame manner *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. He beſtows mighty encomiums upon *Antoninus Pius*, and mentions his wars with the *Germans*, *Sarmatians*, and other barbarians; whence it is plain, that he had not done writing in the year 175 (69). He relates nothing poſterior to the reign of *M. Aurelius*; whence we may conclude, that he either died or ended his work under that prince. *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of one *Pauſanias* a ſophiſt, a native of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and diſciple of *Herodes Atticus*. Of this *Pauſanias* he obſerves, that he ſpent the greateſt part of his life at *Rome*; that in ſpeaking he changed all the quantities, and did not diſtinguiſh the letters that had a like ſound; which however was common to all the *Cappadocians* (70). *Philoſtratus* aſcribes to him only ſome declamations; whence he ought, in our opinion, to be diſtinguiſhed from the hiſtorian of that name, tho' *Voſſius* and *Sylburgius* take the author of the hiſtory and of the declamations to be one and the ſame writer (71); for we cannot think, that *Philoſtratus* would have paſſed over in ſilence ſo great and important a work, had the ſophiſt been the author of it. *Suidas* ſpeaks of another *Pauſanias*, by birth a *Lacedæmonian*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own country; but we muſt diſtinguiſh him too from the author of the hiſtory of *Greece*, who rebukes the *Lacedæmonians* with great liberty, and whoſe dialect comes nearer the *Ionic* than the *Doric*, which was the dialect of the *Lacedæmonians* (72). In the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius* flouriſhed one *Iamblicus*, by birth a *Babylonian*, and by profeſſion a magician. He publiſhed ſeveral works in *Greek*, and among the reſt one ſtyled *Babylonica* (73), which is ſaid by *Tennulius* to be ſtill preſerved in the famous library of the *Eſcurial* in *Spain* (74). Perhaps it was conſumed by the late conflagration; for that was the fate of many ineſtimable manuſcripts lodged in that famous library. *Leo Allatius* publiſhed a fragment of it. *Voſſius* takes *Iamblicus*'s *Babylonica* to be nothing elſe but the ſilly romance, of which *Photius* has been at the trouble of giving us too long an abſtract. *Suidas* ſeems to inſinuate the ſame thing. *Photius* tells us, that *Iamblicus* was originally a ſlave, and relates ſeveral particulars concerning him, copied from an unknown author (75). *Theophylus* of *Antioch* has tranſmitted to us a table of the *Roman* emperors, from *Julius Cæſar* to the death of *M. Aurelius*, with the years, months and days of their reſpective reigns. This table was made by one of *M. Aurelius*'s freed-men, named *Chryſores*, and not *Crator*, as *Voſſius* calls him, led into that miſtake by the text of *Theophylus*, where we read ὁν ἐ μὲν Κρατω, inſtead of γομενικάταρ, as it is corrected by *Scaliger* (76). The above-mentioned table was copied from a work of *Chryſores*, containing the names and chronology of all thoſe who had ruled in *Rome*, from the foundation of the city to the time of *M. Aurelius*. *Scaliger* has added it to the chronology of *Euſebius*. It is likewiſe to be found in the works of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, free from moſt of the faults which have crept into that of *Theophylus*. *Æmilius Parthenianus* compoſed the hiſtory of all thoſe who attempted to uſurp the ſovereign power. He did not end his hiſtory before the year 175. for he wrote the life of *Avidius Caſſius*. He is quoted by *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, who flouriſhed under *Dioclefian*. *Voſſius* ranks him among the *Latin* hiſtorians (77). The grammarian *Proculus*, who inſtructed *M. Aurelius* in the *Latin* grammar, and was on that account raiſed by him to the conſulſhip, publiſhed a work on foreign countries, or, as ſome read it, religions, *de regionibus*, or *religionibus* (78). He was by birth an *African*; but thoroughly verſed in the *Latin* tongue (79). *Hepheſtion* and *Harpocration*, who inſtructed *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue (80), have both left ſome works behind them. An excellent piece *de re metrica*, which ſeems to be very ancient, and bears the name of one *Hepheſtion*, a grammarian of *Alexandria*, has reached our times, and is commonly aſcribed to *Hepheſtion* the preceptor of *L. Verus*. *Suidas* mentions ſeveral other works publiſhed by him (81). Another learned piece is ſtill extant on the ten orators of *Athens*, done by one *Valerius Harpocration*, ſuppoſed to have been preceptor to *L. Verus* (82). At this time flouriſhed *Apollonius* of *Alexandria*, ſurnamed *Dyſcolus*, who publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces. Some of his works have reached our times, *viz.* four books on the ſyntax, to which is perfixed his life, done by an anonymous writer, and another piece, intituled, *Some falſe hiſtories*, or rather *wonderful hiſtories* (83). He was father to one *Herodianus*, who lived, according to *Suidas*, in the time of *M. Aurelius*, and publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces (84). *Ammianus Marcellinus* reckons him among the many great men for whom the world was indebted to the muſeum of *Alexandria* (85). *Sylburgius* takes him to be the hiſtorian *Herodianus*, who wrote the lives of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to the reign of *Gordian*; that is, to the year 238 (86). But *Voſſius* ſpeaks of the grammarian and hiſtorian as two different perſons: and truly the hiſtorian might have been born in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, but cannot be ſaid to have flouriſhed under that prince, ſince he was ſtill writing fifty-eight years after his death (87). *Artemidorus*, author of ſeveral books on the interpretation of dreams, lived under *Antoninus Pius* and *M. Aurelius*; for he is quoted by *Lucian*; and he himſelf tells us, that he was acquainted with one who had entered the liſts in the combats that were exhibited by *Antoninus Pius* at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*. He was a native of *Epheſus*, and in his other works ſtyled himſelf *Artemidorus* the *Epheſian*; but in that on the interpretation of dreams, he took the ſurname of *Daldianus*, from *Daldis*, a ſmall city of *Lydia*, the birth-place of his mother. He wrote four books on the interpretation of dreams, which have reached us, with a fifth, wherein he relates the iſſue of ſeveral dreams. Of theſe books he inſcribed the three firſt to one *Caſſius Maximus* a *Phœnician*, who, it ſeems, was a man of great eloquence, and his particular friend; and the two others to his ſon, named likewiſe *Artemidorus* (88). Beſides theſe books, he wrote ſome others, according to *Suidas* (89), who ſtyles him a philoſopher, on the manner of foretelling events by birds, and by the lines of the hand. For the compiling of his books on dreams, he read all the authors who had handled the ſame ſubject, and were very numerous; he ſpent many years in travelling through all the provinces, and viſiting all the cities of the empire; he conferred with all thoſe who pretended to any knowledge in divination (90); and the fruit of ſo many labours, journies, inquiries, conferences, &c. was a work the moſt uſeleſs and trifling that ever was publiſhed, as is owned by thoſe who have been at the pains of illuſtrating it with notes (91). The

(68) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 14. (69) *Pauſ. l.* viii. *p.* 272. (70) *Philoſt. ſoph.* xxxix. (71) *Voſſ. ibid.* (72) *Suid. p.* 466. (73) *Phot. c.* 49. (74) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* iv. *p.* 582. & *Samuel. Tennul. in not. ad Iambl. arith. Armeniæ, an.* 1668. (75) *Phot. p.* 241. (76) *Vide Scal. in chron. Euſeb. p.* 396. (77) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* iii. (78) *Tret. Pollio. hiſtor. trigin. tyrannor. p.* 195. (79) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat l.* i. *c.* 12. (80) *Jul. Cap. in vit. Ver. p.* 35. (81) *Suid. p.* 1209. (82) *Idem, p.* 441. (83) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 14. (84) *Suid p.* 379. (85) *Ammian. l.* xxii *p.* 235. (86) *In Herodian prol.* (87) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* i. *c.* 1. (88) *Artemidor. l.* i. *c.* 28. *l.* iii. *c.* 67. (89) *Suid. p.* 442. (90) *Idem, p.* 3. (91) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 22.

The ſame author wrote ſome books on phyſic (92). *Marcellus* of *Ida* in *Pamphylia* wrote, in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, forty-two books in hexameter verſe on phyſic, and is quoted by St. *Jerom* (93). *Marullus*, a *Latin* poet, wrote ſome ſatires in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*, not ſparing that prince, nor his predeceſſor *Antoninus Pius*; but he patiently bore his railleries (94). *Apuleius* ſpeaks of a poet who lived in his time, and had begun an excellent poem upon *Alexander the Great* (95). This is probably the writer, whom he calls elſewhere (96) *Corvinus Clemens*, and who was quæſtor. *Aulus Gellius*, or *Agellius*, muſt have flouriſhed about this time; for he was diſciple to *Titus Caſtricius*, to *Favorinus*, to *Herodes Atticus*,, and to *Cornelius Fronto*, who all lived under *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius* (97). *Cornelius Fronto* had been conſul when *Aulus Gellius* was yet a youth (98). He beſtows great encomiums on the celebrated philoſopher and apoſtate *Peregrinus*; but does not mention his death, which rendered him more famous than any thing he had done in his life time; for he publicly burnt himſelf at the ſports of the two hundred and thirty-ſixth olympiad: whence we conclude, that *Aulus Gellius* had done writing before that time, that is, before the year 165. of the chriſtian æra, the fifth of the reign of *M. Antelius* and *L. Verus*. He ſtudied grammar at *Rome*, and phyloſophy at *Athens*, under *Calviſius Taurus*, whence he returned to *Rome*. He left no work behind him, except his *Noctes Atticæ*; for thus he ſtyled the collection of ſeveral memorable and amuſing events, which he compiled for the uſe of his children (99). St. *Auſtin* commends him on account of his eaſy and elegant elocution (100); but moſt critics find fault with his antiquated words, his harſh and improper expreſſions, and, above all, with want of judgment, in chuſing for his collection ſuch events as are for the moſt part of no importance, and only contain ſome grammatical and trifling remarks. *Macrobius*, however, often copies him. The annals of *Gellius* are frequently quoted by the writers of the *Roman* hiſtory; but the author of theſe annals, by name *Cn. Gellius*, lived about the year 620. of *Rome*, and was contemporary with *Cicero* (1).

(92) *Artemidor. prol. p.* 4. (93) *Voſſ. ibid.* (94) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 52. (95) *Apul. flor. p.* 344. (96) *Idem, apol. p.* 338. (97) *Aul. Gell. l.* xiii. *c.* 21. (98) *Idem, l.* xix *c.* 8. (99) *Idem, præfat.* (100) *Aug. civit. Dei, l.* ix. *c.* 4. (1) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Macrob. ſaturnal. l.* i. *c.* 16.

CHAP. XXII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* M. Aurelius, *to the death of* Alexander, *when the empire was firſt transferred without the conſent of the ſenate.*

Commodus. *Commodus* was the firſt emperor that was born in his father's reign, and the ſecond that ſucceeded his father in the empire. He was born on the thirty-firſt of *Auguſt* of the year 161. and raiſed to the empire on the ſeventeenth of *March* of the year 180. He is commonly called *L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus*, and ſometimes *Commodus Antoninus*. He was educated with great care by his father; but nevertheleſs proved one of the moſt lewd, cruel and wicked tyrants that ever diſgraced a throne; which confirms in ſome degree the opinion of thoſe, who believed him to be the ſon of a famous gladiator, with whom his mother *Fauſtina* was ſaid to have had a criminal converſation [d]. He gave, when only twelve years old, a remarkable inſtance of his cruelty at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*; where finding the water in which he bathed ſomewhat too warm, he commanded the perſon who attended the bath to be thrown into the furnace; nor was he ſatisfied, till thoſe who were about him pretended to have put his order in execution [e]. After his acceſſion to the empire, he equalled, if he did not exceed, in cruelty, *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Nero* himſelf, playing, we may ſay, with the blood of his ſubjects and fellow-creatures, of whom he cauſed great numbers to be racked and butchered in his preſence, merely for his diverſion. The ancients relate ſeveral inſtances of his cruelty, very odd and monſtrous: he cauſed one to be thrown to the wild beaſts, for reading the life of *Caligula* written by *Suetonius*, becauſe that tyrant and he had been born on the ſame day.

His cruelty.

[d] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 30. [e] Lamprid. in Commod.

day [f]. Seeing one day a corpulent man paſs by, he immediately cut him aſunder, a
partly to try his ſtrength, in which he excelled all men, and partly out of curioſity, as he himſelf owned, to ſee his intrails drop out at once. He took pleaſure in cutting off the feet, and putting out the eyes, of ſuch as he met in his rambles through the city, telling the former, after he had thus maimed them, by way of raillery, that they now belonged to the nation of the *Monopodii*; and the latter, that they were now become *Luſcinii*, alluding to the words *luſcinia*, a nightingale, and *luſcus*, one-eyed. Some he murdered, becauſe they were negligently dreſſed; others, becauſe they ſeemed trimmed with too much nicety. He pretended to great ſkill in ſurgery, eſpecially at letting blood; but ſometimes, inſtead of eaſing by that means thoſe whom he viſited, or who were prevailed upon to recur to him, he cut off, by way b
of diverſion, their ears or noſes. He aſſumed the name and habit of *Hercules*, appearing publicly in a lion's ſkin, with a huge club in his hand, and ordering ſeveral perſons, tho' not guilty of any crime, to be diſguiſed like monſters, that, by knocking out their brains with his club, he might have a better claim to the name of the great deſtroyer of monſters. In ſhort, the ſhedding of blood ſeemed to be his chief diverſion [g]. As for his lewdneſs, the author of his life tells us, that even in his father's reign he turned the court into a brothel; and, upon his death, he abandoned himſelf, without reſtraint or ſhame, to all manner of abominations, ſpending whole days and nights in public-houſes amongſt the meaneſt of the people, and in the company of gladiators, buffoons, common proſtitutes, *&c.* He kept conſtantly c
three hundred concubines, and the like number of catamites. He debauched all his own ſiſters, and murdered one of them, by name *Lucilla*, after he had forced her to comply with his inceſtuous deſires. But to give a detail of his infamous practices and pollutions is beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian, and what we cannot help blaming in *Suetonius* and the *Auguſtine* writers. He took great delight in ſhooting with the bow, and gave innumerable proofs of his dexterity and ſkill in that art, which we ſhould look upon as fabulous, were they not atteſted by all the ancients. He excelled all men in ſtrength, and is ſaid to have run an elephant thro' with his ſpear, and to have once killed in the amphitheatre a hundred lions, one after another, and each of them at one blow. Forgetful of his rank and dignity, he d
entered the liſts with the common gladiators, having learnt with them in the common ſchools the uſe of their weapons. He is ſaid to have fought in the public amphitheatre ſeven hundred and thirty-five times, and to have always come off conqueror; whence he often ſubſcribed himſelf in his letters, *The conqueror of a thouſand gladiators.* He ſeemed to be more pleaſed with the applauſe of the populace on theſe occaſions, than any of the ancient *Roman* captains had ever been with a triumph. Imagining one day, that the people rather derided than applauded him, he ordered them all to be maſſacred upon the ſpot, and the city to be ſet on fire; which barbarous ſentence had been put in execution, had not the captain of the prætorian guards with much-ado appeaſed him. Having with his extravagancies ſoon drained and exhauſted e
his exchequer, he betook himſelf to all manner of rapine; loaded the people with taxes; ſold the governments of the provinces and other employments; exempted criminals from the puniſhment due to their crimes, upon their paying him a ſum of money, and allowed others to murder whomſoever they pleaſed; ſo that the city, and indeed the whole empire, was filled with blood and maſſacres, every one purchaſing of the emperor the liberty of murdering ſuch as he feared or hated [h]. But to proceed to the hiſtory of his reign according to the order of time.

His lewdneſs and debaucheries.

His ſkill in archery.

He enters the liſts with the common gladiators.

His avarice.

Commodus, a few days after his father's death, went to the camp, attended by all the chief officers; and there, after a plauſible and popular ſpeech to the ſoldiers, preſented them with the uſual donative. He was for returning immediately to *Rome*, f
panting after the diverſions of the city; but *Pompeianus*, who had married his ſiſter, repreſenting to him how dangerous and ſhameful a thing it would be for him to return before he had ended the war, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to continue ſome time in *Pannonia*, where he is ſaid to have gained ſome advantages over the *Quadi*, which muſt have been very inconſiderable, ſince he did not on that ſcore take upon him the title of *imperator*. However, both the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, imagining that he was reſolved to purſue the war, and finding themſelves no longer in a condition to make head againſt his victorious troops, ſent embaſſadors to him, with propoſals

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid.

a fals of an accommodation; which he readily hearkened to, and granted them a peace upon the following terms: 1. That they ſhould not ſettle within five miles of the *Danube*. 2. That they ſhould deliver up their arms, and ſupply the *Romans* with a certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they ſhould aſſemble but once a month in one place only, and in the preſence of a *Roman* centurion. And, 4. That they ſhould not make war upon the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, or the *Vandali*, without the conſent of the people of *Rome*. On the other hand, *Commodus* promiſed to abandon, which he did accordingly, all the caſtles and fortreſſes which he held in their country, except ſuch as were within five miles of the *Danube* [i]. With the other *German* nations, which his father had almoſt intirely reduced, he b concluded a very diſhonourable peace; nay, of ſome he purchaſed it with very large ſums. Having thus rather abandoned than ended the war, he haſtened back to *Rome*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, with the ſurname of *Pius*, and with all the marks of diſtinction that had ever been conferred upon the moſt deſerving princes. Having viſited the capitol and other temples, and returned thanks to the ſenate, the people, and the ſoldiery, for their fidelity and attachment to him during his abſence, he was conducted by them to the palace on the twenty-ſecond of *October* [k].

He concludes a peace with the Marcomanni, Quadi, *&c.*

The following year, *Commodus* entered upon his third conſulſhip, having for his collegue one *Birrus*, or *Burrhus*, probably *Antiſtius Burrhus*, who had married his c ſiſter [l]. On one medal of this, and on ſeveral of the following year, *Commodus* bears the title of *Felix*, the *Happy*; whence it is manifeſt, that *Lampridius*, whom moſt modern antiquaries follow, was miſtaken, when he wrote, that this title was not by the ſenate decreed to him till the death of *Perennis*, which happened five years after; that is, in the year 186 [m]. The next conſuls were *Mamertinus* and *Rufus*, during whoſe adminiſtration *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* for the fifth time, on account of ſome advantages gained by his lieutenants, *Albinus* and *Niger*, over the barbarians who dwelt beyond *Dacia* [n]. The above-mentioned conſuls were ſucceeded by *Commodus*, the fourth time conſul, and *Victorinus* the ſecond time. During their conſulſhip, the *Caledonians*, having paſſed the wall which parted them from the *Ro-* d *mans*, committed dreadful devaſtations, and cut in pieces a *Roman* army, with their general; but were in the end repulſed with great ſlaughter, by *Ulpius Marcellus*, a man of a mean deſcent, but an excellent commander and a ſtrict obſerver of the military diſcipline. Of this war the ancients give us no particular account, but only tell us, that it proved very bloody; that the emperor, for the great advantages gained by his lieutenant, took the title of *imperator* the ſixth time, with the ſurname of *Britannicus*; and that *Ulpius Marcellus*, by his gallant and prudent conduct, gained ſuch credit and reputation, that *Commodus*, envying him the glory he had acquired, deſigned to put him to death; but in the end ſpared him [o]. This year *Commodus*, who had hitherto followed the advice of his father's friends and counſellors, began to e deſpiſe him, thinking himſelf ſufficiently qualified to govern without ſo many tutors about him, as he expreſſed it. He therefore diſcharged them all, employing in their room either his debauched companions, or ſuch as were recommended to him by them. Thus *Peſcennius Niger* was preferred to the command of the armies in *Syria*, at the recommendation of the wreſtler *Narciſſus*; and many others were raiſed to great employments by means of the emperor's freed-men, ſlaves, concubines, *&c.* whoſe imperious and arrogant behaviour drew upon the young prince the hatred and contempt of the ſenate; which he being well appriſed of, began in his turn to put to death, under various pretences, ſome of the moſt eminent members of that illuſtrious body. His ſiſter *Lucilla*, ſeeing him abhorred, on account of his cruelties, by all the great f men in *Rome*, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, with a deſign to place in his room a perſon whom ſhe favoured, and was thought to love both above her brother and her huſband *Pompeianus*. She had the title of empreſs, and all the honours attending it, being the widow of the emperor *Lucius Verus*; but nevertheleſs was obliged to give place to *Criſpina*, the wife of *Commodus*; which her haughty ſpirit could not bear. She therefore drew into a conſpiracy *Claudius Pompeianus*, to whom ſhe had betrothed her daughter, *Quadratus*, and many other ſenators of diſtinction. It was agreed among the conſpirators, that they ſhould fall upon the emperor while he was going to the amphi-

The Caledonians *invade the* Roman *territories; but are repulſed by* Ulpius Marcellus.

Commodus *diſmiſſes his father's friends and counſellors.*

A conſpiracy formed againſt him by his ſiſter Lucilla *and others.*

[i] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 817. Herodian. l i. p. 461. Aur. Vict. [k] Lamprid. ibid. Dio, p. 818. Herod. p. 471. Goltz. p. 81. [l] Vit. Commod. p. 48. Onuph p. 238. [m] Birag. p. 246. [n] Goltz. p. 81. Birag. ibid. Dio, p. 820. [o] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 821. & in excerpt. Val. p. 725.

amphitheatre through a narrow and dark paſſage; and that *Pompeianus* ſhould give him the firſt blow. Accordingly they aſſaulted him in the appointed place; but *Pompeianus* ſhewing him, inſtead of ſtriking at once, the naked dagger, and crying out, *This preſent the ſenate ſends you*, the guards had time to reſcue the emperor and ſeize the conſpirators, who were ſoon after put to death. The emperor baniſhed his ſiſter to the iſland of *Capreæ*, where he afterwards ordered her to be privately murdered [p]. *Herodianus* tells us, that one *Quintianus* was to give the firſt blow; and *Ammianus*, who follows him, adds, that *Quinctianus* actually wounded the emperor, who, by the loſs of blood, fainted away [q]. But we have choſen to follow ſuch writers as lived neareſt thoſe times. This ſame year the empreſs *Criſpina* was likewiſe confined to the iſland of *Capreæ*, and there murdered, by the emperor's orders, for imitating him in his debaucheries [r]. *Quadratus* had a concubine, by name *Marcia*, and a favourite freed-man, named *Eclectus*. The latter the emperor created his chief chamberlain; and the former, who was a woman of great beauty, he kept for his concubine, and diſtinguiſhed her with all the honours that were peculiar to the empreſſes, except that of having fire or torches carried before her [s]. She is ſuppoſed to have been a great friend to the chriſtians; and to her power at court, and authority with the emperor, is commonly aſcribed the profound tranquillity, which the church enjoyed in the midſt of ſo many cruel executions [t]. One *Anterus*, or, as others call him, *Saoterus*, a native of *Nicomedia* and the emperor's favourite freed-man, was thought to have put him upon the wicked meaſures which he was purſuing; for he bore a great ſway with the prince. Wherefore the captains of the guards cauſed him to be murdered by one *Cleander*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The emperor expreſſed greater concern for his death, than he had done for the conſpiracy formed againſt himſelf; and being informed, that *Tarruntinus Paternus*, one of the captains of the guards, was privy to it, he removed him from his employment, under colour of creating him a ſenator, and a few days after cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, with *Salvius Julianus*, to whoſe ſon the daughter of *Paternus* had been betrothed, pretending, that they had both conſpired to depoſe him and ſeize the empire for themſelves [u]. *Salvius Julianus* was grandſon to the famous civilian of that name under *Adrian*, and uncle to *Didius Julianus*, who was afterwards emperor. The ſame year were falſly accuſed of treaſon, condemned and executed, *Velius Rufus*, *Egnatius Capito*, and the two *Quintilii*, *Maximus* and *Condianus*, who had been all conſuls. *Sextus Condianus*, the ſon of *Maximus*, who had been conſul in the year 180. and was a young man of extraordinary parts, was condemned with his father and uncle; but eſcaped, at leaſt for ſome time, by cauſing a report to be ſpread, that he was dead; but many atteſting that he was ſtill alive, diligent ſearch was made after him. Many perſons, who had never ſeen him, were accuſed of having harboured and concealed him in their houſes, and, upon that charge, either put to death or baniſhed. Of *Sextus* himſelf we find no further mention in hiſtory. *Emilius Junctus* and *Attilius Severus* were both baniſhed in their conſulſhip, which they held, it ſeems, during the two laſt months of this year, and with them many ſenators and knights of great diſtinction. Under the ſucceeding conſuls, *M. Eggius Merullus* and *Cn. Papirius Ælianus*, was accuſed of aſpiring at the empire and put to death, the emperor's favourite miniſter *Perennis*. He was captain of the prætorian guards, an excellent commander, and, according to *Dion Caſſius*, a man without reproach [x]. But *Herodianus* and *Lampridius* give him a quite different character, and ſpeak of him as one who abuſed the great authority he had with the emperor, ſticking at no violence, murder, or injuſtice, to fill his own coffers, while *Commodus* was wholly intent upon his pleaſures and diverſions, in which he encouraged him, that he might govern with an abſolute ſway; which he did but for a ſhort while, as we ſhall ſee anon [y]. This year *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* the ſeventh time, probably on account of ſome advantages gained by his lieutenants in *Britain*; for the diſturbances there were not yet intirely quelled [z]. The next conſuls were *Commodus* the fifth time, and *Acilius Glabrio* the ſecond [a]. This year, while *Commodus* was aſſiſting at the *Capitoline* ſports, inſtituted by *Domitian* in 86. a perſon in the habit of a *Cynic* philoſopher, appeared unexpectedly in the midſt of the theatre; and addreſſing the emperor, told him aloud, That while he minded

Who are all put to death.

The captains of the guard cauſe his favourite freed-man to be murdered.

Several perſons condemned and executed.

Perennis, *the emperor's favourite miniſter, put to death.*

His downfal and death differently reported.

nothing

[p] Vit. Commod. p. 46. Herod. p. 474. Dio, p. 818. [q] Ammian. l. xxix. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Herod. l. i p. 486. [t] Vide Baron. ann. 112. [u] Vit. Commod. p. 47. Dio, p. 819. [w] Dio, l, lxxi. p. 819. Vit. Comm p. 47. [x] Dio, p. 821. [y] Herod. l. i. p. 472. Vit. Comm. p. 48. [z] Birac p. 248. Vit. Comm. ibid. [a] Noris. epiſt. conſul. p 116.

nothing but his pleaſures and diverſions, he was in danger of loſing both his life and the empire, by the wicked practices of *Perennis* and his children. *Perennis* cauſed the pretended *Cynic* to be immediately ſeized as a madman, who diſturbed the public ſports, and ſoon after ordered him to be burnt alive; which gave the emperor no ſmall jealouſy. Not long after, ſome ſoldiers arriving at *Rome* from *Illyricum*, where the ſon of *Perennis* commanded, ſhewed to *Commodus*, in a private audience, ſome medals, on which was engraved the image of the ſon of *Perennis*, as if he had been already emperor; which ſo alarmed the prince, that he commanded the traitor to be immediately put to death [b]. Thus *Herodian*. But *Dion Caſſius* and *Lampridius* relate his downfal in a quite different manner. According to them, the army in *Britain*, diſſatisfied, either becauſe he had puniſhed them with too great ſeverity on account of ſome ſedition, or becauſe he had removed ſeveral ſenators, and given their poſts in the army to *Roman* knights his creatures, ſent deputies to *Rome*, fifteen hundred, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, (which ſeems altogether incredible) to complain of him, and charge him with a deſign of raiſing his ſon to the empire. They were backed by *Cleander* and the emperor's other freed-men, who could not brook the arbitrary and haughty conduct of the favourite miniſter. Hereupon *Commodus*, naturally timorous, abandoned the traitor to the rage of the provoked ſoldiery, who, after a thouſand outrages, tore him in pieces. His wife, his ſiſter, and his two ſons underwent the ſame fate. To his eldeſt ſon, who commanded the army in *Illyricum*, the emperor wrote an obliging letter, injoining him to come with all poſſible expedition to *Rome*, to receive there new marks of the eſteem and affection he had for him and his father. As the young man was an intire ſtranger to what had paſſed, and not yet in a condition to revolt openly, he readily complied with the invitation; but had no ſooner entered *Italy*, than he was cut in pieces by the ſoldiers who attended him, purſuant to the private orders they had received from *Rome* [c]. The other brother was probably killed at *Rome* with his father. *Perennis* was ſucceeded in the poſt of prime miniſter by *Cleander*; for the emperor himſelf was ſo taken up with his pleaſures and diverſions, that he could not beſtow one minute on the affairs of the ſtate: he would not even be at the trouble of ſigning his diſpatches; and in ſeveral letters to his friends all he wrote was, *Vale*, *Farewel*. *Cleander* was by birth a *Phrygian*, and originally a ſlave, having been ſold as ſuch in *Rome* by auction, as were in thoſe days moſt ſlaves. He belonged at firſt to *M. Aurelius*, and afterwards to *Commodus*, who, favouring him above the reſt of his ſlaves, gave him leave to marry *Demoſtracia*, one of his concubines, brought up the children he had by her in the palace, preſented him with his liberty, and appointed him his chamberlain. He is thought to have procured the death of *Perennis*, that he might ingroſs all the power to himſelf; which he eaſily compaſſed, and abuſed his authority in a more flagrant manner than *Perennis* had ever done. By him all things were openly ſet to ſale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. *Antiſtius Burrhus*, who had married one of the emperor's ſiſters, took the liberty to acquaint the prince with the unaccountable conduct of his miniſter; but that liberty coſt him his life, *Cleander* having charged him with aſpiring at the empire, and prevailed upon the emperor, whom he blindly controuled, to condemn him, and all thoſe who eſpouſed his cauſe, or attempted to defend him. Among theſe was *Ebutianus* captain of the guards, in whoſe room *Cleander* perſuaded the emperor to ſubſtitute himſelf, and two others, whom he named to him. Upon the death of *Perennis*, that employment had been given to one *Niger*, who held it only ſix hours; another enjoyed it but five days, and ſeveral others not ſo long, the timorous emperor changing the captains of his guards daily and hourly. Moſt of theſe officers loſt their lives with their employment, being accuſed of treaſon by *Cleander*, who courted, and at laſt obtained, that important poſt for himſelf [d]. After the death of *Perennis*, the emperor pretended to be greatly concerned for many things that had been done during his adminiſtration, in order to throw the whole odium upon him. He wrote an obliging letter to *Pertinax*, whom *Perennis* had baniſhed into *Liguria*, his native country, and kept there for the ſpace of three years, appointing him commander of the troops in *Britain*, which had mutinied, and raiſed great diſturbances in that iſland, neither the *Roman* ſoldiers, nor the *Britons*, being able to brook the tyrannical government of *Com-*

His wife and children undergo the ſame fate.

Perennis *is ſucceeded by* Cleander.

Who abuſes his authority.

The captains of the guards changed daily and hourly.

The Roman *ſoldiers in* Britain *mutiny.*

[b] Herodian. ibid. p. 474, 475. [c] Dio, p. 821. Vit. Commod. p. 48. [d] Herod. p. 475. Dio, p. 822. Vit. Com. ibid.

Commodus. Upon the arrival of *Pertinax*, the ſoldiers preſſed him to aſſume the a
ſovereignty; but he, rejecting the offer with indignation, brought by degrees the
mutinous ſoldiery to a ſenſe of their duty, and reſtored tranquillity to the province,
but not without great trouble and danger; for one of the legions openly revolting,
much blood was ſpilt, and *Pertinax* himſelf was left upon the ſpot for dead. As his
ſeverity drew upon him the hatred and ill-will of the ſoldiery, he deſired to be
recalled; but the emperor did not comply with his requeſt till three years after[d].
This year, *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* for the eighth and laſt time, on
account of the advantages, as is conjectured, which *Clodius Albinus* is ſaid to have
gained about this time over the *Friſians*[e].

The war of the deſerters under the conduct of Maternus.

Under the next conſuls, *Criſpinus* and *Ælianus*, a common ſoldier, by name b
Maternus, having fled from his colours, and being joined by many others guilty of
the ſame crime, grew in a ſhort time ſo powerful, the banditti flocking to him from
all parts, that he over-ran and plundered great part of *Gaul* and *Spain*, ſtormed the
ſtrongeſt cities, and ſtruck the emperor and people of *Rome* with ſuch terror, that
troops were raiſed and armies diſpatched againſt him. *Peſcennius Niger* was ſent
to make head againſt him in *Gaul*, where he became very intimate with *Severus*, who
was then governor of the country of *Lyons*, and wrote a letter to the emperor, com-
mending the prudent conduct and gallant behaviour of *Niger* in purſuing the rebels
and deſerters[f]. *Maternus*, finding himſelf reduced to great ſtreights by the brave
Niger, divided his men into ſeveral ſmall bands, and marched privately with them c
by different ways into *Italy*, having nothing leſs in view than to murder the emperor,
during the ſolemnity which was kept annually in honour of the mother of the gods,
and, upon his death, to ſeize the empire. They all arrived at *Rome* undiſcovered;
and ſome of his men had already mixed themſelves with the emperor's guards, when
Who is ſeized, and executed. others of his own party betrayed him. He was immediately ſeized and executed,
and his death put an end to the diſturbances, which ſome of his followers had begun
to raiſe in other provinces[g]. The ſame year, broke out the moſt dreadful plague,
ſays *Dion Caſſius*, that had been known. It laſted two or three years, and raged with
moſt violence in *Rome*, where it frequently carried off two thouſand perſons a day.
The emperor, to avoid the contagion, retired to *Laurentum*, a city of *Latium*, on the d
ſea-ſide[h]. The following year, *Fuſcianus* and *Salinus* being both conſuls for the
ſecond time, the emperor gave out, that he deſigned to paſs over into *Africa*; but
having, under that pretence, exacted very conſiderable ſums, and even ſuffered the
people to offer up vows for his ſafe return on the fifth of *April*, he ſpent the money
in banquets and revels, and continued at *Rome* and in the neighbourhood[i]. About
this time, *Severus* was tranſlated from the government of *Pannonia* to that of *Sicily*,
Severus *accuſed and acquitted.* whence he returned to *Rome*, to clear himſelf of a crime with which he was charged,
viz. of conſulting the aſtrologers, as if he entertained thoughts of uſurping the ſove-
reignty. His cauſe was heard by the captains of the guards, the collegues of
Cleander; and, as *Commodus* was hated, ſays *Spartian*, *Severus* was cleared, and his e
accuſer crucified[k]. This year, great part of the capitol, a famous library, and
ſeveral contiguous buildings, were utterly deſtroyed by lightning[l]. *Euſebius* ſays,
it conſumed whole quarters of the city, and in them ſeveral libraries. At the ſame
time, the city was afflicted with a dreadful famine, occaſioned, as ſome authors write,
by *Cleander*, who, having now nothing leſs in view than the ſovereignty, bought up
under-hand all the corn, in order to raiſe the price of it, and gain the affections of
the ſoldiery and people, by diſtributing it among them[m]. Other writers tell us[n],
that *Papirius Dionyſius*, whoſe province it was to ſupply the city with proviſions,
contributed towards the famine, in order to make the people riſe againſt *Cleander*.
Be that as it will, the populace aſcribed all their calamities and misfortunes to the f
Cleander *acts in an arbitrary manner.* hated miniſter, who now began to act in a more arbitrary manner than ever, putting
to death and pardoning, baniſhing and recalling from exile, whom he pleaſed. Se-
veral manumitted ſlaves he created patricians, and gave them a place in the ſenate;
others he made governors of provinces, and raiſed to the firſt employments. But his
reign was ſhort-lived; for the following year, in which *Rome* ſaw for the firſt, and
indeed for the laſt, time, twenty-five conſuls, all named by *Cleander*, and moſt of
them his creatures, while the people were celebrating the *Circenſian* games, a troop
of

[d] Vit. Com. ibid. & Pertin. p. 54. [e] Albin. vit. p. 81. [f] Nig. vit. p. 75. [g] Herod. l. i. p. 475. Vit. Com. p. 51 [h] Idem ibid. [i] Vit. Com. p. 49. [k] Spart. in Sever. [l] Euseb, in chron. Oros. l. viii, c. 16. [m] Dio, p. 823. [n] Vit. Com. p. 51.

a of children, having at their head a young woman of an extraordinary ſtature and a fierce aſpect, entering the circus, began to utter aloud many bitter invectives and dreadful curſes againſt *Cleander*; which being for ſome time anſwered by the people with other invectives and curſes, the whole multitude roſe all on a ſudden, flew in a tumultuous manner to the palace of *Quintilius* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where the emperor was then reſiding with *Cleander*; and, renewing there their curſes and imprecations, demanded the head of the perfidious wretch, by whom they had been ſo grievouſly and tyrannically oppreſſed. Hereupon *Cleander* ordered the prætorian cavalry to charge the multitude; which they did accordingly, driving them with great ſlaughter into the city; but there the populace diſcharging ſhowers of ſtones,
b bricks, and tiles from the tops of the houſes and from the windows, and the city-guards, who hated *Cleander*, joining the multitude, the prætorian horſe were forced to give way and ſave themſelves by a diſorderly flight. The people purſued them to the palace of *Quintilius*, where the emperor was paſſing his time in the company of ſome lewd women, utterly unappriſed of the tumult, *Cleander* having forbidden thoſe who were about him to acquaint him with it. However, *Marcia*, his favourite concubine, thought it incumbent upon her to inform him of what had paſſed; and his ſiſter *Fadilla*, entering his apartment in a great fright and with her hair diſhevelled, cried out to him aloud, That all was loſt, unleſs he abandoned *Cleander* to the fury of the incenſed populace. Hereupon the emperor, ſtruck with terror and amaze-
c ment, ſent for *Cleander*; and having cauſed his head to be ſtruck off that inſtant, ſent it to the people, the ſight of which put an end to the combat, which ſtill continued with great ſlaughter. His head and body were by the incenſed populace inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner. His wife, his children, and moſt of his creatures were at the ſame time maſſacred, and their bodies firſt dragged through the ſtreets, and then thrown into the common ſewer [n]. *Lampridius* tells us, that the people were chiefly provoked againſt him, for having cauſed *Arrius Antoninus* to be falſly accuſed of treaſon and put to death, becauſe he had, while proconſul of *Aſia*, condemned one of his creatures, by name *Attalus* [o]. *Julianus* and *Regillus* were appointed captains of the guards in the room of *Cleander* and his collegues; but the emperor cauſed
d them both to be ſoon after put to death, though he had ever ſhewn a particular kindneſs and affection for *Julianus*, whom he uſed to ſtyle his father [p]. About the cloſe of this year, *Pertinax* was, at his own requeſt, recalled from *Britain*, and charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions, in the room of *Papirius Dionyſius*, who was likewiſe put to death, with all thoſe who had any ways contributed to the raiſing of the price of corn.

The people riſe againſt him.

The prætorian horſe fall upon them; but are put to flight.

The emperor cauſes his head to be ſtruck off.

THE following year, *Commodus* entered upon his ſixth conſulſhip, having *Petronius Septimianus* for his collegue. The ſeveral conſpiracies, which had been formed againſt himſelf and his miniſters, filling him with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, he abandoned himſelf without controul to bloodſhed and cruelty. He put to death, beſides many
e others mentioned by *Spartian* and other writers, *Petronius Mamertinus*, who had married one of his ſiſters; his ſon *Antoninus*; *Annia Fauſtina*, couſin-german to *M. Aurelius*; *Sulpicius Craſſus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, and ſix conſulars on one day. He cauſed all thoſe who were any-ways related to *Avidius Caſſius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, to be burnt alive. Among the multitudes of all ranks and conditions, who were doomed to be inhumanly maſſacred this year, *Dion Caſſius* gives us a particular account of the death of one *Julius Alexander*, a native of *Emeſa* in *Syria*, who being informed, that the emperor had ſent thither a centurion with a band of ſoldiers to murder him, ſurpriſed them in the night, and killed them all to a man, with ſeveral others, whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies. Having thus filled the city with ſlaugh-
f ter, he retired on horſeback, with a deſign to take refuge among the barbarians; and would have made his eſcape, had he not been retarded by a friend of his, who could not keep up with him, and whom he could not find in his heart to leave behind him. Being therefore overtaken by thoſe who purſued him, he firſt killed his friend, that he might not fall into their hands, and afterwards himſelf [q]. This year *Severus*, who had been one of the twenty-five conſuls of the preceding year, was appointed commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, and *Pertinax* was ſent into *Africa* with the character of proconſul. The following year, *Apronianus* and *Bradua* being conſuls, a fire broke

Commodus *cauſes many illuſtrious perſons to be put to death.*

[n] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 823. HEROD. l. i. p. 479—481. Vit. Comm. p. 48.
[o] Vit. Comm. ibid.
[p] Idem ibid. & Dio, p. 823.
[q] Dio, ibid.

The temple of Peace *consumed by fire,*

broke out in the night-time in the celebrated temple of *Peace*, preceded, and, as ſome writers ſuppoſe, produced by a ſmall earthquake; for no thunder was heard [r]. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that it began in the adjoining houſes. Be that as it will, the temple, with all the buildings round it, was reduced to aſhes. That magnificent ſtructure had been raiſed by *Veſpaſian* after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and inriched with all the ſpoils and ornaments of the temple of the *Jews*. The ancients ſpeak of it as one of the moſt ſtately buildings in *Rome*. There men of learning uſed to hold their aſſemblies and lodge their writings, as many others did their jewels, and whatever elſe they had of great value. It was likewiſe made uſe of as a kind of magazine for the ſpices that were brought by the *Roman* merchants out of *Egypt* and *Arabia*; ſo that many rich perſons were at once reduced to beggary, all their valuable effects and treaſures being conſumed, in one night, with the temple [s]. *Galen* complains, that many of his books were loſt by this misfortune [t]. The fire ſpread with great violence to other quarters of the city, and conſumed a great number of ſtately edifices; among the reſt, the temple of *Veſta*. The veſtals fled to the palace, with the ſtatue of *Pallas*, which was ſuppoſed to have been brought from *Troy*, and had never before been expoſed to public view; but the flames ſeized the palace itſelf, and reduced great part of it to aſhes, before their rage could be ſtaid. However, the public papers and regiſters were with much-ado preſerved. The conflagration laſted ſeveral days, in ſpite of the utmoſt endeavours of the people, the ſoldiery, and the emperor himſelf, who, returning on that occaſion from the country, expoſed his own perſon, in order to encourage others to exert themſelves by his example. It ceaſed at length of itſelf, or was extinguiſhed by a ſudden and violent rain, which they all looked upon as ſent by the gods [u]. This year, *Pertinax* was preferred from the government of *Africa* to that of *Rome*, and *Didius Julianus* ſent to govern *Africa* in his room. The next conſuls were *Commodus*, the ſeventh time, and *Helvidius Pertinax*, the ſecond. This year, the *Roman* troops were defeated by the *Saracens*, whom we find now mentioned for the firſt time in hiſtory [w]. *Commodus* being told, that *Severus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Murcus*, who had the command of ſome other army, aſpired at the empire, appointed *Clodius Albinus*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence, governor of *Britain*, and wrote a letter to him with his own hand, ſays *Julius Capitolinus*, giving him leave to aſſume the title of *Cæſar*, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity, in caſe any diſturbances ſhould ariſe in the empire. *Albinus*, adds the ſame writer, prudently declined that honour, fearing to be involved in the ruin of *Commodus*, which he apprehended to be at hand [x]. The account, which *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian* give us of the latter end of this prince's reign, is nothing but a detail of his follies, and the ſhews which he exhibited, and in which he himſelf acted the chief part. Both theſe hiſtorians were preſent; and the former, who aſſiſted at the above-mentioned ſhews in quality of ſenator, tells us, that he and the other ſenators chewed the whole time bay-leaves, that by their bitterneſs they might be diverted from laughing at the prince's folly; which would have coſt them their lives. However, he owns, that the addreſs and ſkill which the emperor diſplayed in ſhooting with the bow, was univerſally admired and applauded; for a panther having ſeized a man, and being ready to devour him, *Commodus* let fly an arrow againſt the beaſt with ſo much ſkill and force, that the panther fell dead to the ground, before the man received the leaſt hurt [y]. A few days before his death, he changed the names of ſome of the months, calling *Auguſt Commodus*, *September Auguſt*, *October Hercules*, *November Invincibilis*, *December Exuperatorius*, and *January Amazonius*; which laſt title he himſelf aſſumed, becauſe he had firſt fallen in love with *Marcia* upon ſeeing her painted in the dreſs of an *Amazon*. He was likewiſe for changing the name of the city itſelf, and calling it *Colonia Commodiana*, or *The colony of* Commodus. Upon this head he wrote to the ſenate, ſtyling himſelf in the letter, *Imperator Cæſar Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Auguſtus, Pius, Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximinus, Britannicus, Pacator orbis terrarum, Invictus Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiæ Poteſtatis* XVII. *Imperator* VIII. *Conſul* VII. *Pater Patriæ*, &c. The ſenate readily complied with his deſire, and not only ſtyled *Rome Colonia Commodiana*, but the houſe in which they aſſembled, *The houſe of* Commodus. They had given him before, by way of deriſion, ſays *Lampridius*, the title of *Pious*, upon his raiſing

And the temple of Veſta, *with many other buildings*

The emperor's folly, and public ſhews.

He changes the names of ſome months.

His vanity.

[r] Herodian. l. i. p. 485. Dio, p. 829. [s] Dio, & Herod. ibid. Galen. de libris ſuis, p. 363. [t] Galen. ibid. [u] Herod. p. 482. [w] Vit. Nigr. p. 77. [x] Vit. Albin. p. 79. [y] Dio, p. 484. Herod. p. 826.

raiſing to the conſulſhip one of his mother's gallants; the title of *Happy*, for having compaſſed the death of *Perennis*; and that of *Hercules*, in conſideration of his extraordinary ſtrength, and his killing many thouſand wild beaſts in the amphitheatre. He had often appeared on the public ſtage in the *Amazonian* and other fantaſtical dreſſes; but this year he was not aſhamed to enter the liſts with the gladiators, to act, and to dance in the theatre quite naked. Not ſatisfied with theſe follies, he reſolved to appear on the firſt day of the enſuing year 193. as conſul, and at the ſame time as gladiator, and, in order to that, to cauſe *Erucius Clarus* and *Soſius Falco*, the two conſuls elect, to be murdered. This deſign he imparted to *Marcia* the night before it was to be put in execution, telling her, that the conſuls were to be murdered the following night; and that he intended to march in proceſſion, not from the palace, and with the enſigns of the imperial dignity, as was uſual on the firſt of *January*, but from the ſchool of the gladiators, armed like one of them, and attended by them alone. *Marcia* threw herſelf at his feet, and conjured him, with tears in her eyes, to reflect on the danger to which he expoſed his life, by truſting it to men deſtitute of all honour and probity. But *Commodus*, without giving ear to her remonſtrances, ordered *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and *Electus*, his chief chamberlain, to get ready the apartment which he had built for himſelf in the houſe where the gladiators belonging to the public were lodged. Theſe two officers did likewiſe all that lay in their power to divert him from ſo ſtrange a reſolution; but to no purpoſe: for the emperor, inſtead of yielding to their intreaties, flew into a great paſſion; and retiring to his chamber, as if he deſigned to repoſe a little, it being then about noon, he ſet down on a piece of paper the names of many illuſtrious ſenators and other perſons of diſtinction, whom he deſigned to murder, in order to inrich himſelf with their eſtates, and at the head of the fatal liſt the names of *Marcia*, *Lætus*, and *Electus*. Having left this paper upon his bed, when he went to bathe before dinner, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, a little child, with whom he uſed to amuſe himſelf, entering his bed-chamber, innocently took it up to play with it; but *Marcia* meeting him, ſnatched it out of his hand, imagining it to be ſome writing of conſequence. She was greatly ſurpriſed when, upon viewing it, ſhe found herſelf, *Lætus*, and *Electus* doomed with the reſt to deſtruction. She immediately acquainted *Lætus* and *Electus* with the danger that threatened them, who thereupon reſolved to be before-hand with the tyrant [z]. Such is the account which *Herodian* gives us of this conſpiracy. But *Dion Caſſius*, who had already related the death of *Domitian* with theſe very circumſtances, tells us only in this place, that *Lætus* and *Electus*, no longer able to bear the cruelties and follies of *Commodus*, and terrified with his menaces, agreed with *Marcia* to diſpatch him. *Julius Capitolinus* writes, that they acquainted *Pertinax* with their deſign, who did not ſtrive to divert them from it [a]. But *Dion Caſſius* [b] and *Herodian* [c] aſſure us, that he was altogether unapprized of their attempt, the conſpirators not having time to think of any thing but diſpatching the tyrant and ſecuring themſelves. Be that as it will, the conſpirators agreed, that the ſafeſt and moſt expeditious way was to diſpatch him with poiſon; which was accordingly adminiſtered to him by *Marcia*, as he returned very hot from bathing, after having killed ſome wild beaſts. The emperor, being ſoon after ſeized with a heavy ſlumber, retired to refreſh himſelf with a ſhort ſleep (for he ſlept, as hiſtorians obſerve, at all hours); and *Electus*, laying hold of that opportunity, ordered the company to retire, hoping by that means to conceal the cauſe and manner of his death; but *Commodus* awaking, when the company was ſcarce gone, was ſeized with a violent vomiting; and, ſuſpecting that poiſon had been given him, began to threaten all about him with immediate death. Hereupon the conſpirators, fearing he ſhould void the poiſon and eſcape, ſent in haſte for his great favourite *Narciſſus*, the famous wreſtler, who, being gained over by them with great promiſes, threw himſelf upon the emperor, and, ſeizing him by the throat, ſtrangled him [d]. Thus died *Commodus*, the laſt night of the year 192. after having lived thirty-one years and four months, and reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He was murdered in a palace which ſtood on mount *Cælius*, where he then reſided, becauſe he could not ſleep, as he ſaid, in the imperial palace [e]. His body was privately conveyed away and buried in the fields; but was afterwards taken up by *Pertinax*, who ſucceeded to the empire, and depoſited in the monument of *Adrian*.

He acts and dances in public quite naked

He deſigns to appear on the firſt of January *like a conſul and gladiator.*

He dooms Marcia, Lætus, *and* Electus *to death;*

Who conſpire againſt him.

He is murdered

[z] Herod. l. i. p. 486, 487. [a] Jul. Cap. in Pert. p. 55. [b] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 830. [c] Herod. l. ii. p. 490. [d] Idem, l. i. p. 488. Dio, p. 828. Comm. vit. p. 52. [e] Vit. Com. p. 51. Euseb. chron. p. 226.

Adrian. The conſpirators gave out, that he died of an apoplexy: which *Eutropius* a ſeems to have believed. His death was no ſooner known, than the ſenate aſſembled, without waiting for the return of day, and declared him a public enemy, loaded him with curſes, ordered his ſtatues to be broke to pieces, his name to be razed out of all public inſcriptions, and demanded his body, that it might be dragged through the ſtreets and thrown into the *Tiber*. When *Pertinax*, who had already been declared emperor, anſwered, that it was buried, they deſired to know who had been ſo bold as to pay that honour to a gladiator, to a parricide, to a more cruel and bloody tyrant, than *Nero* or *Domitian*[f]. Though he was thus generally abhorred as a monſter of cruelty and an enemy to mankind, yet the emperor *Severus* ſtyled himſelf his brother, cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, appointed prieſts and ſacrifices to b his honour, and ordered the anniverſary of his birth to be obſerved with great ſolemnity[g]. However, the empire was greatly indebted to him for eſtabliſhing a company of merchants, and a fleet for conveying corn from *Africa* to *Rome*, when any misfortune ſhould befal the fleet that tranſported it from *Egypt*[h]. Another action we find recorded of his, truly worthy of the ſon of *M. Aurelius*: One *Manilius*, who had been ſecretary to *Avidius Caſſius* and privy to his conſpiracy, having made his eſcape, and concealed himſelf ever ſince his death, was apprehended in the beginning of the reign of *Commodus*, to whom he offered to diſcover many things of great importance: but *Commodus* would not ſo much as hear him; nay, he burnt all his letters, without opening any one of them[i]. But this happened in the very beginning of his reign, when he followed the advice of the wiſe counſellors whom his father had placed about c him. No mention is made in hiſtory of his children; but it appears from an ancient medal, that he had ſome, who muſt have died very young[k]. Of the authors who wrote in his reign, we ſhall give an account in our note (I).

His ſtatues are pulled down, and his acts annulled.

Commo-

[f] Vit. Com. p 53. Dio, p. 830. [g] Vit. Com. ibid. & Dio, p. 824. [h] Vit. Com. p. 52.
[i] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 725, [k] Spart. l. vii. p. 659.

(I) *Julius Pollux* inſcribed to *Commodus*, when he had only the title of *Cæſar*, his *onomaſticon*, which is ſtill extant, and conſiſts of ten books. It is a collection of ſynonymous words uſed by the beſt *Greek* writers to expreſs one and the ſame thing. He was one of the preceptors of *Commodus*, who, being chiefly taken with his fine and harmonius voice, honoured him with the profeſſorſhip of eloquence lately founded in the city of *Athens* (41). He was, according to *Philoſtratus*, who ranks him among the *ſophiſts*, well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and a good judge of the writings of others, but no great writer himſelf, his ſtyle being quite flat and lifeleſs. He was a native of *Naucratis*, once a famous city of *Egypt*, on one of the arms of the *Nile*, to which it gave its name (42). He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age (43). In the library of the duke of *Bavaria* is lodged a manuſcript chronicle done by one *Julius Pollux*, and extending from the creation to the reign of the emperor *Valens*; which plainly ſhews, that it is not the work of this *Julius Pollux*, but of another, who flouriſhed near two hundred years after his time (44). *Phrynicus* was contemporary with *Pollux*, and likewiſe inſcribed to *Commodus*, when he was only *Cæſar*, a work, of which *Photius* had read thirty-five or thirty-ſix books. It was a collection of words, phraſes, and ſome ſentences, extracted out of the beſt *Greek* writers and alphabetically digeſted. But theſe thirty-ſix books might have been reduced, according to *Photius*, to ſix or ſeven, by retrenching the author's uſeleſs digreſſions and repetitions. In ſome of theſe books *Phrynicus* addreſſed himſelf to *Commodus*; in others to *Baſilides* a ſophiſt of *Miletus*, and to his other friends (45). A collection of *Attic* words, done by *Phrynicus*, has reached us, with a letter to one *Cornelianus* prefixed to it, wherein he mentions another work compiled by him at the requeſt of *Cornelianus*, which contained a collection of many *Greek* words commonly uſed, but not quite pure and *Attic*. He owns, that ſome of them are to be found in the ancients; but maintains, that they were therein faulty, and ought not to be imitated (46). We find one *Attidius Cornelianus* governor of *Syria*, in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*; and to him in all likelihood, the above-mentioned letter is addreſſed (47). *Phrynicus* is not mentioned by *Suidas*. *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of one *riſtenetus* of *Byzantium*, who flouriſhed under *Commodus*, and ranks him amongſt the moſt eloquent men of his time (48). As for *Ariſtenetus*, the author of ſome letters that are ſtill extant, it is manifeſt, that he wrote after the foundation of *New Rome*; that is, either under *Conſtantine*, or after his time. Both he and *pollinaris Sidonius* ſpeak of a celebrated mimic, by name *Caramallus*; whence ſome writers conjecture, that theſe two authors lived at the ſame time; that is, about the middle of the fifth century (49). The author of the letters was, as is evident, a pagan, tho' in his time paganiſm was almoſt utterly aboliſhed, his work being a confuſed heap of follies and abſurdities, altogether unworthy of one who had the leaſt tincture of chriſtianity (50). Thoſe who have been at the trouble of illuſtrating theſe letters with comments, diſtinguiſh the author of them from *riſtenetus* quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer (51), and from another of the ſame name, who was conſul with *Honorius* in the year 404, and frankly own, that they know not who he was. They even ſeem inclined to think it a mere rhapſody, publiſhed under the name of *riſtenetus*, which was prefixed to the firſt letter. The whole work ſeems to be a collection

(41) *Philoſt. ſoph.* xxxviii. *p.* 590. (42) *Idem, p.* 488. (43) *Suid. p.* 559. (44) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 17. (45) *Phot. c.* 158. (46) *Vide Petr. Hallicum de vit. S. Ibericii, p.* 114. *Duacii, ann.* 1636. (47) *M. Aur. vit. p.* 25. (48) *Philoſt. ſoph.* xxxvii. *p.* 587. (49) *Voſſ. rhet. p.* 115. (50) *Vide Ariſtænet. l.* i. *epiſt.* 26. *Pariſ. ann.* 1686. (51) *Steph. p.* 203.

Lætus *and* Eclectus *offer the empire to* Pertinax.

a *Commodus* being dead and his body privately conveyed away, *Lætus* and *Eclectus* repaired without delay to the houſe of *Helvius Pertinax*, whom they judged the moſt deſerving perſon in the ſenate and the moſt worthy of the empire. As the death of the emperor was not yet publicly known, *Pertinax*, rouſed out of his ſleep, (for it was about mid-night) by their entering his houſe, did not doubt but they had been ſent by *Commodus* to murder him. However, he ordered his domeſtics to let them into his room; and upon their appearing there, without riſing from his bed or betraying the leaſt concern, he told them, That as *Pompeianus* and he were the only friends of *M. Aurelius* left alive, he had long expected every day to fall a ſacrifice to the cruelty of the tyrant, and with great firmneſs bid them ſtrike and put their
b orders in execution. *Lætus*, admiring his conſtancy and intrepidity, told him, that the tyrant was dead, and that they were come to offer the empire to him, as the perſon in the ſenate the moſt worthy of it. *Pertinax*, ſuſpecting ſome treachery, even after they had acquainted him with all the circumſtances of the death of the tyrant, ſent ſome of his friends to the place where his body lay; and upon their return, no room being left for any further doubt, he yielded to their intreaties, accepted the empire, and went to the camp of the prætorian guards with *Lætus* their captain, cauſeing, in the mean time, a report to be ſpread in the city, that the emperor was dead of an apoplexy, and that *Pertinax* reigned in his room. The ſoldiers were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee him appear in the camp at that time of night; but *Lætus*, aſſembling
c them, told them, that the emperor being dead of an apoplexy, he brought them a new prince, the moſt deſerving perſon in the ſenate, who, he was ſure, would be received with great joy, and acknowledged by all the armies of the empire, ſince he had every-where given ſignal proofs of his courage, prudence, and other princely virtues. *Pertinax* himſelf ſpoke after *Lætus*, and in his ſpeech promiſed to each ſoldier three thouſand drachmas, which would have gained them over to his intereſt, had he not added very unſeaſonably, that he hoped by their means to reform ſeveral abuſes; for they concluded from thence, that he deſigned to reſtore the ancient diſcipline, and deprive them of many privileges, which had been granted them by *Commodus*. This occaſioned an univerſal diſcontent, which, however, they diſſembled for
d the preſent; and a ſmall number having at firſt ſaluted him with the title of *emperor*, the reſt followed their example, took the oath of allegiance to him, and, after the uſual ſacrifices, accompanied him, crowned with laurel, to the ſenate; where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable by the new conſuls *Quintus Soſius Falco* and *Caius Julius Erucius*, and by all the magiſtrates and other ſenators, who had aſſembled upon the firſt news of the death of the tyrant. Among the reſt came *Pompeianus*, who, in congratulating him upon his new dignity, could not help bewailing at the ſame time the unhappy end of his brother-in-law *Commodus*; which *Pertinax* was ſo far from reſenting, that he preſſed him to accept the empire, and would have willingly yielded it to him, ſays *Capitolinus*, could *Pompeianus* have been prevailed upon to accept it. When the ſenators had taken their places, *Pertinax*,
e before they had conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus*, earneſtly intreated them not to lay ſo heavy a burden on him in his old age, but to pitch upon ſome other more able to diſcharge ſuch an important truſt, and better qualified by his nobility and birth for ſo high a ſtation [1]. He was not ſatisfied with begging them in general to chuſe another, but particularly named *Acilius Glabrio*, who had been twice conſul, and pretended to derive his pedegree from *Anchiſes* the father of *Æneas*, took him by the hand, and earneſtly intreated him to place himſelf upon the imperial throne; but

Who is acknowledged by the prætorian guards, and by the ſenate.

Glabrio,

[1] Herod. l. iv. p. 482---493. Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 830. Vit. Pert. p. 55.

collection of ſeveral paſſages copied out of *Plato*, *Lucian*, and others, and jumbled together, if we may be allowed the expreſſion. *Athenæus*, whoſe work, intituled, *Deipnoſophiſta*, has reached our times, lived under *Commodus*; but did not begin to write, as we may well judge from the liberty with which he ſpeaks of him, till after his death (52). But he muſt have been then very old; for he had known *Pancrates*, a famous poet in the reign of *Adrian*, ſince *Caſaubon* pretends, that *Athenæus* himſelf ſpeaks in that place, and not *Callixenes*, whom he had quoted before (53). *Suidas*, who ſuppoſes him to have flouriſhed under *M. Aurelius*, ſtyles him a grammarian, and tells us, that he was a native of *Naucratis* in *Egypt* (54). We have but an abridgment of his *Deipnoſophiſta*, made, according to *Caſaubon*, at *Conſtantinople* five or ſix hundred years ſince. This writer is highly eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, by ſuch as are fond of the *Grecian* antiquities. He publiſhed other works; but none of them have reached our times (55).

(52) *Athen. l.* xii. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (53) *Athen. l.* xv. *p.* 677. (54) *Suid. p.* 111. (55) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 15.

Glabrio, and with him all the reſt, declaring, that they would acknowledge no other prince but *Pertinax*, he was in the end obliged to yield [m]. *Capitolinus*, though noways favourable to *Pertinax*, cannot, however, help owning, that he was raiſed to the empire againſt his will, and that he had ever ſhewn an utter averſion to the ſovereignty, and to all the badges of the ſovereign power; in confirmation of which, he alledges a letter written by *Pertinax* himſelf, and recorded by *Marius Maximus* [n]. After the ſenate had ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, he returned them thanks in an oration ſuited to the occaſion, which was received with loud acclamations both of the ſenate and people, who were come in crouds to pay their homage to the new prince, whom they highly eſteemed and revered. The conſuls pronounced, according to cuſtom, his panegyric: after which *Falco*, who was one of them, upon the emperor's commending *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and owning himſelf indebted to him for the empire, is ſaid by *Capitolinus* to have rebuked the new prince, with great freedom, for countenancing one who had been the chief miniſter of the crimes of *Commodus*. *Pertinax* heard him without the leaſt emotion, and only told him, when he had done ſpeaking, that he was young, and had not yet learnt to obey; that *Lætus* had put the orders of *Commodus* in execution againſt his own inclination, and ſhewn, as ſoon as he was at liberty to act as he pleaſed, what were his private ſentiments [o]. *Pertinax* received, with the title of *Auguſtus*, all the other titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, that of *the father of his country* not excepted, which is ſaid to have never before been given to any prince on the firſt day of his reign [p]. To the reſt he deſired that the title of *the prince of the ſenate* might be added, which had been laid aſide ever ſince the times of the republic [q]. At the ſame time, the ſenate decreed the title of *Auguſta* to his wife *Flavia Titiana*, and that of *Cæſar* to his ſon. But he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept that honour for his wife, whoſe conduct he diſliked; and as to his ſon, he told the ſenate, that he ſhould enjoy the title they had decreed him, when he deſerved it. He would not even ſuffer his ſon, who was yet very young, to live with him in the palace; but ſent him and his ſiſter to the houſe of *Flavius Sulpicianus*, their grandfather by the mother, to be brought up there far from the gaieties and licentiouſneſs of the court. From the ſenate, the emperor went to offer the uſual ſacrifices in the capitol, viſited the other temples, and then, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, repaired to the palace, where he gave a great entertainment, as it was the firſt day of the new year, to all the magiſtrates and the chief men of the ſenate, purſuant to an ancient cuſtom, which had been neglected by *Commodus* [r]. *Dion Caſſius* ſaw that day, for the firſt time, *Pompeianus* in the ſenate; for, during the laſt years of *Commodus*'s reign, he had lived conſtantly in the country, alledging his old age and the weakneſs of his eyes for not aſſiſting at the deliberations of the ſenate. But theſe complaints, ſays *Dion*, ceaſed when *Pertinax* was raiſed to the empire, and returned as ſoon as he died [s].

He accepts the empire againſt his will.

Is honoured with all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity.

Thus *Pertinax* began his reign, to the great ſatisfaction of *Rome*, and of all the provinces of the empire, where he was proclaimed emperor with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy, no one doubting, but he would ſoon reſtore the ſtate to its former luſtre, and redreſs the abuſes and diſorders introduced by *Commodus*. He was born on the firſt of *Auguſt* of the year 126. the tenth of *Adrian*'s reign, in a little village called *Villa Martis*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Alba Pompeia*, now *Alba*, in the duchy of *Montferrat*. He is commonly ſtyled, by hiſtorians and in moſt inſcriptions, *Publius Helvius Pertinax*. His father by name *Helvius Succeſſus*, had either been a ſlave himſelf, or was the ſon of an enfranchiſed ſlave [t], and followed the mean profeſſion of drying wood and making charcoal. We are told, that he gave the name of *Pertinax* to his ſon on account of his obſtinately adhering for ſome time to the ſame calling, which, however, he was afterwards perſuaded to abandon, and to keep a grammar-ſchool in *Rome*, his father having taken care to have him inſtructed, when very young, in the *Greek* and *Latin* languages. But that profeſſion not anſwering his expectation, he betook himſelf to a military life, and ſerved firſt in *Syria*, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, as a common ſoldier; but was ſoon raiſed to the rank of a centurion, by the intereſt of *Lollius Avitus*, or rather *Lollius Gentianus*, his father's patron.

The birth and education of Pertinax.

[m] Herod. Dio, ibid. [n] Vita Pert. p. 59. [o] Idem, p. 55. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 832. [r] Herod. l. ii p. 494. Vit. Pert. p. 55. [s] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 729. [t] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 831. Vit. Pert. p, 52. Vict. epit.

a patron. Having in that poſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf under *Lucius Verus*, *M. Aurelius*'s collegue in the empire, during the *Parthian* war, he was rewarded with the command of a cohort in *Syria*, and afterwards employed in *Britain*, or as ſome read *Bithynia*, *Mæſia*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, in which laſt place he commanded the *Roman* fleet. From *Germany* he was ſent into *Dacia*, and there, upon ſome falſe information, deprived of his employment, whatever it was, by *M. Aurelius*, notwithſtanding the eſteem he had for him. *Capitolinus* writes, that he was governor of *Dacia*, and charged with aſpiring at the empire. Be that as it will, *M. Aurelius*, being ſoon after convinced of his innocence, created him ſenator, honoured him with the enſigns of prætor, and gave him the command of the firſt legion, which he led againſt the b *Germans*, who had made themſelves maſters of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*. Theſe countries he recovered in one campaign, for which eminent ſervice *M. Aurelius* made him conſul. He was afterwards ſent into *Syria* againſt *Avidius Caſſius*; and upon his death recalled from thence to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and command the army in *Illyricum*. Having acquitted himſelf in that office to the general ſatisfaction both of the *Romans* and barbarians, he was afterwards preferred to the government of the two *Mæſias*, then to that of *Dacia*, and laſtly to the government of *Syria*, which he held to the reign of *Commodus*, when he returned to *Rome*; but did not continue long there, being ordered by *Perennis*, who then governed with an abſolute ſway, and ſuſpected all men of merit, to quit the city and retire to *Liguria*, his c native country, where he lived, as it were, in exile, three whole years; during which he embelliſhed the place where he was born with a great number of fine buildings; but would not ſuffer his father's cottage, or rather ſhop, which ſtood in the midſt of them to be pulled down, or any-ways altered. After the downfal of *Perennis*, he was by *Commodus* ſent into *Britain*, to reſtore the ancient diſcipline among the troops there, that were ready to revolt; which he compaſſed, not without expoſing himſelf to great dangers. He was recalled from thence at his own requeſt, and upon his return charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions; then appointed proconſul of *Africa* and laſtly governor of *Rome*, which employment he held when *Commodus* was killed [u]. The conſpirators judged him, as we have related above, of d all the great men in *Rome*, the moſt worthy of the empire. And truly he was, according to *Herodian*, in every reſpect well qualified for ſo important a truſt, being a man of great wiſdom, extraordinary valour, and a blameleſs character [w]. *Dion Caſſius* cries him up on account of his mild temper, his goodneſs, and his application to buſineſs; and adds, that he was grave without being ſullen, mild without indolence, prudent without craft, exact without affectation, frugal without avarice, and great without pride or arrogance [x]. *Aurelius Victor* ſtyles him a perſon thoroughly acquainted with mankind, and one who admired and imitated the manners of the ancient *Romans* [y]. The other *Victor* ſays, that he was an enemy to all pomp and outward appearance; that he received perſons of every rank and condition with e great affability, and treated them as his equals. *Julius Capitolinus* is the only writer who gives him but an indifferent character, and charges him with avarice and want of ſincerity; but that writer lived a hundred years after *Pertinax*, whereas both *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian* were perſonally acquainted with him. The emperor *Julian* charges him only with having been privy to the conſpiracy [z]; but even from that charge he is cleared by the above-mentioned writers.

His riſe and preferments.

His character

As he found the exchequer quite drained, he ordered all the ſilver ſtatues of *Commodus*, which had been pulled down by a decree of the ſenate, to be melted and turned into money; and ſold by auction all his concubines and catamites, his arms, his horſes, his gold and ſilver plate, and all his rich moveables; among which par- f ticular mention is made of chariots ſo contrived as to ſhew the hour and meaſure the way [a]. By this means he raiſed money wherewithal to pay the prætorian guards what he had promiſed them, to diſcharge ſeveral debts contracted by *Commodus*, and to give a bounty to the people. At the ſame time, he reſtored to the lawful owners whatever had been unjuſtly taken from them by *Commodus*, recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed for the pretended crime of treaſon, put them in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſory to their misfortunes. He publicly declared, that he would accept of no legacies or inheritances

His conduct and excellent adminiſtration

[u] Vit. Pert. p. 54, 55: Herod. l. ii. p. 493. Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 183. Vict. epit. [w] Herod. ibid. [x] Dio, p. 832. & in excerpt. Val. p. 743. [y] Aur. Vict. [z] Julian. Cæs. p. 14. [a] Vit. Pert. p. 56.

ritances from ſuch as had children or lawful heirs of their own, ſaying, *I had rather be poor, than wallow in riches acquired by diſhonourable methods.* He aboliſhed all the taxes laid by *Commodus* on the rivers, ports, and high-ways; and would not ſuffer his name to be ſet up, according to cuſtom, in ſuch places as belonged to the emperors, ſaying, that they did not belong to him, but to the public [b]. Thus by the mildneſs of his government, by his equity and moderation, he gained the affections both of the ſenate and people; but by attempting to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the prætorian guards, he diſobliged both them and their commander *Lætus*, who at firſt had been ſo zealous in his cauſe. The private men, not doubting, but he would reſtore the ancient diſcipline among them, had, three days after his acceſſion to the empire, attempted to ſet up another, *viz. Triarius Maternus Laſcivius*, a ſenator of an illuſtrious family; but he, eſcaping from them while they were carrying him to the camp, fled to *Pertinax*, aſſured him of his loyalty, and then withdrew from *Rome*. This obliged the emperor to confirm to them all the privileges which had been granted them by *Commodus*. However, he kept them to their duty, which they, inured to the licentiouſneſs of the preceeding reign, not being able to brook, attempted to raiſe *Falco*, the conſul, to the empire. *Pertinax*, who was then at *Oſtia* giving the neceſſary orders for ſupplying the city with proviſions, returned in great haſte to the palace; and repairing from thence to the ſenate, complained there of *Falco*, whom the ſenators were for condemning immediately as a traitor and a public enemy. But *Pertinax*, riſing up, cried out, that in his reign no ſenator, however guilty, ſhould be put to death; and publicly declared, that he forgave him. *Falco*, being thus diſmiſſed, retired to his eſtate, where he lived in ſafety. Some writers pretend, that he was utterly unacquainted with the deſign of the prætorian guards, who had agreed to make him emperor, without imparting their reſolution to him. However that be, the ſoldiers, highly exaſperated againſt *Pertinax*, who laboured to revive the ancient diſcipline, and ſtirred up underhand by *Lætus*, who did not think his former ſervices ſufficiently rewarded, began openly to mutiny, and declare, that they would no longer obey the orders of *Pertinax*, nor acknowledge him for emperor. To exaſperate them ſtill more, *Lætus* cauſed ſeveral of them to be publicly executed as privy to the late conſpiracy, pretending, that he obeyed therein the orders of *Pertinax*, though the prince was quite unappriſed of theſe proceedings. By this means the mutiny increaſing daily, on the twenty-eighth of *March* a body of about three hundred of the mutineers, more bold than the reſt, leaving the camp, and paſſing through the ſtreets of *Rome* with their drawn ſwords, went ſtrait to the palace, which they entered without oppoſition, the emperor's freed-men and officers either betaking themſelves to flight through fear, or treacherouſly opening all the gates to them. *Pertinax*, in the mean time, knew nothing of what paſſed, till his wife, in a great fright, brought him word, that the prætorian guard had revolted, and were already in the palace. Hereupon the emperor diſpatched *Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed governor of *Rome*, to appeaſe the tumult in the camp, and ordered *Lætus* to ſtop thoſe who had entered the palace. But *Lætus*, covering his face, that he might not be known, inſtead of obeying the emperor's orders, retired to his own houſe. As the mutineers ſtill advanced, ſome of the emperor's friends, who had remained with him, adviſed him to retire, and conceal himſelf, till the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, could come to his aſſiſtance. But *Pertinax* rejected their advice, ſaying, that to ſave his life by flight was a thing altogether unworthy of an emperor. He therefore reſolved to go forth and meet them in perſon, believeing that, awed by his preſence, they would return to a ſenſe of their duty. Accordingly he appeared unexpectedly before them, and aſked them, without betraying the leaſt fear or concern, whether they, whoſe duty it was to defend the emperor's perſon, were come with an intent to betray and murder him? At the ſame time, he repreſented to them the heinouſneſs of their crime, the ignominy which it would caſt upon their memories, and the fatal conſequences of ſo black a treaſon, with ſuch ſpirit and energy, that many of them, moved by his words, began to ſheath their ſwords and retire. But a *Tungrian*, by name *Tauſius*, darting his javelin at the emperor's breaſt, and crying out, *The ſoldiers ſend you this*, the reſt fell on with great fury, and diſpatched him with many wounds. The emperor made no reſiſtance; but covering his head with his robe, and calling upon *Jupiter the avenger*, received

The prætorian guards diſſatisfied with him.

They revolt, and attempt to raiſe Falco *to the empire.*

Three hundred of them march to Rome, *and enter the palace.*

The intrepidity of Pertinax.

His death.

[b] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 832. Vit. Pert. p. 56—59. Herod. l. ii. p. 496.

a received their blows. *Electus* alone remained with him, and endeavoured to defend him; but after having killed two of the ſoldiers, was himſelf run through, and left dead by his maſter, for whoſe ſafety he had ſacrificed his life. The ſoldiers cut off his head, and carried it upon the point of a ſpear, as it were in triumph, to the camp, whither they retired with great precipitation, before the people could aſſemble, who, they knew, would not fail to revenge the death of a prince whom they ſo tenderly loved. And truly it was no ſooner known, that *Pertinax* had been murdered, than the enraged populace flocked together from all quarters of the city; and uttering dreadful menaces againſt the authors of his death, ran up and down the ſtreets in queſt of them. The ſenators were no leſs concerned for his death, than the people; *He is univerſally lamented*
b the more, becauſe they were now convinced, that the ſoldiers would ſuffer none to reign but tyrants. However, as they had more to loſe than the common people, they did not offer to revenge his death, but either ſhut themſelves up in their own houſes, or in thoſe of the ſoldiers of their acquaintance, thinking themſelves there moſt ſafe[c]. Such was the unfortunate and much-lamented end of *Publius Helvius Pertinax*, after he had lived ſixty-ſix years, ſeven months, and twenty-ſix or twenty-eight days; and reigned, according to *Dion Caſſius*, eighty-ſeven days, that is, from the firſt of *January* to the twenty-eighth of *March*[d]. His body, together with his head, was interred with great pomp by *Didius Julianus*, his ſucceſſor, in the burying-place of his wife's family. The emperor *Septimius Severus*, with the title of
c emperor, took the name of *Pertinax*, which he knew would, above any thing elſe, recommend him to the army in *Illyricum* and to the *Roman* people. He puniſhed with great ſeverity all thoſe who had been acceſſory to his death, diſbanded the prætorian guards, honoured his memory with a moſt magnificent funeral, at which was *Honours paid him after his death.* carried the effigies of the deceaſed prince, pronounced himſelf his panegyric, and cauſed him to be ranked in the number of the gods, appointing the ſon chief prieſt to his father. The day of his acceſſion to the empire was yearly celebrated with the *circenſian* games; and his birth-day, for many years after, with other ſports[e]. He performed great things, ſays *Herodian*, during his ſhot reign, and would have reſtored the empire to its former luſtre, had he reigned longer[f].

d *Pertinax* had ſent, as we have related above, *Flavius Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, to appeaſe the tumult in the camp of the prætorian guards; but, in the mean time, the news of his death reaching the camp, and the three hundred ſoldiers arriving ſoon after with his head ſtuck on a ſpear, *Sulpicianus* was not aſhamed to apply to the murderers of his ſon-in-law for the empire, and to offer them money for it. But they, reſolved to make the moſt of it, cauſed it to be proclaimed on the ram- *The empire expoſed to ſale,* parts of the camp, that the empire was expoſed to ſale, and the beſt bidder ſhould have it. When news of this ſcandalous proclamation was firſt brought to *Rome*, *Didius Julianus*, the wealthieſt man in the city, was entertaining ſome of his friends at a banquet, who, in the midſt of their mirth and jollity, adviſed him, as he had more ready money than any man in *Rome*, not to loſe the opportunity of making ſo valuable a purchaſe. *Julianus*, raviſhed with the dazzling proſpect of rule and em-
e pire, hearkened to their advice, roſe from table, and haſtened to the camp; where he repreſented to the ſoldiers, whom *Sulpicianus* was haranguing in his own behalf, that his competitor would not fail one day to revenge the death of his ſon-in-law; and gave them it under his hand, that he would reſtore all things to the condition they were in under *Commodus*. This pleaſed the licentious and diſſolute ſoldiery, who had committed in that prince's reign all ſorts of diſorders with impunity. However, they would hear what they both offered, and ſuffered them to bid upon one another, *Sulpicianus* in the camp, and *Julianus* at the gate; till the latter, riſing at
f once from five thouſand drachmas a man to ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty, to be immediately paid, ſilenced the other, was admitted into the camp, and proclaimed *And purchaſed by* Didius Julianus. emperor, on condition, that he ſhould forgive his competitor, and never take the leaſt notice of his aſpiring at the empire[g]. *Spartian* relates his acceſſion to the empire in a different manner: according to him, the ſenate aſſembled upon the news of the emperor's death; but *Julianus* coming too late, and finding the doors ſhut, was accoſted by two tribunes, *P. Florianus* and *Veſtius Aper*, who encouraged him to ſeize on the empire. *Julianus*, believing that *Sulpicianus* had been proclaimed emperor by

[c] Dio, p. 834, 835. Herod. l. ii. p. 498. Vit. Pert. p. 58. [d] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 834. [e] Dio, p. 840—842. Vict. epit. Vit. Pert. p. 59. Herod. p. 495. [f] Herod. ibid. [g] Dio, p. 835. Herod. p. 499.

by the prætorian guards, anſwered, that the empire was already diſpoſed of; but they nevertheleſs carried him to the camp againſt his will, where, upon his warning them not to chuſe one who would undoubtedly revenge the death of *Pertinax*, and his promiſing to reſpect the memory of *Commodus*, he was proclaimed *Auguſtus* upon the above-mentioned condition [g]. *M. Didius Severus Julianus*, thus raiſed to the empire, was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, come originally from *Milan*, in which city his grandfather was born. The emperor was the ſon of *Petronius Didius Severus* and *Æmilia Clara*, the grand-daughter of the cebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, who flouriſhed under *Adrian*, and compiled the *perpetual edict*. He was born on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth of *January* of the year 133. the ſixteenth of *Adrian*'s reign, and brought up by *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *M. Aurelius*. That prince, who had a particular affection for him, created him firſt quæſtor, then ædile, afterwards prætor; and when the time of his prætorſhip expired, gave him the command of the twenty-ſecond legion, quartered at that time in *Germany*. Not long after, he appointed him governor of *Belgic Gaul*, where, with the few forces he had under his command, he drove back the *Chauci*, who had made an irruption into the *Roman* territories; for which ſervice he was rewarded with the conſulſhip. After he had diſcharged that office, he was ſent into *Illyricum*, which country he defended with great valour againſt the neighbouring barbarians, and was on that account preferred to the government of *Lower Germany*; whence he was recalled to *Rome*, and charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions [h]. He narrowly eſcaped being put to death in the reign of *Commodus*, as privy to the pretended conſpiracy of *Salvius Julianus*, his uncle by the mother, and was for ſome time confined to the city of *Milan*. But *Commodus*, aſhamed of having cauſed ſo many other ſenators to be inhumanly maſſacred, not only diſcharged *Julianus*, but preferred him to the government of *Bithynia*, and afterwards to the conſulſhip, in which he had *Pertinax* for his collegue, whom he ſucceeded in the proconſulſhip of *Africa*. Hence *Pertinax* uſed to call him his collegue and his ſucceſſor, which was afterwards interpreted as a preſage of his being ſucceeded by *Julianus* in the empire [i].

His extraction and preferment.

All authors agree, that *Didius Julianus* was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth; but diſagree as to his character. *Dion Caſſius*, who had been named by *Pertinax* to the prætorſhip, charges him with avarice and gluttony, and paints him as one who was wholly intent upon amaſſing riches by any means, however ſhameful and unjuſt, and at the ſame time ſparing no expence to pleaſe and ſatisfy his palate. He ſpoke without judgment, ſays that writer, and uttered ſuch things in public as made him be pitied by all men of ſenſe. He was underhand a great encourager of diſturbances and troubles in the ſtate, and is ſuppoſed to have privately ſtirred up the ſoldiers againſt *Pertinax*, though his nephew had married that prince's daughter. *Dion Caſſius* adds, that he himſelf in pleading had often reproached him in public with his crying injuſtices [k]. *Herodian* writes, that he was generally deſpiſed on account of his diſorderly life, and that he thought of nothing but his pleaſures and diverſions [l]. *Spartian*, on the other hand tells us, that in all his governments and employments under *M. Aurelius*, he acquitted himſelf with great integrity; from which, however, he was ſaid to have ſwerved in the reign of *Commodus*. He adds, that he was ſo covetous, as not to allow himſelf ſometimes any other food but roots and greens; which is point-blank contrary to what we read in *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian*, both which writers lived at that time in *Rome*. *Spartian*, however, owns, that *Julianus* was charged with eating and drinking to exceſs, with gaming, and uſing ſuch weapons as were peculiar to the gladiators, though in his youth he had never been addicted to any of theſe vices [m]. He ſhewed himſelf, according to that writer, kind, affable, and obliging to all men; and was ſo far from being elevated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he ſeemed rather to debaſe himſelf too much. As ſoon as he was declared emperor, he appointed, at the requeſt of the prætorian guards, *Flavius Genialis* and *Tullius Criſpinus* their commanders. At the ſame time, he accepted the name of *Commodus*, which they begged him to take upon him; and this name is ſtill to be ſeen on ſome of his medals [n]. After the uſual ceremonies, the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle-array to the ſenate. The people did not offer to oppoſe their march; but no acclamations were heard; ſome, who were at a diſtance, even uttered

His character

He takes the name of Commodus.

invectives

[g] Spart. in Jul. p. 60. [h] Spart. ibid. [i] Idem. vit. Jul. p. 61. [k] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 835. Herod. l. ii. p. 498. [m] Julian. it. p. 63. [n] Birag. p. 262.

a invectives againſt him. As for the ſenators, thoſe among them who were the moſt grieved to ſee him emperor, were the moſt forward in congratulating him with feigned joy on his acceſſion to the empire. Among theſe was, as he himſelf owns, *Dion Caſſius* the hiſtorian [o]. *Julianus* made a ſpeech in the ſenate, ſays *Dion*, who was preſent, worthy of himſelf, wherein he deſired them to confirm what the ſoldiers had done, as if he would hold the empire of them; but told them at the ſame time, that he was the fitteſt perſon they could chuſe. The ſenate immediately paſſed a decree declaring him emperor and his family patrician, and inveſting him with the tribunitial and proconſular power. At the ſame time, his wife *Manlia Scantilla* and his daughter *Didia Clara* were honoured with the title of *Auguſtæ*. From the ſenate

He is acknowledged by the ſenate.

b he repaired to the palace, where he found the body of *Pertinax*, which he cauſed to be honourably interred, and paſſed the night in great agonies, reflecting on the fate of *Pertinax*, which he apprehended might in the end be his own [p]. Thus *Capitolinus*; *Dion Caſſius*, who was an eye-witneſs of what paſſed at *Rome* under *Julianus*, tells us, that the new prince, entering the palace and deſpiſing the frugal ſupper which had been prepared for *Pertinax*, (for that prince was murdered, and he declared emperor, on the ſame day) ordered a magnificent feaſt to be got ready, and paſſed the night in mirth and jollity, leaving the body of the deceaſed prince in the place where he had been murdered [q]. The next morning, the ſenate and the *Roman* knights coming to wait upon him, he received them in a moſt obliging manner, calling

He receives them in a very obliging manner.

c them, ſays *Capitolinus*, according to their age, his father, his brother, or his ſon. He went afterwards to the ſenate, and returned them thanks for having admitted him to adminiſter, in conjunction with them, the ſovereign power, and for the honours they had conferred on his wife and daughter. On this occaſion he received, according to *Capitolinus*, the title of *the father of his country*, which, however, does not appear on any of his medals. From the ſenate he went to the capitol to offer there the uſual ſacrifices, the ſenators, who attended him, ſtriving to ſhew great joy in the height of their grief. But the people, ſtrangers to all diſſimulation, openly loaded him with curſes and reproaches, hoping by that means to oblige him to reſign the power, which he had purchaſed of the ſoldiery in ſo ſhameful a manner. They

He is hated, and openly curſed, by the people.

d even diſcharged ſhowers of ſtones at him, and wiſhed aloud, as he was ſacrificing in the capitol, that he might never obtain any favour of the gods. The emperor endeavoured to appeaſe them with great promiſes; but they anſwered boldly, that they ſcorned to receive any thing from ſuch an uſurper and parricide: inſomuch, that to diſperſe them, (for they ſtopt up the way) he was obliged to order the ſoldiers to fall upon thoſe who ſtood neareſt, which they did accordingly, and killed or wounded great numbers of them. This exaſperated the people to ſuch a degree, that they all took arms; and in the circus, where the emperor aſſiſted at the public games, renewed their curſes and imprecations both againſt him and the prætorian guards, imploring aloud the aſſiſtance of the other armies and generals, namely,

e of *Peſcennius Niger*, who at that time commanded a powerful army in *Syria*. All this *Julianus* bore with great patience, ſays *Spartian*; and, during his ſhort reign, gave many inſtances of an extraordinary ſweet temper [r]. He appointed *Repentinus*, his ſon-in-law, captain of the prætorian guards, in the room of *Sulpicianus*, father-in-law to the deceaſed emperor; and, to gratify the ſoldiery, re-eſtabliſhed many things, which had been appointed by *Commodus* and aboliſhed by *Pertinax*.

His government.

Among the many great captains, who commanded at this time the *Roman* armies in the different provinces of the empire, the moſt famed were *Peſcennius Niger* in *Syria*, *Septimius Severus* in *Illyricum*, and *Clodius Albinus* in *Britain*. *Clodius Albinus*

Clodius Albinus, *his extraction and preferments.*

f was a native of *Adrumetum* in *Africa*, but deſcended from the *Poſthumian* and *Ceionian* families, two of the moſt illuſtrious in *Rome*. His father *Ceionius Poſthumus* gave him the name of *Albinus*, becauſe at his birth he appeared whiter than new-born children uſually are, the *Latin* word *albus* importing *white*. He was brought up in *Africa*, where he ſtudied the *Greek* and *Latin* languages, in which he was well verſed. The ancients cry up his knowledge and learning, and mention with great commendations a treatiſe which he compoſed on agriculture. But his martial genius did not allow him to purſue the peaceable profeſſion of letters. When he was yet very young, he was often heard to repeat, among the children of his age at ſchool, that verſe of *Virgil*,---*Arma amens capio, nec ſat rationis in armis*;---eſpecially the firſt part of it,

Arma

[o] Dio ibid. [p] Vit. Pert. p. 61. [q] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 836. [r] Vit. Pert. p. 61.

Arma amens capio, that is, *I am for following the profeſſion of arms, right or wrong*; a
I am for a military life at all events. He therefore entered into the ſervice very early, and, by the intereſt of *Lollius Serenus*, *Bæbius Mætianus*, and *Ceionius Poſthumianus*, men of rank and nearly related to him, was firſt raiſed to the command of a troop of *Illyrian* horſe, and ſoon after to that of the firſt and fourth legions. He commanded the army in *Bithynia* in the year 175. the fifteenth of the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and reſtrained them from joining, as they deſigned, *Avidius Caſſius*, for which ſervice he was rewarded with the conſulſhip. In the reign of *Commodus* he was appointed governor of *Gaul*, where he gained great advantages over the *Friſians* and other neighbouring nations. From *Gaul* he was tranſlated into *Britain*, which government he held at this time [s]. The emperor *Commodus*, ſuſpecting that *Septimius* b
Severus, governor of *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Murcus*, who commanded an army in ſome other province, deſigned to revolt, in order to engage *Albinus* in his cauſe, wrote a letter to him, if *Capitolinus* is to be credited, giving him leave to aſſume, if he ſaw occaſion, the title of *Cæſar* and all the badges of that dignity; which he prudently declined, fearing to be involved in the ruin of that tyrant, which he apprehended to be at hand (K). The ſame writer adds, that ſome time after, a falſe report of the death of *Commodus* being ſpread in *Britain*, *Albinus*, giving credit to it, encouraged his ſoldiers to aboliſh monarchy, and re-eſtabliſh the ancient republican government; which gained him the affections of the ſenate, but provoked *Commodus* to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ſent *Junius Severus* to ſucceed him in the go- c
vernment of *Britain*; but he did not arrive there before the death of *Commodus* was publicly known in that province [t]. *M. Aurelius* had a particular value for him, and thought him, as appears from one of his letters to the captains of the guards quoted by *Capitolinus* (L) [u], well qualified, on account of his ſeverity and gravity, for the command of an army. But his ſeverity ſeems to have bordered upon cruelty; for
His character he is ſaid never to have pardoned the leaſt fault, but to have crucified even the centurions, when he found them any-ways remiſs in their duty. He was unjuſt to his domeſtics, inſupportable to his wife, and to all ſurly and moroſe. He was very proper in his dreſs, but quite otherwiſe in his repaſts, minding nothing but plenty; for he had an extraordinary appetite, and is ſaid by *Capitolinus* to have often eat at d
a breakfaſt five hundred figs, an hundred peaches, ten melons, twenty bunches of grapes, a hundred beccaficos, and four hundred oyſters [w]. Sometimes he abſtained altogether from wine, and ſometimes drank to exceſs even in the time of war. He was far from being chaſte, but abhorred and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity all ſorts of unnatural luſt. As he was, notwithſtanding his many vices, a man of great courage and ſkill in military affairs, he was commonly called a *ſecond Catiline*. The harangue

[s] Vit. Alb. p. 79—84. [t] Idem ibid. p. 79. [u] Idem, p. 83. [w] Idem, p. 83.

(K) This letter was conceived in the following terms: Beſides the other letters, which I have written to you concerning your ſucceſſor, and the affairs of the public, this you ſee, is a familiar letter, written with my own hand; in which I give you leave, whenever you ſhall ſee occaſion, to take upon you at the head of the army the name and quality of *Cæſar*. For I hear, that *Septimus Severus* and *Nonius Murcus* ſpeak ill of me to the army, in order to eſtrange from me the minds of the ſoldiery, and pave themſelves a way to the throne. I give you leave, when you think fit, to aſſume the name of *Cæſar*, and to preſent the ſoldiers with a donative of three pieces of gold a man. I ſend you letters for my receivers, ſealed with the head of an *Amazon*, which you will deliver to them, when you have occaſion for the money; otherwiſe they will not ſupply you with it out of the treaſury. That you may not be without the badges of the dignity to which I raiſe you, I give you leave to wear a ſcarlet robe even in my preſence: the purple you ſhall have the firſt time I ſee you. but not inriched with gold, which my great grandfather *Ælius Verus* never wore, tho' adopted by *Adrian* (56).

(L) *M. Aurelius* wrote the following letter concerning him to the captains of the guards: I have entruſted *Albinus*, of the family of the *Ceionii*, with the command of two cohorts. He is, 'tis true, an *African*, but free from the vices of that country. He is the ſon-in-law of *Plautillus*, and, beſides, a man of great experience, of a grave and compoſed behaviour, and capable of maintaining the neceſſary diſcipline in a camp: at leaſt, I am ſure we need not apprehend any thing from him. I have doubled his ſalary, and deſire you to encourage him, aſſuring him, that his ſervices ſhall not remain unrewarded (57). The ſame prince wrote another letter concerning him, ſoon after the rebellion of *Avidius Caſſius*, in which he expreſſes himſelf thus: The fidelity of *Albinus* deſerves the higheſt encomiums; for when the forces in *Bithynia* were ready to revolt and join *Caſſius*, he ſpared no pains to maintain them in their duty and defeat their evil deſigns. I therefore think him worthy of the conſulſhip, and accordingly deſign to ſubſtitute him in the room of *Caſſius Papirius*, who is dangerouſly ill, and, as I am informed, paſt recovery. But of this take no notice till he is dead, leſt it ſhould come to the ears either of *Papirius* himſelf, or his friends, which would give me great concern (58).

(56) *Vit. Albin. p.* 47. (57) *Idem ibid.* (58) *Idem, p.* 48.

a harangue he made to his troops in *Britain* againſt monarchy gained him the affections of the ſenate to ſuch a degree, that no prince, ſays his hiſtorian, was ever loved by them ſo much as he [x].

Caius Peſcennius Niger Juſtus, as he is ſtyled on ſome medals [y], was deſcended of an equeſtrian family and born at *Aquinum*. He had but a ſmall eſtate, and little learning; but nevertheleſs raiſed himſelf from the degree of a centurion to the firſt military employments in the empire. He had ſome command in *Gaul*, where he contracted a great friendſhip with *Septimius Severus*, at that time governor of the country of *Lions*, who recommended him to the emperor *Commodus*, as an excellent ſoldier and experienced commander. He was afterwards made conſul, at the requeſt b of the troops under his command [z]. *Herodian* calls him a gallant ſoldier, an excellent officer, an experienced general, an illuſtrious conſul, and an unfortunate emperor [a]. He kept the ſoldiers to their duty, and would not ſuffer them to exact any thing from the people, nor the officers from the ſoldiers, upon any account whatſoever. He cauſed two tribunes to be ſtoned for having deducted a very inconſiderable ſum from the pay of the men under their command, and condemned ten ſoldiers to be beheaded for ſtealing a fowl; but the whole army interceding in their behalf, he thought it adviſeable to ſpare their lives, and only oblige them to pay to the countryman each the price of ten fowls. He would not allow his ſoldiers, while they were in the field, to drink wine, nor to uſe plate, or have any gold or ſilver c about them, when they went to battle, that the enemy might not, in caſe of any misfortune, ſet themſelves off with their ſpoils. He ſuffered no bakers to follow the army, obliging the ſoldiers to content themſelves with biſket. Some troops, that were in gariſon on the frontiers of *Egypt*, having one day begged leave to drink wine, he returned them no other anſwer, than that they were but at a ſmall diſtance from the *Nile*. He required nothing of the ſoldiers, but what he practiſed himſelf. In his garb and dreſs he little varied from a common ſoldier, and his diet was the ſame with that of the meaneſt in the army. He always led the march on foot, with his head uncovered in all ſeaſons and climates. He obliged even his own domeſtics to carry burdens on their backs, that they might not ſeem to walk at their d eaſe, while the ſoldiers were loaded with their arms and baggage. He had conſtantly before his eyes *Marius*, *Hannibal*, and other famed commanders of antiquity; and when, upon his being ſaluted emperor, the perſon, who, according to cuſtom, was appointed to pronounce his panegyric, began to commend him, he immediately interrupted the orator, and deſired him to ſay ſomething in praiſe of *Marius*, of *Hannibal*, or of ſome other renowned commander, who was dead. "Tell us, ſaid "he, what they have done worthy of imitation; for to praiſe the living is an uſeleſs "taſk, eſpecially to praiſe an emperor, who can puniſh, reward, proſcribe, and con-"demn: as for me, I only deſire to pleaſe while I live; when I am dead, then "praiſe me, if I deſerve it." If he had prevailed, no one doubted but he would have reſtored the empire to its former luſtre, without uſing that cruelty for which *Severus* is blamed [b]. For though he was naturally ſevere, ſays *Herodian* [c], yet he governed with great mildneſs, and was always ready to contribute to the diverſions of the people; which gained him the affections of the *Syrians*, eſpecially of the *Antiochians*, who delighted in nothing but ſhews and ſpectacles. *Spartian* commends him on account of his chaſtity, which the *Gauls*, ſays that writer, admired in him above all his other virtues [d]. On the other hand, *Victor* the younger ſtyles him a man abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs. *Dion Caſſius* ſpeaks of him as a perſon no-ways remarkable either for his good or bad qualities [e]. However, it is certain, that he was univerſally eſteemed and beloved by the people of *Rome*, who all wiſhed f to ſee him emperor [f].

Peſcennius Niger, *his extraction, preferments and character.*

Severus was a perſon endowed with extraordinary talents, and in every reſpect infinitely ſuperior both to *Albinus* and *Niger*. He was generally eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, the moſt active, vigilant, laborious, and enterpriſing man in the whole empire; inured to labour, indefatigable in every duty of war, equal to the greateſt commanders of ancient times, a great maſter of civil affairs, prompt in foreſeeing events, dextrous at concerting ſchemes, a conſtant friend, a dangerous enemy, and equally violent in his love and hatred. He was a great diſſembler, full of deceit, and

Septimius Severus, *his character.*

[x] Idem, p. 83. [y] Birag. p. 264. [z] Spart in Nigr. p. 75. [a] Herod. l. iii. p. 501.
[b] Vit. Nigr. p. 75—77. [c] Herod. l. ii. p. 501. & l. iii. p 518. [d] Vit. Nigr. p. 76.
[e] Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 842. [f] Herod. ibid. Vit. Nigr. p. 74.

and ever ready to ſacrifice his reputation, and every thing elſe, to his intereſt and ambition [e]. He was naturally inclined to cruelty and avarice, but more to cruelty; for we find ſome inſtances of his generoſity, but none of his humanity; nay, he is ſaid never to have pardoned a fault, or performed a good-natured action [h]. He was an enemy to all pomp and ſhew, frugal in his diet, contenting himſelf for the moſt part with roots and greens, but ſometimes, though ſeldom, drinking to exceſs. In the field, his diet was the ſame with that of the common ſoldiers; he ſhared with them all their labours, and encouraged them more by his example, than by words, to bear with patience the toils of war, which, notwithſtanding his ſeverity, gained him the affections of the ſoldiery [i]. *Severus* was born at *Leptis*, a city of *Libya Tripolitana*, but his anceſtors had been *Roman* knights, and afterwards admitted into the ſenate; for he was nephew by the father to two conſuls, *M. Agrippa* and *Septimius Severus*; the latter was twice conſul. His father, *M. Septimius Geta*, had another ſon, named likewiſe *Geta*, and a daughter; but neither her name, nor that of her ſon, has been tranſmitted to us [k]. *Severus* was born on the eleventh of *April* in the year 145. the eighth of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. He ſtudied firſt in *Africa*, and afterwards at *Rome*, the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues; declaimed in public, when only eight years old; applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence; and excelled, according to *Spartian*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Eutropius*, in each branch of polite literature. *Dion*, on the contrary, writes, that he had more inclination than ability to learn the liberal arts [l]; and *Spartian* owns, that he ſpoke to the end of his life the *Latin* tongue with the *African* accent [m]. He was inſtructed in the knowledge of the law, together with *Papinianus*, by *Q. Cervidius Scævola*, who publiſhed various books of juriſprudence, whereof ſome fragments are ſtill preſerved in the *Pandects* [n]. He ſeems to have had likewiſe ſome knowledge of phyſic [o], and is ſaid to have been thoroughly acquainted with judicial aſtrology, a ſcience to which the *Africans* were generally addicted [p]. In his youth he was accuſed of adultery, but acquitted by *Didius Julianus*, at that time proconſul of *Africa*. Afterwards he came to *Rome*, where, after he had pleaded for ſome time with little ſucceſs at the bar, he was, by the intereſt of his uncle *Septimius Severus*, admitted by the emperor *M. Aurelius* into the ſenate, and appointed governor of the iſland of *Sardinia*; whence he was ſent to command the troops in *Africa* in quality of lieutenant to the proconſul. Upon his return from *Africa*, he was created prætor; and after his prætorſhip preferred to the command of the fourth legion, then quartered in *Syria*. On his journey into that province, he viſited the city of *Athens*, and received ſome affront there, for which he deprived the inhabitants, when emperor, of many privileges granted them by his predeceſſors. Next, he was raiſed to the government of *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, or the country of *Lions*, where, by his affability and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections of all. From *Gaul* he was removed to *Pannonia*, which province he governed with proconſular authority, as he did afterwards that of *Sicily*. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was accuſed of having conſulted the aſtrologers about his attaining the empire; but, as *Commodus* began then to be univerſally hated, he was acquitted, and his accuſer crucified. He was raiſed ſoon after to the conſulſhip, and then appointed commander of all the troops employed in *Illyricum* to defend the banks of the *Danube* [q]. He married to his firſt wife one *Martia*; and upon her death *Julia*, a native of *Emeſa* in *Syria*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe the aſtrologers had told her, that ſhe was to marry a ſovereign. She is ſtyled in ſeveral inſcriptions *Julia Domna Auguſta, the mother of the armies, of the ſenate, of her country*, &c. By her *Severus* had *Baſſianus*, commonly known by the name of *Caracalla*, born the fourth of *April* 188. *Geta*, born in *Milan*, the twenty-ſeventh of *May* 189. and two daughters, who were married after their father's acceſſion to the empire. *Julia* diſhonoured with her lewdneſs her huſband and family, and had the mortification to hear herſelf publicly reproached by a *Caledonian* lady with the ſame vices which ſhe pretended to condemn in her [s]. She was likewiſe accuſed of conſpiring againſt her huſband, and charged with ſeveral other crimes by *Plautianus*, who did all that lay in his power to diſcredit

His extraction.

Education,

And employments.

His wife Julia.

[e] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 837. & l. lxxvi. p. 869. Herod. l. ii. p. 503. Vict. epit. Tertull. apol. c. 4. [h] Herod. l. iii. p. 527. [i] Idem, l. ii. p. 507. [k] Spart. vit, Sev. p. 64. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 742. Grut. p. 268, [l] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 741. [m] Vit. Sev. p. 71 [n] Vit. Caracall. cum not. Caſaub. p. 132. & Jons. l. iii. c. 12. [o] Galen. ther. t. ii. p. 457, 458. [p] Get. vit. p. 90. Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 866. [q] Vit. Sev. p. 64, 65. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 840. Herod. l. ii. p. 503. [r] Spon. p. 270. Spanh. l. vi. p. 628. [s] Aur. Vict. Sever. vit. p. 71. Dio, lxxvi. p. 869.

credit her with the emperor; insomuch, that to retrieve her reputation, she betook herself to the study of philosophy, and kept continually about her a great number of sophists, philosophers, mathematicians, geographers, and persons eminent in the various branches of learning, which has rendered her name famous in history [t]. *Julia* had a sister named *Mæsa*, who was married to one *Julius*, who had by her two daughters, *Soæmis* and *Mamea*, the former the mother of the emperor *Heliogabalus*, and the latter of *Alexander*, who succeeded him.

To resume now the thread of our history, and return to *Didius Julianus*: while he was striving to gain the affections of the *Roman* people by the mildness of his government, news was brought him, that *Pescennius Niger* had revolted in *Syria*, and was acknowledged emperor by all the eastern nations and the troops under his command. Soon after he received the like tidings from *Illyricum*, where *Severus* had been saluted, by the army which he commanded there, with the title of *Augustus*. The armies in *Gaul* likewise swore allegiance to him, as soon as they heard, that he had taken upon him the title of emperor. Their example was followed by all the armies, provinces, and cities in *Europe*, except the city of *Byzantium*; so that *Severus* having secured the provinces behind him, and left some troops to guard the banks of the *Danube*, began his march to *Rome*. As he was well apprised, that *Albinus*, governor of *Britain*, was in a condition to thwart his designs, he wrote an obliging letter to him, wherein he declared his intention of adopting him, and gave him the title of *Cæsar*, which *Albinus* assumed at the head of his army, with all the badges of his new dignity, bestowing on that occasion great encomiums on *Severus*. As for *Niger*, *Severus* did not so much as attempt to gain, or rather deceive, him, well knowing, that he would not hearken to any proposals whatsoever [u]. *Julianus*, in the mean time, repairing to the senate, caused *Severus* to be declared an enemy to his country, and likewise his soldiers, if they did not abandon him within a limited time. Deputies were even sent by the senate to persuade the soldiers to quit the party of *Severus*, and join *Julianus*. Among these were *Vespronius Candidus*, a consular of great authority, *Valerius Catulinus*, who was named to take upon him the command of the troops which *Severus* had with him, and one *Aquilius*, a centurion, the chief minister of the cruelties of *Commodus*, with orders to dispatch *Severus* as soon as his troops had deserted him. But the deputies, instead of exhorting the troops to abandon *Severus*, joined him themselves, and encouraged the soldiers to pursue their march, and revenge the death of *Pertinax*. Herupon *Julianus*, having first paid the prætorian guards the largess he had promised them, ordered them to their arms, and at the same time sent for the marines, who were on board the fleet at *Misenum*, and with the prætorian guards made up a considerable army. But as they had been long inured to idleness, they scarce knew how to make use of their arms, and shewed great backwardness to make head against the enemy, who were advancing with long marches, being received every-where with loud acclamations, and supplied with plenty of provisions, upon their giving out, that they were going to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, a prince universally beloved. *Julianus*, finding he could not depend upon his troops, caused the palace to be fortified, as if he could have maintained himself there after losing all the rest. At the same time, he ordered *Marcia* and *Lætus*, the chief authors of the death of *Commodus*, to be murdered, not doubting but they favoured *Severus*; dispatched a great number of assassins, to try if he could by any means murder *Severus*, with promises of immense rewards, if they succeeded in the attempt; and caused an incredible number of children to be inhumanly butchered, in order to make use of their blood in the abominable mysteries of magic [w]. While *Julianus* was thus losing his time in useless preparations, *Severus* arriving at *Ravenna*, made himself master of that city and the fleet riding there; which so terrified *Julianus*, that, distrusting his troops, he ordered the senate to assemble on the twenty-ninth of *May*, when one of his ministers desired them in his name to send out the vestals to meet the enemy, and intreat them to retire; which proposal being rejected as no less ridiculous than ineffectual, *Julianus*, as some authors write, was so provoked, that he assembled his troops, with a design to put all the senators to the sword, if they did not comply with his request. But he soon changed his mind, and went to the senate in person, with a proposal of a quite

Pescennius Niger declared emperor in the east, and Severus in Illyricum.

Severus declared a public enemy.

In his march to Rome he is every-where received with loud acclamations.

[t] Philos. vit. Apoll. Tyran. l. i. c. 3. & soph. lvi. p. 617. [u] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 837. Herod. l. ii. p. 513. [w] Dio, p. 838. Vit. Jul. p. 62.

quite different nature, which was, that they would paſs a decree, declaring *Severus* his partner in the empire. The decree paſſed without oppoſition, and was immediately ſent to *Severus*, who not only rejected the offered aſſociation, but at the inſtigation of *Julius Lætus*, ordered *Tullius Criſpinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, who had brought the decree, to be cut in pieces, a report being ſpread, that *Criſpinus* had private orders to diſpatch him. Hereupon *Julianus*, being quite at a loſs what to do, and the ſenate declining to aſſiſt him with their advice, ordered the gladiators at *Capua* to take arms, under the command of *LollianusTitianus*, and wrote an obliging letter to *Pompeianus*, the ſon-in-law of *M. Aurelius*, who then led a retired life at *Tarracina*, offering to take him, as he was an excellent commander, for his partner in the empire. But *Pompeianus* wiſely declined the offer, pleading his old age and the weakneſs of his ſight; which, however, would have ſerved him well, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, had he ſeen any effectual means of relieving his diſtreſſed country [x]. In the mean time, the troops ſent by *Julianus* into *Umbria* to guard the paſſes of the *Apennine* mountains, declared for *Severus*; and the prætorian guards themſelves, abandoning the emperor whom they had ſet up, agreed not to oppoſe *Severus*, upon his promiſeing them impunity, provided they delivered up to him thoſe who had murdered *Pertinax* [y]. *Julianus*, ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted by his troops, ſhut himſelf up in the palace, with *Genialis*, one of the captains of the guards, and *Repentinus* his ſon-in-law. The guards, in the mean time, having ſeized ſuch of their comrades as had been any-ways concerned in the death of *Pertinax*, acquainted therewith *SiliusMeſſala*, who had been ſubſtituted either to *Falco* or *Erucius*, the ordinary conſuls of this year 193. *Meſſala* immediately aſſembled the ſenate, when a decree paſſed, depriving *Julianus* of the empire, ſentencing him to death, declaring *Severus* emperor, and appointing divine honours to *Pertinax*. This decree was carried to *Severus* by ſome of the chief men in the ſenate, who intreated him, in the name of the reſt, to haſten his march to *Rome*. At the ſame time, the ſenate ſent a band of ſoldiers to the palace, with orders to put *Julianus* to death; whom they found drowned in tears, and ready to reſign the empire, upon condition that they ſpared his life. Some authors write, that at the ſight of the armed band, he only ſaid, *What crime have I committed? whoſe life have I taken away?* [z]. Others tell us, that he implored the faith of *Cæſar*, giving that title to *Severus* [a]. Be that as it will, his head was ſtruck off by a common ſoldier, and his body, according to *Aurelius Victor*, expoſed to public view. Such was the end of *Didius Julianus*, after he had lived ſixty years, four months, and as many days, and reigned two months and ſix days. *Severus*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, delivered his body to his wife and daughter, by whom it was buried in the tomb of his anceſtors on the *Via Lavicana*, about five miles from *Rome* [b].

Severus received the news of his competitor's death, when he was yet ſome days journey from *Rome*. However, he purſued his march with his troops in battle-array, and incamped every night, as if he had been in an enemy's country; which filled the city with terror and diſmay. The ſenate deputed a hundred perſons of great diſtinction out of their body to congratulate him upon the death of his rival and his acceſſion to the empire. *Severus* received them in his armour, at the head of his troops, and cauſed them to be ſearched, as if he ſuſpected their fidelity; but afterwards entertained them in a very familiar and friendly manner, preſented them with ſeven hundred pieces of gold, and gave them liberty either to depart immediately, or to ſtay and return to *Rome* with him. He appointed *Flavius Juvenalis* captain of the guards, with *Veturius Macrinus*, whom he had named before to that employment. At the ſame time, he diſpatched an expreſs to *Plautianus*, injoining him to ſeize the children of *Peſcennius Niger*, and of all the officers who ſerved under him. He had the good luck to intercept ſeveral letters and edicts ſent by *Niger* to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, which he would not ſuffer to be read to them [c]. When he approached *Rome*, he cauſed all thoſe to be executed, who had any hand in the death of *Pertinax*; and ſent orders to the other ſoldiers of the guards to meet him without their arms, and in the attire which they wore when they attended the emperor in the great ſolemnities. His orders were obeyed, the guards imagining, that they were to attend in that dreſs the emperor's entry. When they arrived in the camp, *Severus* ſent them word to wait in a body till he was at leiſure to receive and harangue them; and in the mean time

Julianus cauſes Severus *to be declared his partner in the empire.*

Julianus *abandoned by all.*

Severus *declared emperor and* Julianus *degraded by the ſenate, and put to death.*

A hundred ſenators ſent to meet Severus.

[x] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 729. Vit. Jul. p. 63. [y] Dio, p. 838. Herod. p. 510. [z] Dio, ibid. [a] Jul vit. p. 63. [b] Dio, p. 868. Vit. Jul. p. 66. [c] Vit. Sever. p. 66. & Nigr. p. 75. Herodian. l. iii. p. 526.

a time gave private orders to his own troops to ſurround them at a diſtance, and ſhut them up on all ſides, while they were intent upon hearing his harangue. He then aſcended the tribunal; and betraying great anger and reſentment in his countenance, reproached them in moſt bitter terms for murdering their prince, and ſuch a prince as *Pertinax*; for ſelling by auction, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, the empire; and even for abandoning, like ſo many cowards and traitors, *Julianus*, whom they themſelves had choſen. He told them, that he could inflict no puniſhment upon them anſwerable to the enormity of their crimes; that nevertheleſs he granted them their lives; but commanded them forthwith to quit their horſes and all their military badges, and retire without delay a hundred miles from *Rome*, ſolemnly declare- *He diſbands all the prætorian guards.*
b ing, that whoever among them ſhould be found within that diſtance of the city, ſhould irremiſſibly be put to death, and publicly executed. They were thunderſtruck with this order; but forced to comply with it, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the armed troops of *Severus*, who obliged them to quit their horſes, and ſtripped them even of their tunics. Thus ſtripped and degraded, they retired with that ſhame and confuſion, which were juſtly owing to the heinouſneſs of their crimes [d]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that one of their horſes followed his old maſter, throwing down and treading under foot all thoſe who endeavoured to ſtop him; inſomuch, that the unhappy ſoldier, finding his horſe would not, by any means, leave him, killed him, and running himſelf through with the ſame ſword, fell dead by him. The ſame
c hiſtorian adds, that the faithful horſe betrayed a kind of joy in dying by his maſter's hand [e]. *Severus* entered *Rome*, attended by all his troops under arms, and with the ſtandards of the prætorian guards reverſed. He came to the gate on horſe-back and *His entry into* Rome.
in his military habit; but there took his gown, and made his entry on foot, accompanied by the ſenators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads; which the people likewiſe wore, who, on this occaſion, were all clad in white. The ſtreets through which he paſſed, were ſtrewed with flowers, the houſes adorned, and covered with rich tapeſtry, and the whole city perfumed with ſweet odours, *Severus*, having viſited the capitol, and the uſual temples, retired to the palace; but the ſoldiers, taking up their quarters in the temples, porticos, and other public buildings, ſpread
d themſelves all over the city, and committed every-where great diſorders, threatening to plunder the citizens houſes, if they were not plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, for which they would allow nothing. This alarmed the people, and inſpired them with a great averſion to the new emperor [f]. The next morning, *Severus* went to the ſenate, attended by all his troops under arms; but he had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when he was interrupted all on a ſudden by dreadful cries of the ſoldiers without, demanding an immenſe ſum of the ſenate, which had been formerly given to the *The emperor's ſpeech to the ſenate.*
troops that had attended *Auguſtus* to *Rome*, and was conſequently, ſaid they, due to them. The ſenate, altogether unappriſed of the cauſe of that uproar, was, as we may well imagine, ſtruck with horror and diſmay. The emperor himſelf betrayed
e ſome fear; but however, ſtarting up, he went out to them; but could not appeaſe the mutinous multitude, without promiſing them part of what they demanded; that is two hundred and fifty drachmas a man, inſtead of two thouſand five hundred. Then returning to the ſenate, he excuſed himſelf for having aſſumed the title of *empe-* *The ſoldiers mutiny.*
ror without their conſent, pretending, that he had done it purely to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, and deliver them from the tyranny of *Julianus*. He promiſed to govern with great moderation, and tread in the footſteps of *M. Aurelius* and *Pertinax*, adding a ſolemn oath, by which he bound himſelf to the obſervance of all the laws; and particularly ſwore, that no ſenator ſhould, for any crime whatſoever, be put to death in his reign, who had not been firſt tried and condemned by the ſenate; nay, he
f obliged the ſenate to paſs a decree, declaring ſuch emperors as acted otherwiſe, thoſe who obeyed them therein, and their children, public enemies. This gave great ſatisfaction to the generality of the ſenators; but men of diſcernment, and ſuch as were better acquainted with his dark and reſerved temper, with his falſhood and diſſimulation, gave no credit to his fair promiſes; but, on the contrary, looked upon him as a ſecond *Tiberius* [g]. However, they unanimouſly conferred upon him all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular powers, created him high pontiff, *&c.* *Severus* acquainted the ſenate with his having

[d] Herod. p. 510. Dio, p. 839. [e] Dio, ibid. [f] Herod. p. 512. [g] Vit. Sever. p. 66. Herod. p. 512. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 640.

The title of Cæſar *confirmed to* Albinus.

having beſtowed on *Albinus* the title of *Cæſar*, begged they would confirm it to him, a
cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck with his name, ſtatues to be erected to him, &c.
He diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiery and people, which are taken notice of
on ſeveral medals of this year [h]; but what chiefly gained him the hearts of the people,
was his conſecrating and inrolling with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity the emperor
Pertinax in the number of the gods. This apotheoſis, perhaps the moſt magnificent
that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*, is deſcribed at length by *Dion Caſſius* [i]. Before he

The friends of Julianus *proſcribed.*

left *Rome* to march againſt *Niger*, he cauſed the ſenate to proſcribe all the friends
and adherents of *Julianus*; executed without mercy ſuch of them as were diſcovered,
and ſeized, and even attempted, out of hatred to that prince, to aboliſh the decrees
of the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, his great-grandfather. In the next place, b

New prætorian guards choſen.

he choſe new guards in the room of thoſe whom he had caſhiered, and four times as
many, which filled *Rome* with ſoldiers, and proved very chargeable to the ſtate; for
their pay much exceeded that of the other troops. Beſides, the natives only of cer-
tain countries, *viz.* of *Spain*, *Macedon*, *Noricum*, and above all of *Italy*, had been
hitherto admitted to ſerve in the guards; but *Severus*, without any regard to their
countries, choſe the moſt reſolute and brave men in his army, and appointed, that,
for the future, they ſhould be always taken from among the other troops; by which
means the guards, who of late had ſerved only for ſhew, became the flower of the
Roman forces; and the hopes of a leſs toilſome, and more honourable and advantagi-
ous warfare encouraged the reſt to diſcharge their duty with more punctuality and c
exactneſs; but on the other hand, the *Italian* youth, (for the guards had hitherto been
moſtly natives of *Italy*) having no longer that reſource, turned either robbers or gla-
diators: hence this regulation was no-ways pleaſing, either to the *Romans*, or to the
other inhabitants of *Italy* [k]. About the ſame time, the emperor gave his two daugh-
ters in marriage to *Probus* and *Aetius*, and honoured both his ſons-in-law with the
conſular dignity. To the former he offered the government of *Rome*; but he decline-

Severus *ſets out againſt* Niger.

ing that employment, it was conferred upon *Domitius Dexter*. The emperor, having
thus ſettled affairs in *Rome*, and ſupplied the city with great plenty of corn, ſet out
in the beginning of *July* on his march into the eaſt againſt *Niger*, whom he had never
once named during his ſtay at *Rome*. His troops mutinied the firſt day at a place d
called *Saxa Rubra*, about nine miles from *Rome*; but the mutiny was ſoon quelled,
However, he encamped there the firſt night, when his brother *Geta* came to wait
upon him, expecting ſome great preferment; but *Severus* ordered him to return to
his government, and ſhewed no inclination to employ him. Before he decamped, the
children of *Peſcennius Niger* were brought to him, whom he received and entertained
with the ſame kindneſs as if they had been his own. He purſued his march with all
poſſible expedition, having diſpatched an expreſs to the commander of the troops in
Illyricum, injoining him to haſten into *Thrace*, and wait for him there. He ordered
Heraclius to attempt the recovery of *Bithynia*, which province had declared for *Niger*;
and wrote to *Albinus* in *Britain*, to hold himſelf ready to march upon the firſt notice [l]. e

Niger *prepares for war*

In the mean time, *Niger*, hearing that *Severus* had been acknowledged emperor by
the ſenate and people of *Rome*, and was already advancing by long marches againſt
him, wrote to the governors of the provinces, injoining them to guard the narrow
paſſes, eſpecially that of mount *Taurus* between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*; raiſed new
forces in *Antioch* and all the other cities of *Syria*, and ſent deputies to demand ſuc-
cours of the neighbouring princes. He went in perſon to view the fortifications of
Byzantium, in which city he left a numerous gariſon, looking upon it as a place of
the utmoſt importance. From *Byzantium* he advanced to *Perinthus*, called afterwards
Heraclea, where, in a ſkirmiſh between his men and thoſe of *Severus*, whoſe party
the city of *Perinthus* had embraced, a conſiderable number of the latter were ſlain, f
and among them ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction. Hereupon the ſenate, to curry
favour with *Severus*, declared *Niger* a public enemy, and likewiſe *Æmilianus*, then
proconſul of *Aſia*, a perſon of extraordinary talents, long experience, and generally
eſteemed the greateſt ſtateſman of his age [m]. *Spartian* writes, that *Niger*, improving
the advantage he had gained at *Perinthus*, made himſelf maſter of all *Greece*, *Mace-
don*, and *Thrace*, and thereupon offered to take *Severus* for his partner in the empire;
which propoſal he rejected with contempt and deriſion [n]. The following year 194.

Severus

[h] Birag. p. 268. [i] Dio, p. 840. [k] Herod. p. 512. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 840. & in excerpt. Val. p. 733. [l] Vit. Sever. p. 67. [m] Herod. l. ii. p. 512, 513. Nig. vit. p. 76. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 734. [n] Vit. Nigr. p. 67.

a *Severus* and *Albinus* were both conſuls the ſecond time, and *Niger* in all likelihood took upon him the ſame dignity; for on ſome medals he is ſtyled conſul o. We know nothing of what paſſed in the war between *Niger* and *Severus*, till the arrival of the latter before the city of *Byzantium*, which he beſieged this year; but meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance from the numerous gariſon, he left ſome of his troops before the place, and ordered the reſt to croſs the ſea and march towards *Cyzicus*, in the neighbourhood of which city they were met by *Æmilianus* at the head of a numerous army. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which much blood was ſhed on both ſides; but *Æmilianus* was in the end defeated, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf firſt in *Cyzicus*, and afterwards in another city not named in hiſtory, where he was taken, and put to death b by the generals of *Severus*; for the emperor himſelf was not, it ſeems, preſent at the battle of *Cyzicus* p. Not long after, another battle was fought between *Nicea* and *Cius*, two cities of *Bythinia*, which proved far more bloody than the former, *Niger* commanding his own troops in perſon, and *Candidus*, an officer of great experience, thoſe of *Severus*. Both armies fought with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, as appears from *Dion Caſſius*'s account of the engagement; but *Niger*, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, was at laſt obliged to ſave himſelf by flight beyond the ſtreights of mount *Taurus*; which he cauſed to be fortified and well guarded q. After this victory, *Severus* wrote to *Niger*, offering to let him live in ſafety, provided he laid down his arms and diſbanded his troops; which *Niger* ſeemed inclined to do; but was c diverted from it by *Aurelianus*, whoſe daughters were betrothed to his ſons. He therefore retired to *Antioch*, in order to raiſe there troops and money. In the mean time, the cities of *Laodicea* and *Tyre* declaring for *Severus*, *Niger* detached againſt them a body of *Moors*, who pillaged the rebellious cities, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſet fire to their houſes, which were in great part conſumed, but afterwards reſtored by *Severus*. In the mean time, *Severus*'s army, advancing to the foot of mount *Taurus*, was ſtopped there, and quite diſheartened, at the ſight of the ſtrong works and the great number of troops that defended them; inſomuch, that deſpairing of being able to open themſelves a paſſage, they had ſome thoughts of returning: but an incredible quantity of rain, mixed with ſnow, falling in the night-time, the d fortifications were utterly demoliſhed the next day by an impetuous torrent from the mountain; which ſo terrified *Niger*'s men, now perſuaded that the gods favoured the enemy, that they betook themſelves to flight, and left *Severus*'s troops to enter *Cilicia*, without offering to make head againſt them. *Niger* had already raiſed a new army, conſiſting chiefly of the *Antiochian* youth, who were very zealous and ſanguine in his cauſe; but utter ſtrangers to military diſcipline. However, *Niger* placed them ſo advantagiouſly, that when they were attacked by the regular and well diſciplined troops of *Severus*, under the command of *Valerianus* and *Anulinus*, they not only repulſed them, but would have gained a complete victory, had it not been ſnatched out of their hands by a dreadful and unexpected ſtorm of thunder and lightning; e which, diſcharging itſelf in their faces, prevented them from purſuing the advantage they had gained, and diſheartened them to ſuch a degree, that no longer doubting but the gods were averſe to their cauſe, they began to deſpair of ſucceſs and retire. Hereupon *Severus*'s troops, reſuming their courage, renewed the charge, and in the end gained a complete victory. This battle, by far the moſt bloody of the three, was fought on the very ſpot where *Alexander the Great* firſt vanquiſhed *Darius*; that is, near the city of *Iſſus*, at a place called *Pylæ Ciliciæ*, or the *Gates of* Cilicia, it being a narrow plain on the confines of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, incloſed on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by ſteep mountains, on which *Niger*'s forces were poſted. *Niger* is ſaid to have loſt in this battle twenty thouſand men. Of the dead on the ſide of f *Severus* no mention is made in hiſtory. *Niger*, after this overthrow, retired to *Antioch*; but not thinking himſelf ſafe there, continued his flight towards the *Euphrates*, with a deſign as was ſuppoſed, of taking ſhelter among the *Parthians*: but thoſe who purſued him, overtaking him at a ſmall diſtance from *Antioch*, cut off his head, and carried it on the point of a ſpear to *Severus*, who cauſed it to be firſt ſhewn to the inhabitants of *Byzantium*, and then ſent it to *Rome* r. Thus *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian*; but *Spartian* tells us, that *Niger*, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken priſoner, and in that condition brought to *Severus*, in whoſe preſence he expired s.

Æmilianus, Niger's *general, defeated and ſlain.*

Niger *himſelf overthrown.*

A third battle, in which Niger *is utterly defeated.*

Niger *is ſlain.*

Severus

o Birag. p. 264. p Herod. p. 516. Dio, p. 842. Vit. Sev. p. 67. q Dio, p. 842. Herod. l. iii. p. 519, 520. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 843. r Nig. vit. p. 76.

Severus *puniſhes without mercy ſuch as had ſided with* Niger.

Severus was not preſent at any of theſe battles; but where-ever he was, (for as to that particular we are left by hiſtorians quite in the dark) he ſoon made all thoſe who had ſided with his competitor feel the effects of his reſentment. He put ſuch of the ſenators to death, as had ſerved under *Niger* in quality of generals or tribunes. He ſpared the lives of the other ſenators; but baniſhed them to the iſlands, and ſeized their eſtates. He cauſed an infinite number of other perſons of an inferior rank to be publicly executed, without conſidering, whether they had engaged in the war by force or conſtraint. Many, who had never ſeen *Niger*, were involved in this general maſſacre of his friends and partizans[t]. *Herodian* writes, that *Severus* perſuaded *Niger*'s generals, by means of their children, whom he had with him, to betray the cauſe which they had embraced; and, after gaining the victory by their treachery, murdered both them and their children[u]. He firſt baniſhed the wife and children of *Niger*, and afterwards cauſed them and all thoſe of his family to be murdered, and their eſtates to be confiſcated. *Spartian* names ſix illuſtrious perſons of the *Piſcennian* family, who were put to death by his orders[w]. However, he would not ſuffer a pompous inſcription on the baſis of a ſtatue of *Niger* at *Rome* (M) to be erazed, ſaying, *Let the world know what an enemy I have conquered*[x], He puniſhed with exemplary ſeverity ſuch cities as had ſided with *Niger*, eſpecially *Antioch*, which he deprived of the privileges and title of a city, ſubjecting it as a mere village to *Laodicea*; which heightened the jealouſy between theſe two neighbouring cities. However, the following year, at the intreaties of his eldeſt ſon, then an infant, he reinſtated the city of *Antioch* in its former rights and privileges[y]. He obliged ſuch cities as had aſſiſted *Niger* with money, though not by choice, but conſtraint, to pay four times as much to him; which drew upon him the public hatred: but as he loved money, he was glad of any pretence to raiſe it[z]. The next conſuls were *Scapula Tertullus* and *Tineius Clemens*, during whoſe adminiſtration, *Severus*, paſſing the *Euphrates*, reduced the

He makes war upon the Adiabenians, Arabians *and* Parthians.

inhabitants of *Oſrhoene* and *Adiabene*; who, taking advantage of the late diſturbances, had murdered the *Roman* ſoldiers left among them, and ſhaken off the yoke[a]. He likewiſe entered *Arabia*; for the *Arabians* too had either revolted, or joined *Niger*, but were in the end obliged to ſubmit to *Severus*[b]. *Herodian* writes, that he overran all *Arabia Felix*[c]; and *Eutropius* and *Victor* cry up his exploits in that country, ſpeaking of them as if he had been the firſt who reduced *Arabia* to a *Roman* province. But *Arabia Petræa* had long before been made a province by *Trajan*; and as for *Arabia Felix*, we do not find it mentioned among the provinces of the empire, either in *Severus*'s time, or afterwards. *Euſebius* tells us, that *Severus* ſubdued the *Adiabenians* and *Arabians*, who had aſſiſted *Niger*[d]. He likewiſe made war upon the *Parthians*; but did not bring them under ſubjection, as *Spartian* pretends[e]. For theſe wars the ſenate decreed him the titles of *Arabicus*, *Parthicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, which, with that of *imperator the fifth time*, are given him in the inſcriptions of this year 195. the third of his reign[f]. He refuſed the triumph which was likewiſe decreed him, that he might not ſeem to have triumphed for victories gained in a civil war. The title of *Parthicus* he likewiſe rejected, leſt his aſſuming it ſhould provoke the *Parthians*[g]. The *Scythians* deſigned to make war upon him, and had already begun their march; but were ſtopped, and deterred from putting their deſign in execution, by a dreadful ſtorm in which three of their chiefs were ſtruck dead with lightning[h]. In the beginning of the following year, when *Cn. Domitius Dexter*, governor of *Rome*, was conſul the ſecond time, with *L. Valerius Meſſala Thraſea Priſcus*, the city of *Byzantium* ſurrendered after a three years ſiege. It was at this time by far the greateſt, and the moſt populous and wealthy city of *Thrace*, fortified with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, and defended by a great number of towers, ſeven of which were built

The city of Byzantium *taken*

[t] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 851. & in excerpt. Val. p. 734. [u] Herod. l. iii. p. 521. [w] Vit. Sev. p. 69. [x] Vit. Nig. p. 79 [y] Herod. l. iii. p. 523. Dioc. p. 1921. Vit. Caracal. p. 85 [z] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 737. [a] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 848. [b] Idem p. 948. [c] Herod. l. iii. p. 528. [d] Euseb. chron. ad ann. 199. [e] Spart. in. vit. Sever. p. 67. [f] Vit. Sever. p. 67. Goltz. p 84. [g] Vit. Sever. ibid. [h] Dio, p. 849.

(M) The houſe of *Niger* was ſtill ſtanding in *Dioclesian*'s time, as *Spartian* informs us, and in one of the rooms his ſtatue done to the life in the black marble of *Thebes*, with an epigram on the baſis to this purpoſe: *Here ſtands the great* Niger, *the terror of* Egypt, *the ally of* Thebes, *who had propoſed a golden age to all. Kings, nations,* Rome *itſelf, loved him. He was dear to both the* Antoninuſes, *and to the whole empire. As his name was* Niger, (that is, *black*) *we have cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him in black marble, that it might anſwer his name.* This ſtatue was, as *Spartian* informs us, a preſent from the king of *Thebes* to *Statius Poſthumius*.

a built with ſuch art, that the leaſt noiſe, heard in one of them, was immediately conveyed to all the reſt [i]. This city *Niger* ſeized at the firſt breaking out of the war, placed a numerous gariſon in it, and ſupplied the inhabitants with great ſtore of warlike machines, moſt of them invented and built by *Periſcus*, a native of *Nicea*, and the greateſt engineer of his age. *Severus* laid ſiege to this place when he firſt arrived in *Thrace*, left a conſiderable body of troops to carry it on, and, after the defeat and death of *Niger*, purſued it with the greateſt part of his army by land, and by ſea with all the ſhips he could aſſemble from the different ports of *Aſia*. The *Byzantines* defended themſelves, before the death of *Niger*, and even after his head had been ſhewn to them, with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expreſſed. They baffled all the
b attempts of the aſſailants, killed great numbers of them, cruſhed ſuch as approached the walls with huge ſtones, and when ſtones began to fail them, with the ſtatues of their gods and heroes; but in the end they were obliged by famine, after having been reduced to the fatal neceſſity of devouring one another, to ſubmit, and open their gates to the conqueror, who put all the magiſtrates and ſoldiers to the ſword; *And deſtroyed.*
but ſpared the engineer *Periſcus*. The city, with its ſtately theatres, baths, and public buildings was laid in aſhes; the inhabitants were ſtripped of all their effects and publicly ſold for ſlaves, and the walls levelled with the ground; thoſe walls, ſays *Dion Caſſius*, which were the ſtrongeſt rampart of the *Roman* empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians [k]. The chronicle of *Alexandria* and the modern *Greek* writers
c tell us, that *Severus* himſelf rebuilt in great part the city of *Byzantium*, calling it *Antoninia*, from his ſon *Caracalla*, who aſſumed the name of *Antoninus* [l]. After the ſurrender of *Byzantium*, *Severus* ſent his army, divided into three bodies, under the command of *Lætus*, *Anulinus*, and *Probus*, to reduce part of *Meſopotamia*; which they did accordingly: and the country they conquered, perhaps *Acabene*, or *Aretacene*, was by *Severus* made a new province, whereof *Niſibis* was declared the capital. The government of this new province was, like that of *Egypt*, given only to *Roman* knights [m].

Severus *reſolves to deſtroy* Albinus.

After theſe ſucceſſes, *Severus* began to think of deſtroying *Albinus*, whom he had lulled aſleep with the title of *Cæſar*, while he was employed againſt *Julianus* and *Niger*.
d As *Albinus* was as much beloved by the ſenate, as *Severus* was hated on account of his cruelty, and many perſons of great diſtinction had even ſolicited him to come to *Rome*, and there aſſume the title of emperor, *Severus* thought he could not uſe too much diſpatch in cruſhing him. However, not judging it adviſeable to declare himſelf an open enemy to one who had not given him the leaſt provocation, he had recourſe to treachery, and wrote a pompous letter to the ſenate in his commendation, and another to *Albinus* himſelf, filled with the moſt tender expreſſions of friendſhip, calling him his deareſt and intirely beloved friend, his brother, his partner in the ſovereign power; but thoſe who brought him this letter had ſecret orders to draw him aſide, *Sends aſſaſſins to murder him.*
under colour of communicating to him in private ſome affairs of the utmoſt import-
e ance, and diſpatch him with their daggers. They were likewiſe provided with poiſon, in caſe they could prevail upon any of his domeſtics to adminiſter it to him. After *Albinus* had read the letter, the aſſaſſins, purſuant to their directions, told him they had ſomething to communicate to him by word of mouth, which required the utmoſt ſecrecy. Hereupon *Albinus* deſired them to attend him into a gallery; but obſerveing, that they took more than ordinary care to prevent others from entering with them, he began to ſuſpect ſome treachery, and cauſed them to be ſeized, and put to the queſtion, when the violence of the torments extorted from them a full confeſſion of the errand on which they were come. Hereupon *Albinus* betook himſelf to open Albinus *cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed*
f force; and having aſſembled a mighty army, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*, and thence paſſed over into *Gaul*, where he was joined by many perſons of great diſtinction, both *Gauls* and *Spaniards*. *Severus*, upon the firſt news of his revolt, leaving the eaſt, haſtened through *Thrace* and *Illyricum* into *Gaul*. Some writers tell us, that before ſet out on his march, he cauſed a young virgin to be ſacrificed, hoping to learn from her intrails what ſucceſs would attend him in this war [n]. At *Viminiacum*, a famous city in *Upper Mæſia* on the *Danube*, he gave the title of *Cæſar* to *Baſſianus* his eldeſt ſon, and on that occaſion diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiers. At the ſame time, he obliged his ſon to quit the name of *Baſſianus*,

emperor.

[i] Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 847. [k] Dio, ibid. Herod. l. iii. p. 523: Chron. Alex. p. 620: Suid. p. 724. [m] Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 847——150. [n] Suid. p. 257.

Baſſianus, and ſtyle himſelf thenceforth *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, for whom *Severus* ever had a great eſteem and veneration [o]. Before *Severus* reached *Gaul*, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the troops that had declared for him there and thoſe of *Albinus*, in one of which, called by *Herodian* a battle, the generals of *Severus* were utterly defeated, and their troops diſperſed [p]. This greatly alarmed him, and obliged him to quicken his march, after he had detached part of his troops to guard the narrow paſſes of the *Alps*, and prevent his competitor from entering *Italy*. In the mean time, the ſenate declared *Albinus* a public enemy; after which declaration, one *Numerianus*, who kept a grammar-ſchool at *Rome*, haſtening into *Gaul*, paſſed himſelf there upon the inhabitants for a ſenator ſent by *Severus* to raiſe troops; and having by this means got together a conſiderable body, he attacked and defeated a detachment of *Albinus*'s horſe, and gained ſome other ſmall advantages; which *Severus* no ſooner knew, than he wrote to him as a ſenator, believing him to be one, commended his zeal, and commiſſioned him to levy what forces he could. Having therefore raiſed a ſmall army, he continually haraſſed *Albinus*'s men, took many priſoners, and intercepted a great ſum of money, which he ſent to *Severus*. When *Albinus* was defeated, he went to wait upon *Severus*, told him who he was; but deſpiſing the great riches and honours which the emperor offered him, he accepted only a ſmall penſion, and retiring into the country, ſpent the reſt of his life in quiet and ſolitude [q].

Is declared a public enemy.

In the beginning of the following year, when *Lateranus* and *Rufinus* were conſuls, *Severus*, having paſſed the *Alps* in the midſt of winter, approached *Lyons*, where *Albinus* then reſided, with a deſign to enter *Italy* early in the ſpring. He was not a little alarmed at the ſudden and unexpected arrival of *Severus*; however, having with incredible expedition drawn together his troops quartered in that neighbourhood, he fell upon *Lupus*, one of *Severus*'s generals, and defeated him with great ſlaughter [r]. Hereupon *Severus* advanced in perſon againſt his rival; and *Albinus* not declining the challenge, both armies, to the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, were drawn up on the nineteenth of *February* in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, probably in the ſpacious plain between that city and *Trevoux*. As the fate of the two commanders depended upon this battle, and no leſs a reward was propoſed for the conqueror than the *Roman* empire; as the *Britiſh* legions were no-ways inferior either in courage or experience to thoſe of *Illyricum*, and both armies expected to ſhare the fortune, whatever it was, of their generals, the engagement was one of the moſt ſharp and bloody recorded in hiſtory. After they had fought many hours with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, *Albinus*'s left wing was utterly defeated, and obliged to take ſhelter in their camp, which the enemy entered in that confuſion, and plundered; but, on the other hand, his right wing, having drawn *Severus*'s men into certain ditches, which they had covered with earth, gained ſo great an advantage over them, that the emperor himſelf, who flew to their aſſiſtance at the head of the prætorian guards, was put into the utmoſt confuſion, and obliged, if we believe *Herodian*, to ſave himſelf by flight, after having quitted, that he might not be known, all the badges of the imperial dignity [s]. *Spartian* writes, that he was wounded, and believed dead by the army, who were for creating another emperor in his room [t]; and *Dion Caſſius*, that his horſe was killed under him, and he himſelf in imminent danger of loſing his life [u]. The ſame author adds, that ſeeing his men fly, he threw himſelf ſword in hand upon the fugitives, and forced them to return to the charge; which they did with ſuch fury, that the enemy, not able to withſtand them, began to give ground; which *Lætus* perceiving, fell upon them with the whole body of horſe under his command, and completed their overthrow. *Lætus* had declined engaging ſo long as the victory continued doubtful, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, of ſetting up for himſelf, after the two parties had deſtroyed each other [w]; and hence it was, that *Severus*, as *Herodian* informs us [x], inſtead of rewarding him, as he did his other generals, put him ſoon after to death. *Albinus*'s army, no longer able to keep the field, fled to *Lyons*, whither they were purſued by the conquerors; who, entering the city with the fugitives, firſt plundered it, and then laid it in aſhes [y]. *Albinus*, who had concealed himſelf in a houſe on the *Rhone*, finding no means of making his eſcape, laid violent hands on himſelf [z]. Thus *Dion Caſſius*. But other authors write, that being mortally

The two armies engage near Lyons.

Severus *in great danger.*

Albinus *intirely defeated and killed.*

[o] Vit. Sever. p. 68. [p] Herod. l. iii. p. 524 Sev. vit. p. 68. [q] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 851. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Herod. l. iii. p. 524. Dio, p. 851. [t] Vit. Sev. p. 63. [u] Dio, p. 852. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Herod. l. iii. p. 524. [y] Idem p. 525. [z] Dio, p. 853.

a tally wounded either by himſelf, or ſome of his own men, he was brought in that condition to *Severus*, in whoſe preſence he expired [a]. Be that as it will, *Severus* beheld with great pleaſure the dead body of his competitor, rode over it ſeveral times, cauſing his horſe to tread it under foot, left it lying in its gore before his tent, till it was half putrified, and torn in pieces by the dogs, and then ordered the poor remains of it to be thrown into the *Rhone*. The head he cauſed to be cut off, and ſent it to *Rome*, ordering it to be ſet up there on a pole in the forum. He pardoned at firſt his wife and children; but ſoon after, changing his mind, he cauſed them to be inhumanly maſſacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The whole family of *Albinus*, all his friends, and moſt diſtant relations, without diſtinction of ſex or b age, were by *Severus*'s orders barbarouſly ſlaughtered, and their eſtates confiſcated. Moſt of the great men of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had ſhewn any attachment to *Albinus*, underwent the ſame fate. By means of theſe murders and confiſcations, he amaſſed an immenſe treaſure, inriched his ſoldiers, and, at his death, left greater wealth to his children, than any prince had done before him [b].

The cruelty of Severus.

After this victory, all the cities that had declared for *Albinus*, were ſoon reduced, and the inhabitants puniſhed, ſome with death, ſome with the confiſcation of their eſtates; ſo that *Severus*, ſeeing all quiet in *Gaul*, and likewiſe in *Britain*, which he divided into two provinces, ſet out for *Rome*, leading with him his victorious army. His approach filled the city with terror and diſmay, thoſe who had favoured c *Albinus*, expecting no better treatment than the friends of that unfortunate commander had met with in *Gaul*. Their apprehenſions were heightened by a letter which *Severus* wrote to the ſenate, when he ſent the head of *Albinus* to *Rome*; for in that letter he complained of their affection to *Albinus*, as if they had all privately favoured and aſſiſted his declared enemy; reproached them with ingratitude; cried up the conduct and government of *Commodus*, whom he had never mentioned before but as a tyrant and monſter; and, in ſpeaking of the head of *Albinus*, uſed this expreſſion; *I ſend it to you, that you may thereby know you have provoked me, and ſee with your eyes the effects of my reſentment*. Both the ſenate and people were thunder-ſtruck with this letter; they expected nothing but a general maſſacre, the more becauſe they were d informed, that *Severus* had ſeized the papers of *Albinus*, and by that means diſcovered all his friends and correſpondents. However, as he drew near, the ſenate went out to meet him, and received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, attended him to the capitol, and thence to the palace where he ordered great ſums to be diſtributed among the people and ſoldiery. The next day he went to the ſenate, and there read a ſpeech filled with bitter invectives againſt the partizans of *Albinus*; produced the letters that had been written to him; commended the cruelties of *Sylla*, of *Marius*, and of *Auguſtus*, as neceſſary precautions; aſcribed the ruin of *Pompey*, and the death of *Cæſar*, to their unſeaſonable clemency; and mentioning *Commodus*, ſtyled him a god, and beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon him; adding, that e none but infamous and abandoned wretches could cenſure or blame the conduct of ſuch an excellent prince [c]. Having ended his ſpeech, he returned to the palace, and filled the city with maſſacres and bloodſhed. In a few days forty-two ſenators, moſt of whom had been conſuls or prætors, were ſacrificed to his fury and revenge, and an incredible number of perſons of an inferior rank. *Herodian* tells us, that he cut off all thoſe, who, on account of their birth or riches, bore any ſway in the ſenate or the provinces. Many were condemned and executed upon bare ſuſpicions, and many for no other crime but that of being poſſeſſed of great wealth under a covetous and inhuman tyrant [d]. While the city was yet floating in blood, he went to the ſenate, and, out of hatred to the ſenators, cauſed them to rank *Commodus* with the uſual ceremonies among the gods, to appoint prieſts, and inſtitute an annual feſtival to his honour. He condemned *Narciſſus*, the famous wreſtler, who had ſtrangled him, to be devoured by the wild beaſts, and ſpared none who were ſuſpected of having been any ways privy to his death [e]. After *Severus* had ſpent ſome months at *Rome*, and there cut off, not only the partizans of *Albinus*, but ſuch as gave him the leaſt umbrage, he took leave of the ſenate, and, with his two ſons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, ſet out for the eaſt, with a deſign to make war upon the *Parthians*, who, under the conduct of their king *Vologeſes*, had made themſelves maſters of great part of *Meſopotamia*.

Severus's letter to the ſenate.

His cruelties in Rome.

Goes into the eaſt to make war upon the Parthians.

He

[a] Vit. Alb. & Sev. p. 68. [b] Vit. Sev p. 68. [c] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 526. Vit. Alb. p. 60. & Sev. p. 68. [d] Dio, p. 853. Herod. p. 527, Vit. Sev. p. 69. [e] Vit. Sev. p. 69.

He imbarqued with his army at *Brunduſium*, and arriving in *Syria*, marched ſtrait to *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*, whence the *Parthians* retired into their own country upon the firſt news of his approach. He was met on his march by *Augarus*, or *Abgarus*, king of *Oſrhoene*, who ſtyled him his prince and protector, delivered up to him his children as hoſtages, and ſupplied him with a conſiderable body of archers to be employed in his intended expedition againſt the *Parthians* [f]. The following year, *Tib. Saturninus* and *C. Gallus* being conſuls, *Severus* having made vaſt preparations for the war againſt the *Parthians*, began his march about the end of the ſummer, judging the autumn the moſt proper ſeaſon for that expedition. He followed the courſe of the *Euphrates*, the greater part of his army being conveyed down in boats, and the reſt marching on the banks of the river. To paſs from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, he cauſed the canal *Naarmalcha*, made formerly by *Adrian*, to be cleanſed, and by that means arrived in a ſhort time at *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, both which places he found abandoned by the enemy, and took without oppoſition. Thence he advanced to *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* dominions; which he inveſted, and took after a laborious ſiege, during which his ſoldiers, for want of proviſions, were obliged to feed upon ſuch roots as they found in the fields; which bred various diſtempers in the army. However, the place was in the end forced to ſurrender; but the king, who had ſhut himſelf up in it, found means to make his eſcape, attended by a ſmall body of horſe; which was a great diſappointment to *Severus*. The emperor gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who put all the men to the ſword; but ſpared the women and children, whom, to the number of one hundred thouſand, they ſold for ſlaves. After the reduction of *Cteſiphon*, *Severus* wrote to the ſenate, giving them a pompous account of his exploits, which he cauſed to be repreſented in painting, and expoſed to public view. The ſenate decreed him a triumph, and honoured him with the title of *Parthicus Maximus*; which is to be ſeen on ſeveral medals of the next and the following years [g]. *Spartian* tells us, that the army, in the tranſports of their joy for the reduction of *Cteſiphon*, proclaimed *Caracalla*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, his partner in the ſovereign power, and at the ſame time gave the title of *Cæſar* to his ſecond ſon *Geta* [h]; which honours were afterwards confirmed to both by the ſenate. *Caracalla* had entered the eleventh year of his age on the fourth of *April* of this year 198. *Severus*, not thinking it adviſeable either to keep *Cteſiphon*, or purſue *Vologeſes*, ſet out on his return into *Syria* about the beginning of winter, loaded with booty. He is ſuppoſed to have concluded a treaty with the *Parthians*; for we read of no wars between them and the *Romans* till eighteen years after, and *Vologeſes* reigned peaceably to his death, which happened after that of *Severus* [i]. While *Severus* was thus employed in the eaſt, ſome diſturbances aroſe in *Britain*, where the *Caledonians*, taking up arms, invaded the *Roman* dominions, committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Lupus*, whom *Severus* had appointed governor of *Britain*, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt that warlike nation with the troops he had with him, and well knowing, that *Severus* could not ſend him timely aſſiſtance, was forced to purchaſe a peace of the enemy, and, with large ſums, redeem the *Roman* territories from their daily incurſions [k].

He takes Seleucia, Babylon *and* Cteſiphon.

Caracalla *made a partner of the empire.*

Diſturbances in Britain.

The following year, when *P. Cornelius Aullinus* and *M. Aufidius Fronto* were conſuls, *Severus*, on his march back into *Syria*, attacked the city of *Atra*, *Barſemus*, king of that place, having formerly ſent conſiderable ſuccours to *Niger*; but was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having loſt a great many men and moſt of his warlike engines [l]. About this time, *Severus* cauſed two officers of great diſtinction to be put to death, *viz. Julius Criſpus*, tribune of the prætorian guards, and *Lætus*, one of his beſt generals; the former for ſaying, that *Severus* expoſed his troops wantonly to dangers, and obliged them to undergo great hardſhips only to ſatisfy his private ambition and vanity. *Lætus*'s crime was, according to *Herodian*, his having acted with treachery in the battle of *Lyons*, as we have related above. But *Dion Caſſius*, who commends him, both as an excellent citizen and ſoldier, tells us, that *Severus* put him to death, for no other reaſon but becauſe he was greatly beloved by the ſoldiers, which the jealous emperor could not bear [m]. After he had allowed ſome reſpite to his haraſſed troops, and amaſſed an immenſe quantity of proviſions and warlike engines, he returned before the city of *Atra*; but all his efforts againſt that place

Lætus *murdered.*

Severus *attacks the city of* Atra; *but is obliged to raiſe the ſiege.*

[f] Herod. l. iii. p. 528. [g] Idem ibid. Dio, p. 854. Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 278. Onuph. in faſt. Goltz. p. 85. [h] Vit. Sev. p. 70. [i] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 854. & in excerpt. Val. p. 746. [k] Idem, p. 851, 866. [l] Idem, p. 844. [m] Idem, p. 855.

a place proving unſucceſsful, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege anew, having loſt, during the eighteen days it laſted, moſt of his machines, and an incredible number of men [n]. Thus did one city baffle all the attempts of *Trajan* and *Severus*, the two greateſt commanders among the *Roman* emperors, as it did afterwards thoſe of *Artaxerxes*, who, about the year 226. re-eſtabliſhed the *Perſian* on the ruin of the *Parthian* empire. *Severus* ſpent moſt part of the following year, when *Tib. Claudius Severus* was conſul the ſecond time with *C. Aufidius Victorinus*, in ſearching after ſuch of *Niger*'s partizans as had not yet been diſcovered, and in gleaning, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tertullian* [o], after the vintage. Many perſons of diſtinction, who believed themſelves to be ſafe, were on this occaſion ſeized and condemned without mercy, ſuch

b eſpecially as gave the tyrant any umbrage on account of their birth or riches [p]. The next year, when *L. Annius Fabianus* and *M. Nonius Mucianus* were conſuls, *Severus* gave the manly robe to his eldeſt ſon, though he was then but fourteen years old, and named him conſul with himſelf for the year following. They both entered upon their conſulſhip in *Syria*; and on that occaſion the emperor gave a largeſs to the ſoldiers. *Severus* went, during his conſulſhip, into *Arabia*, and from thence into *Paleſtine*, where he remitted the taxes with which he had loaded the inhabitants for their ſteady adherence to *Niger*. While he was in *Paleſtine*, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, the ſubjects of the empire to embrace either the *Jewiſh* or *Chriſtian* religion; which gave riſe to the fifth general perſecution [q].

Severus *viſits* Arabia, Paleſtine, Egypt, *&c.*

c From *Paleſtine* he paſſed into *Egypt*, where he viſited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*, and then purſued his rout to *Alexandria*, to which city he granted a public council or ſenate; a mark of diſtinction which they had often begged in vain of other emperors [r]. During his ſtay in *Egypt*, he viſited all the cities, and viewed with great attention the curioſities of that ancient kingdom, eſpecially the pyramids, the labyrinth, the ſtatue of *Memnon*, &c. He examined with great care the books he found in the temples, and cauſed ſuch of them as contained any ſecret knowledge to be conveyed into the ſepulchre of *Alexander the Great*, which he ordered to be ſhut up, that no one might for the future either ſee the body of that prince, or peruſe thoſe books [s].

Plautianus *his chief favourite.*

d THE next conſuls were *Septimius Geta*, the emperor's brother, and *Fulvius Plautianus*, his great favourite. Some writers call *Plautianus* the emperor's kinſman; others ſay, that he was only his countryman, being a native of *Africa*, as was *Severus*. Be that as it will, all agree, that he was of a very mean deſcent; and ſome add, that in his youth he had been baniſhed, for ſtirring up and heading the populace in a ſedition. However, the emperor favoured him above all the great men in *Rome*, and was ſo paſſionate for him, that, not in converſation only, but in public, in his ſpeeches to the ſenate and people, he extolled him more than *Tiberius* had ever done his favourite *Sejanus*. He created him captain of the prætorian guards, and ſhared with him the power and wealth of the empire; for *Plautianus* was ſaid to be poſſeſſed of as great riches as *Severus* himſelf, and thought to be no leſs powerful; at leaſt greater court was paid to his power, than to that of the emperor. The ſenators and ſoldiers

His great power.

e ſwore by *the fortune of* Plautianus; public vows and ſacrifices were offered for his ſafety, as if he had been emperor, and *Rome* was filled with his ſtatues, moſtly erected by the authority of the ſenate. His table was better ſerved than the emperor's, and his equipage far more magnificent. As there was no acceſs to honours but through his favour, his houſe was conſtantly crouded with ſenators, knights, and great part of the people, all ſolicitors for admiſſion to *Plautianus*, who was harder of acceſs than the emperor. *Geta*, the brother of *Severus*, and the empreſs *Julia* ſtood no leſs in awe of him than the reſt, well knowing, that his authority was of far greater

f weight than theirs. This exorbitant power was moſt notoriouſly abuſed by the favourite miniſter, who condemned, baniſhed, and even put to death many illuſtrious perſons, whom he hated or ſuſpected, without conſulting the emperor, nay, without his knowledge; for though whatever the emperor ſaid or did was immediately carried to *Plautianus*, yet *Severus* was quite unacquainted with the crimes and arbitrary proceedings of his miniſter; and hence, looking upon him as a man without reproach, he contiuued to heap upon him all ſorts of honours. He had already diſtinguiſhed him with the conſular ornaments, and created him ſenator, without removing him from the command of the prætorian guards; and this year he not only appointed

[n] Idem, l. lxxv. p. 555. [o] TERTUL. apol. c. 35. [p] Vit. Sev. p. 69. [q] Idem, p. 70. EUSEB. l. vi. c. 2. [r] Vit. Sev. p. 70. [s] DIO, in excerpt. Val. p. 737. Vit. Sev. ibid.

appointed him conſul, but, to the great ſurprize of *Rome* and the whole empire, a declared his intention of marrying his eldeſt ſon *Caracalla* to *Fulvia Plautilla*, the daughter of *Plautianus*; which he did accordingly this very year, ſoon after his return to *Rome*; for, having ſettled the affairs in the eaſt, he arrived unexpectedly at *Rome* about the latter end of *May*, and, according to *Herodian*, entered the city in triumph [t]. *Spartian* writes, that he declined the triumph decreed him, becauſe he could not ſit in the triumphal chariot by reaſon of the gout; but ſuffered his ſon *Caracalla* to triumph over the *Jews*, who had, it ſeems, revolted, but had been again brought under ſubjection by *Severus* [u]. The emperor, upon his return, diſtributed immenſe ſums among the ſoldiers and people, ten pieces of gold a man more than any other prince had ever been known to give, and added to this extraordinary largeſs b moſt magnificent ſhews, which laſted ſeven days [w]. When the ſhews were over, the nuptials of *Caracalla* and *Plautilla* were celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that what *Plautianus* gave his daughter on this occaſion, would have been a ſufficient dower for fifty queens; and adds, that he appointed a hundred perſons of good families to attend her, whom he had for that purpoſe privately cauſed to be made eunuchs, tho' ſome of them were married, and even had children; which, as that writer obſerves, highly provoked both the ſenate and people againſt him [x]. About this time, *Severus* gave the manly robe to his ſecond ſon *Geta*, who had entered the fourteenth year of his age on the twenty-ſeventh of *May* of this year 203. the tenth of his father's reign [y]. The following year, *L. Fabius Septimius Cilo* being c conſul the ſecond time with *L. Libo*, the emperor, notwithſtanding his great kindneſs for *Plautianus*, being offended at the great number of ſtatues erected to him in all the public places of the city, cauſed ſome of them to be taken down. Hereupon a report being ſpread, that he was diſgraced, ſeveral governors of provinces, looking upon him already as a public enemy, cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down in their governments; but paid dear for their over-haſty zeal, ſome of them being deprived of their employments, and others tried by the ſenate and condemned to baniſhment. Among the latter was *Racius Conſtans*, governor of *Sardinia*, who was tried by the emperor in perſon, in conjunction with *Dion Caſſius* and ſeveral other ſenators. *Severus* on this occaſion ſolemnly declared, that he would never ſuffer the leaſt affront or d injury to be offered with impunity to *Plautianus*; but nevertheleſs, before a year was over, he changed his ſentiments, and ſuffered him to be put to death in his preſence. His ruin was chiefly owing to *Caracalla*, who, not able to bear with the haughty and imperious temper of his wife *Plautilla*, hated both her and his father-in-law *Plautianus*, openly declaring, that if ever he obtained the ſovereign power, they ſhould both ſoon feel the effects of his reſentment. Hereupon *Plautianus* reſolved to be before-hand with him, not doubting, but upon his death he ſhould be able to ſeize the empire for himſelf, as *Severus* was now ſtricken in years, and troubled with the gout. In the mean time, *Geta*, the emperor's brother, being taken ill, and finding there was no hope of his recovery, deſired to ſee *Severus* before he died, and acquainted him with the haughty, imperious, and tyrannical conduct of his favourite miniſter. e Thenceforth the emperor began to look upon him with a jealous eye, and to leſſen by degrees his overgrown power; which he was no ſooner appriſed of, than he reſolved to exert the authority he ſtill enjoyed, and ſecure, by the murder both of the emperor and his ſon, the ſovereignty to himſelf; at leaſt *Saturninus*, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, declared to *Severus*, that *Plautianus* had charged him to aſſaſſinate them both, and ſhewed him his orders in writing. *Herodian*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [a] ſeem not to queſtion in the leaſt the truth of his depoſition; but *Dion Caſſius* looks upon the whole as a contrivance of *Caracalla* to deſtroy *Plautianus*, whoſe haughty behaviour he could no longer brook [b]. Be that as it will, they all agree, that *Plautianus*, coming to the palace of his own accord, or ſent for by the emperor, as *Dion* will have it, and entering the emperor's room, where *Caracalla* then was, in order to clear himſelf from the crime laid to his charge, the young prince ruſhed upon him with a great fury, ſnatched his ſword from his ſide, which he wore as captain of the guards, and ordered thoſe who were preſent to diſpatch him, being prevented by the emperor, who began to relent, from doing it himſelf. His body was caſt into the ſtreet; but ſoon after taken, by the emperor's orders, and interred.

Severus *marries his ſon* Caracalla *to the daughter of* Plautianus.

The emperor orders ſome of his ſtatues to be pulled down.

Caracalla *the occaſion of his ruin.*

He is murdered by his orders.

[t] Herod. l. iii. p. 529. [u] Vit. Sev. p. 63. [w] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 859, 860. Herod. ibid.
[x] Dio, p. 859. [y] Vit. Sev. p. 69. [z] Herod. l. iii. p. 531, 533. [a] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 368.
[b] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 861.

a interred [c]. *Severus* immediately assembled the senate; but without uttering any invectives against *Plautianus*, only bewailed the unhappy lot of mankind, since some loved to excess, and others abused the love that was shewn them. He did not seem to believe, says *Dion Cassius*, that *Plautianus* had ordered the tribune to murder him; but nevertheless prosecuted, and condemned, either to death or banishment, all his friends and creatures. His daughter *Plautilla* and his brother *Plautius* were banished to the island of *Liparis*, where they were murdered by order of *Caracalla*, soon after his accession to the empire [d]. *Herodian* writes, that they were banished to *Sicily*, and there generously supported by *Severus* during his life-time. This year, the 957. of *Rome*, the 204. of the christian æra, and the twelfth of the reign of *Seve-*

b *rus*, were celebrated with extraordinary pomp the secular games [e].

The next consuls were the emperor's two sons, *Caracalla*, the second time, and *Geta*, the first. During their administration, *Severus* continued either at *Rome* or in the neighbourhood, and applied himself wholly to the administration of justice, which he did with great impartiality, following therein the advice of the celebrated civilian *Papinianus*, whom he appointed captain of the guards; for at this time the chief province of that officer was to to decide law-suits with the emperor, or in his name. *Papinianus*, in the the discharge of this important office, employed as his counsellors *Paulus* and *Ulpianus*, two men eminently accomplished in the knowledge of the laws. As the empire now enjoyed a profound peace, *Severus* was at leisure to reform many

c abuses; which he did accordingly: but is blamed by most of the ancients on account of his excessive severity, especially by the emperor *Julian*, who thinks his cruel inflexibility, as he styles it, his greatest fault [g]; for he never pardoned the least transgression. He enacted several laws, which are mightily cried up, by the writers of those times, as equally just and necessary. Many of them are still extant in the *Code*. He allowed no power to his freed-men; nor would he suffer the senate to distinguish them with any honours. He chose for governors of the provinces men of unblemished characters, and was always ready to hear with great patience the complaints of his people. No prince ever managed the public money more frugally; and by that means he left the exchequer excceeding rich at his death, though he had found it quite empty, and had been engaged in several expensive wars. When he died, corn was

d found in the public granaries sufficient to supply the city for seven years, and oil in the store-houses, which he built at a vast charge, for the consumption of five years, reckoning not only the city of *Rome*, but all the places in *Italy* that produced no oil. He even left wherewithal to supply for ever the indigent people of *Rome* with a certain quantity of oil every day, which was in part to be sent yearly by the inhabitants of *Libya Tripolitana*, who of their own accord submitted to that burden out of regard to *Severus*, who was of the same province, and had obliged them, by utterly extirpating a neighbouring nation, that often invaded their country and laid waste their fields [h]. But this contribution proving in process of time very burdensome to them, *Constantine* remitted it. *Severus* repaired most of the public edifices of *Rome*, and

e raised an incredible number of new ones in *Rome*, in *Antioch*, in *Alexandria*, in *Byzantium*, and in most of the great cities of the empire. The following year, when *Numius Albinus* and *Fulvius Æmilianus* were consuls, was remarkable for the death of many illustrious senators, inhumanly massacred by the emperor's orders. Among these were *Quintillus Plautianus* and *Apronianus*, both persons of unblemished characters and of great authority in the senate, but hated by the emperor on account of their illustrious birth and extraordinary accomplishments. They were both accused of having consulted the astrologers about the death of *Severus* and their own fate, and condemned, without so much as being heard. *Bæbius Marcellinus*, another senator of great distinction, was condemned by the senate, and that instant hurried to

f execution, upon the deposition of a single evidence, who charged him with having listened while *Apronianus* was consulting the astrologer. The evidence had been suborned by *Pollenius Sebennus*, who was himself soon after condemned at the suit of the people of *Noricum*, whom he had tyrannically oppressed, while he governed that province [i]. The following year, when *Aper* and *Maximus* were consuls, the northern inhabitants of *Britain* invaded the *Roman* territories, and, putting to flight the legions that guarded them, committed every-where most dreadful ravages. *Virius Lupus*, then

Papinianus *made captain of the guards.*

Severus *reforms several abuses, enacts good laws, &c.*

Several senators put to death.

The Britons *revolt.*

[c] Idem ibid. Herod. p. 534. [d] Dio, p. 862. [e] Herod. l. iii. p. 535. [f] Censor. c. 17. Zos. l. ii. p. 669. [g] Jul. Cæs. p. 14. Vit. Sev. p. 71. [h] Vit. Sev. p. 67. Dio, p. 869. [i] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 741, &c.

governor, or, as *Ulpian* calls him, president of *Britain*, not thinking himself in a condition a
to withstand the enemy, retired before them, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs in that province; who, apprehending that the whole island, unless awed by a powerful army, would soon revolt and shake off the yoke, resolved to go thither in person; and accordingly, having made the necessary preparations for this expedition, he set out for *Britain* the ensuing year, while his two sons were consuls, *Caracalla*, the third time, and *Geta*, the second. Before he left *Rome*, he invested his son *Geta* with the tribunitial power, and conferred upon him the title of *Augustus*, which he had bestowed three years before on his eldest son *Caracalla*; so that there were now three *Augustuses* at a time, which had never happened before. The emperor took both his sons with him, being glad of that opportunity to remove b
them from *Rome*, where they abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery, and to inure them to the toils and fatigues of war. The *Britons* were no sooner informed of his arrival in their island, than, dreading his power, they sent embassadors to him, offering to submit upon honourable terms. *Severus* detained the embassadors till he was ready to take the field, and then dismissed them, without granting them their request. He past the first winter, it seems, in the southern parts of *Britain*, whence he marched early in the spring of the ensuing year, when *Pompeianus* and *Avitus* were consuls, against the *Mæatæ*, who bordered on the *Roman* dominions, and the *Caledonians*, who dwelt more to the north. No battle was fought in this expedition; but nevertheless, what by the enemy's ambuscades, what by the hardships the *Roman* c
soldiers underwent, and the toils they endured in cutting down woods, building bridges, and drying marshy grounds, fifty thousand of them are said to have perished [k]. *Herodian* writes, that the *Caledonians* incessantly harassed the army on their march, attacked them unexpectedly, cut many thousands of them in pieces, and then retired into their fens and woods, whither the *Romans* could not follow them [l]. The emperor, though stricken in years and troubled with the gout, pursued his painful march, surmounting with great chearfulness all difficulties, till he reached the most distant and northern coasts of the island, laying the country waste far and wide, and putting all to fire and sword; insomuch, that the *Caledonians* were in the end obliged to purchase a place, by yielding to the *Romans* part of their country, and delivering up their arms. *Dion Cassius* adds, that *Severus*, during his stay d
in the most northern parts of *Britain*, observed with great exactness the length of the days and nights, of the summer and winter [m]; which he could not do, without continuing there, that is, in the north of *Scotland*, at least six months. Having thus concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, he returned to the southern parts of *Britain*, where he had left his son *Geta* to administer justice during his absence. For this expedition he was honoured by the senate with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his two sons with that of *Britannicus* [n].

Severus spent great part of the following year, when *Man. Acilius Faustinus* and *Trarinus Rufinus* were consuls, in building a wall in *Britain* from sea to sea, to secure his conquests, and part the *Roman* territories from those of the more northern *Britons* not subject to *Rome*. No mention of this wall is made either by *Dion Cassius* or *Herodian*, who lived at that time, and give us a very particular account of the exploits of *Severus* in *Britain*. However, *Spartian* speaks of it, and calls it the chief ornament of *Severus*'s reign; nay, he pretends, that on account of this wall he was honoured by the senate with the title of *Britannicus* [o]. There is a great disagreement among authors, both as to the nature of this work and its situation. Some writers take it to have been a wall, and others only a ditch, fortified on the *Roman* side with a rampart and palisades. *Spartian* styles it a wall or ditch [p]. *Orosius* supposes it to have been a ditch defended by a rampart and a great number of towers at a small distance from each other [q]. *Beda* thinks it was a wall, built not with stone, but turf, f
and supported by a rampart and sharp stakes driven deep into the ground [r]. The same writer is of opinion, that it was raised by *Severus* in the same place where a new wall was built by the *Romans* about the middle of the fifth century, when they intirely abandoned the island; that is, so far as we can judge from the context, on the isthmus, which he described before, between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* [s]. *Buchanan* likewise places this wall on the same isthmus [t]; and adds, that, in his time, some remains of

Geta *invested with the tribunitial power and declared* Augustus.

Severus's *expedition into* Britain.

He over-runs the whole island.

His wall in Britain.

In what place it was built.

[k] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 867. [l] Herod. l. iii. p, 867. [m] Dio, p. 869. [n] Goltz. p. 88. P. Pagi, p. 207. [o] Vit. Sev. p. 71. [p] Idem, p. 73. [q] Oros. l. vii. c. 17. [r] Bed. hist. Ang. l. i. c. 5. [s] Idem ibid. c. 12. [t] Buchan. rer. Scot. l. i. p. 16. l. iv. p. 116, & l. v. p. 135.

a of it were ſtill to be ſeen. On the other hand, *Camden* maintains *Severus*'s wall to have ſtood a great way more to the ſouth, that is, between the mouth of the *Tyne* and *Solway frith*. The learned *Uſher* is of the ſame opinion, and alledges very ſtrong reaſons to ſupport it [w]. However, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that *Severus*, after having marched from one end of the iſland to the other, and obliged the enemies of *Rome* to yield to him part of their country, ſhould have abandoned to them a conſiderable portion of the *Roman* dominions, *viz.* the countries lying between *Northumberland* or *Cumberland* and the friths of the *Forth* and *Clyde*. For that theſe countries belonged to the *Romans* before *Severus*'s time, *Uſher* himſelf owns and maintains [x], that *Antoninus* built his wall on the above-mentioned iſthmus. We do

b not find, that the northern *Britons* ſeized any part of the *Roman* dominions in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, nor in that of *Commodus*; for though they paſſed the wall in the time of *Commodus*, yet they were driven back by *Ulpius Marcellus*, and reſtrained within their ancient bounds, that is, according to *Uſher*, within the two above-mentioned friths. Is it therefore probable, that *Severus* thus curtailed the *Roman* empire, and abandoned to the barbarians, as they are called by the *Roman* writers, ſuch an extenſive country, after having, at immenſe charge and with the loſs of fifty thouſand men, obliged them to yield part of theirs? Beſides, *Spartian* tells us, in expreſs words, that *Severus*'s wall reached from ſea to ſea; and *Eutropius*, that it was but thirty-two miles in length [y]; which proves, that it ſtood on the above-

c mentioned iſthmus, and could ſtand in no other part of the whole iſland. *Severus*, having ended his wall, retired with his army to *Eboracum*, now *York*, where he was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper, occaſioned, as was believed, by his grief and affliction for the wicked life of his eldeſt ſon, who, notwithſtanding the extraordinary affection *Severus* had ever ſhewn him, had, during the late expedition, with a boldneſs hardly to be matched, attempted to murder him in the ſight of the whole army. For while the emperor, at the head of his troops in battle array, was con-

Caracalla attempts to murder his father.

cluding a treaty with the *Britons* and receiving their arms, *Caracalla*, who ſtood

d behind him, drawing unexpectedly his ſword, in the ſight both of the *Roman* and *Britiſh* army, advanced to ſtab him, and would have put his wicked deſign in execution, had he not been deterred from it by the outcries of thoſe who ſtood next to the emperor. *Severus*, turning about that inſtant, ſaw his ſon with a naked ſword in his hand; but, without betraying the leaſt ſurprize, or uttering a ſingle word, purſued the buſineſs in hand, received the arms of the *Britons*, and ſigned the treaty. When he returned to his tent, he ſent for his ſon; and, in the preſence of *Papinianus*, captain of the guards, and *Caſtor*, his chief chamberlain, firſt reproached him with his black and wicked attempt; then offering him a drawn ſword, "If your ambi-

e "tion to reign alone prompts you, ſaid he, to imbrue your hands in the blood of "your father, execute your impious purpoſe rather in this place, than in the ſight "of the whole world, and in the preſence both of our friends and enemies: if you "are not yet abandoned to ſuch a degree as to murder your father with your own "hand, order *Papinianus* to commit the parricide: you are emperor; he muſt "obey you." We do not find, that *Caracalla* was touched with remorſe, or anyways affected, by this ſpeech.

The Mæatæ *and* Caledonians *revolt.*

THE following year, when *Gentianus* and *Baſſus* were conſuls, the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians*, underſtanding that the emperor was indiſpoſed and not in a condition to take the field, without any regard to the late treaty, flew to arms; and aſſembling their forces, attempted to paſs the new wall, and invade the *Roman* dominions; which ſo provoked *Severus*, that he ordered *Caracalla* to lead the whole army againſt the enemy, and, entering their country anew, to put all he met to the ſword, with-

f out diſtinction of ſex or age. The young prince, ſeeing himſelf, contrary to his expectation, intruſted with ſo great a command, made it his whole ſtudy to debauch the officers and ſoldiers, with a deſign to depoſe his father. Many tribunes and centurions, hearkening to him, publicly declared, before the army ſet out from *York*, that they would no longer obey an old man, worn out with infirmities, lame, and diſabled by the gout from marching at their head, and diſcharging the duties of an emperor. Theſe ſpeeches were ſoon carried to *Severus*, who, immediately ſummoning the army to aſſemble, cauſed himſelf to be taken up, and placed upon his tribunitial;

Caracalla attempts to depoſe his father.

[w] USH. Britan. eccleſ. antiquit. p. 606.
[x] Idem ibid. p. 1024.
[y] EUTROH. l. viii. c. 10.
[z] DIO, p. 868.

tribunal; whence, in moſt bitter terms, he reproached with folly, ingratitude, and a treachery, ſuch of the officers as had ſeconded the wicked attempts of his ſon; ordered them all to be beheaded that inſtant in his preſence; and then, addreſſing himſelf to the army, ſtruck with terror and diſmay at the ſight of ſo many executions, aſked them with an imperious and majeſtic air, whether they were yet ſatisfied, that the head ruled, and not the feet [a]? Some writers tell us, that he would at the ſame time have put his ſon to death, had he not been diverted from it by the captains of the guards [b]; others, on the contrary, ſay, that the captains of the guards adviſed him to deliver himſelf, by the death of his unnatural ſon, from the dangers that threatened him, but that he could not by any means prevail upon himſelf to follow their advice [c]. After this, his diſtemper being greatly increaſed by the b uneaſineſs of his mind, he was ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity; when he ſent for his two ſons, cauſed the ſpeech to *Micipſa* to his children, in *Salluſt*, to be read to them, exhorted them to concord and unity, and recommended to them this tyrannical maxim; to inrich the ſoldiers, and gain their affections, without caring whether they were beloved or hated by the reſt of their ſubjects [d]. When he found his end approaching, he cried out, *I have been every thing, and every thing is nothing* [e]. Then ordering the urn to be brought to him, in which his aſhes were to be incloſed, on ſeeing it, *Little urn*, ſaid he, *you ſhall contain one, for whom the whole world was too little* [f]. Before he expired, he ordered the golden ſtatue of *Fortune*, which always ſtood in the emperor's room, to be carried into the rooms, firſt of his eldeſt, and c then of his youngeſt, ſon [g]. As his pains increaſed, eſpecially in his feet, he called for poiſon; but no one daring to adminiſter it to him, he is ſaid to have glutted himſelf with coarſe meats, which ſoon put an end to his life [h]. He died at *York* on the fourth of *February* of the year 211. after having lived, according to *Dion Caſſius* [i], ſixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, and reigned ſeventeen years, eight months, and three days. His body was burnt at *York* with great ſolemnity, and his aſhes conveyed by his two ſons to *Rome*, in a golden urn, or, as others will have it, in an urn of porphyry. It was received in all the provinces with extraordinary pomp, and depoſited at *Rome* in the ſtately mauſoleum of the emperor *Adrian*. He was ſoon after ranked among the gods, with the uſual ceremonies, d

Severus *dies.*

His character. deſcribed at length by *Herodian* [k]. *Severus* was, without all doubt, a perſon of moſt extraordinary parts; but all his good qualities were quite eclipſed by his exceſſive cruelty and inſatiable avarice. Some writers endeavour to excuſe his cruelty, which they ſoften with the name of ſeverity, and pretend, that, without violent remedies, the many evils that had long prevailed in the ſtate could never have been rooted out. It was ſaid of him, if *Spartian* is to be credited, as it had been formerly ſaid of *Auguſtus*, *That he ought never to have been born, or never to have died.* He was, according to the ſame writer, greatly eſteemed, nay, and generally loved after his death, when no one dreaded his cruelty, and all felt the effects of his excellent regulations [l]. *Galen* tells us, that his greateſt pleaſure was to do good to all; and adds, that he kept conſtantly by him a great ſtore of treacle, and other expenſive remedies, to relieve ſuch as wanted them; by which means he ſaved the lives of many perſons, namely, of *Antipater*, his *Greek* ſecretary; of the ſon of *Piſo*, to whom *Galen* inſcribed his treatiſe on treacle; and of a lady of diſtinction, named *Arria*, for whom *Severus* had a particular value, becauſe ſhe applied herſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and the reading of *Plato* [m]. But after all, the moſt we can ſay in his commendation is, that *Severus* deſerves to be ranked among the great, but not among the good, princes. Of the writers, who flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall give an account in our note (N).

Severus

[a] Vit. Sev. p. 71. Aur. Vict. [b] Vit. Caracall. p. 89. [c] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 868. [d] Dio, p. 868. [e] Vit. Sev. p. 73. [f] Dio, p. 869. [g] Vit. Sev. p. 74. [h] Vict. epit. [i] Dio, ibid. [k] Herod. l. iv. p. 540. [l] Vit. Sev. p. 71. [m] Gal. de ther. l. ii. p. 457, 458.

(N) Among the writers who flouriſhed at this time, we may reckon the emperor himſelf; for he wrote the hiſtory of his own life, which was a kind of apology for his great ſeverity. *Spartian* commends it as a ſincere and impartial account of the tranſactions of his reign (59); and *Victor* ſpeaks of it as an elegant and judicious performance. It has been long ſince loſt. The ſophiſt *Antipater*, a native of *Hierapolis* in *Aſia*, wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of *Severus*'s reign, and was for that work firſt appointed the emperor's *Greek* ſecretary, afterwards charged with the care of educating his two ſons, *Caracalla*

(59) *Vit. Sev. p.* 65.

Severus was ſucceeded by his two ſons *Baſſianus* and *Geta*, whom he had inveſted with the ſovereign power, during his life-time, and by his laſt will appointed to reign jointly after his death. The former, commonly known by the nickname of *Caracalla*, a *Gauliſh* word for a kind of caſſock uſed in *Gaul*, and by him firſt introduced among the *Romans*, gave, from his infancy, many inſtances of an extraordinary ſweet and mild temper; but, as he grew up, abandoned himſelf to all manner of cruelty, and proved in the end a moſt inhuman and bloody tyrant; whereas the latter, who in his tender years ſeemed no leſs void of humanity than his father, changed,

Is ſucceeded by his ſons Caracalla *and* Geta.

Their different tempers.

and *Geta*; then honoured with the conſulſhip; and laſtly, preferred to the government of *Bithynia*; from which employment he was ſoon removed, on account of his exceſſive cruelty (60). His hiſtory has not reached our times. *Galen*, the prince of phyſicians, was ſtill alive in *Severus*'s time; for he lived, according to *Suidas*, ſeventy years (61). He was a native of *Pergamus*, and the ſon of one *Nico*, a celebrated architect and geometrician. He was likewiſe well verſed in the other branches of mathematics, and pretended to underſtand and teach the *Greek* tongue in its greateſt purity. His ſon *Claudius Galenus* was born in the year 131. the fifteen of *Adrian*'s reign, as appears from F. *Labbe*, who collected out of *Galen*'s works, and publiſhed in 1660. all the paſſages in which that writer makes any mention of himſelf (62). He came to *Rome*, while *L. Verus* was making war upon the *Parthians* in the eaſt, being at that time thirty-two or thirty-three years old (63). He ſtaid in *Rome* about three years, and then returned to his own country; whence, three or four years after, he was invited into *Italy* by *M. Aurelius*, that is, about the end of the year 169. He refuſed to attend that prince into *Germany*, and continued as *Rome*, where he is ſuppoſed to have ſpent the remaining part of his life. He left behind him a great many works on different ſubjects, *viz.* on phyſic, rhetoric, philoſophy, and ſome grammatical pieces (64). *Jonſſius* takes the treatiſe on *treacle* not to be his, becauſe he does not mention it among his other works (65). The ſame writer maintains *the hiſtory of the philoſophers*, aſcribed to *Galen*, to be nothing elſe but the five books of *Plutarch* upon *the opinions of philoſophers* (66). Some find fault with *Galen* for crying down all thoſe of his profeſſion, who in his time were in any repute at *Rome* (67). *Diogenes Laertius*, the author of the lives of the philoſophers compriſed in ten books, flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius*, under *Antoninus Pius*; but, according to *Jonſſius*, whoſe conjectures ſeem to us better grounded, under *Severus* (68). He was a native, as *Jonſſius* conjectures, of *Laertes*, a ſmall city of *Cilicia*, and thence took the ſurname of *Laertius*. After he had taken great pains to inform himſelf of the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers, he embraced the worſt of all, that is, the *Epicurean*. His work is greatly eſteemed by the learned, but in many places ſtrangely corrupted. *Caſaubon* aſcribes many of the faults, which are to be found in the work, to the author himſelf, who, according to him, wanted either memory, judgment, or time, to digeſt the materials which he had collected (69). Before he wrote the lives of the philoſophers, he publiſhed a great number of epigrams in all kinds of verſes, which he ſtyled *Pammetra*, that is, all ſorts of meaſures (70). *Neſtor*, a native of *Laranda* in *Lycaonia*, flouriſhed, according to *Suidas* (71), under *Severus*, and wrote ſeveral *Greek* poems. *Piſander*, who, in the reign of the emperor *Alexander*, wrote ſome hiſtories, or rather fables, in *Greek* verſe, was his ſon. *Hermocrates*, the ſophiſt, would have proved the moſt eloquent orator of his age, had he had time to improve his extraordinary talents; but he died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. *Severus* often heard him, and with great pleaſure. The emperor obliged him, while he was in the eaſt, to marry the daughter of the ſophiſt *Antipater*; but he divorced her ſoon after (72). *Julius Titianus*, the father of the orator of the ſame name, who was preceptor to the ſon of *Maximinus*, about the year 235. publiſhed many pieces mightily cried up by the ancients; and, among the reſt, a deſcription of all the provinces of the empire; and a book of letters, in which he imitated the ſtyle of *Cicero*; for he had an extraordinary talent in imitating the different ſtyles of authors, and was thence called *the ape of his time* (73). *C. Julius Solinus*, whoſe deſcription of the earth, under the title of *Polyhiſtor*, has reached us, flouriſhed, according to ſome writers, under *Severus*; but others, with *Voſſius*, are quite at a loſs about the time in which that author wrote. All we know for certain is, that he lived after *Pliny* the elder, and before St. *Jerom*; that is, after the firſt century, and before the end of the fourth (74). *Dodwel* obſerves, that no author quotes him before the fourth century; and concludes, from ſome conjectures, that he flouriſhed after *Cenſorinus*, who wrote in the year 238 (75). His work is, for the moſt part, copied, and not very judiciouſly, from other writers, eſpecially from *Pliny* the elder. Under *Severus* flouriſhed *Philoſtratus*, author of the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*; which work he undertook at the requeſt of the empreſs *Julia*, the wife of *Severus*. *Photius* commends the elegance and ſoftneſs of his ſtyle; but thinks his conſtruction not always agreeable to the rules of grammar (76). We have ſhewn, in the foregoing volume, how little credit his life of *Apollonius* deſerves (77). In that hiſtory he promiſes to clear his hero in another work, from the aſperſions of the philoſopher *Euphrates* (78). But, if he was as good as his word, that performance has not reached us. He was, according to *Euſebius*, a native of *Athens*, and the ſon of *Philoſtratus Verus*, who publiſhed a great many works, and, among the reſt, one againſt the ſophiſt *Antipater* (79). Beſides the life of *Apollonius*, *Philoſtratus* wrote four books of pictures, or deſcriptions, a treatiſe on heroes, letters on friendſhip, and the lives of the ſophiſts in four books. All theſe works have reached our times. Under *Severus* lived two other writers of the ſame name, *viz. Philoſtratus*, the ſon of *Nervianus*, to whom ſome writers aſcribe the lives of the ſophiſts; and *Philoſtratus*, a native of *Lemnos*, who wrote ſome deſcriptions; of theſe, the former was great nephew, and the latter grandſon by the mother, to the author of the life of *Apollonius* (80).

(60) *Herod. l.* ii. *p.* 514. *Philoſtr. ſoph.* 50. *Galen. ther. t.* ii. *p.* 458. (61) *Suid. p.* 590. (62) *Gal. vit. Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 11. (63) *Gal. prog. c.* 3. (64) *Suid. ibid.* (65) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 12. (66) *Idem ibid.* (67) *Vide Salmaſ. not. in Spart. p.* 732. (68) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 12. (69) *Diog. Laert. not. Caſaub. p.* 18. (70) *Hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 13. (71) *Suid. p.* 211. (72) *Philoſtr. ſoph.* 51. (73) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 1. (74) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* iii. *p.* 720, 721. (75) *Dod. append. ad diſſert. Cyprian. c.* 15. (76) *Phot. c.* 44. (77) *Hiſt. Univerſ. vol.* V. *p.* 691, *&c.* (78) *Philoſ. vit. Apoll. l.* i. *c.* 10. (79) *Euſeb. in Hier. p.* 435. (80) *Vide Caſaub. in Spart. p.* 30.

changed, we may ſay, by degrees, his temper, and became, in regard of his affa- a
bility, moderation, and complaiſance towards all, the darling both of the people and ſoldiery. They ſhewed, from their childhood, an utter averſion to each other, and were continually quarrelling, even in their common ſports and diverſions. This natural antipathy increaſed as they grew in years, notwithſtanding all the intreaties, rebukes, and exhortations, both of their father and their preceptor *Antipater*, who were continually laying before them the many evils that muſt neceſſarily attend the diviſion and diſagreement of brothers. But all to no purpoſe; for *Severus* no ſooner expired, than *Caracalla* ſtrove to have his brother excluded by the officers of the army from any ſhare in the ſovereignty; but the ſoldiers proteſting, that they would equally obey both the ſons of *Severus*, ſince he had appointed both to ſucceed him, b
he was forced to acknowledge his brother partner in the empire, and ſuffer the ſoldiers to take the uſual oath of allegiance to both. After this, *Caracalla* led his army towards the borders of the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians*, who had begun hoſtilities anew; but inſtead of attacking thoſe warlike nations, he concluded a treaty with them, withdrew his men from the forts erected in their country, and reſtored to them the lands, which *Severus* had obliged them to yield to him [n]. Before he left *Britain*, he diſcharged *Papinian*, captain of the guards; cauſed *Caſtor*, his father's chamberlain and chief favourite, to be put to death, together with *Evodius*, another of the deceaſed emperor's freed-men, and formerly his own preceptor; and diſpatched aſſaſſins into *Italy* to murder *Plautilla*, who had been his wife, *Plautius* her brother, c
and a celebrated charioteer of the faction in the circus oppoſite to that which he favoured [o]. *Herodian* tells us, that, before he left *Britain*, he diſpatched, under various pretences, the phyſicians who had refuſed to poiſon his father, and all the deceaſed emperor's friends, eſpecially ſuch as endeavoured to promote a good underſtanding between him and his brother [p]. Such was the beginning of the reign of *Caracalla*. The two brothers left *Britain* about the middle of the ſummer, and ſet out for *Rome*, with their mother *Julia* and the aſhes of their deceaſed father. *Caracalla* attempted on the road to murder his brother *Geta*; which attempt increaſed their mutual animoſities and jealouſies to ſuch a degree, that thenceforth they both marched with their ſeparate guards, and with no leſs warineſs than if they had been d
in an enemy's country, lodging conſtantly in different houſes, and carefully watching the motions of each other. They were received with great ſolemnity at *Rome*, where they performed with extraordinary pomp the obſequies of their father, and then withdrew to the palace, which they divided into two; for it was larger, if *Herodian* is to be credited, than any city in the whole empire, except *Rome*. This diviſion between the two princes rent the whole city, nay, and the empire, into factions; inſomuch, that, to avoid the many inconveniences and diſorders thence ariſing, a diviſion of the empire was propoſed. To this expedient they both hearkened; *Geta*, who loved a quiet life, declaring, that if *Caracalla* would but yield to him *Aſia* and *Egypt*, he would retire to *Antioch* or *Alexandria*, and leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of e
the reſt of the empire. But this ſcheme was defeated by their mother *Julia*, throwing herſelf at their feet, and begging, with many tears, that they would divide her too between them [q]. Towards the cloſe of this year, *Caracalla* attempted anew to murder his brother, during the feaſt of *Saturn*; which occaſioned almoſt an open war between the two princes, and a great deal of bloodſhed [r].

Caracalla *concludes a ſhameful treaty with the* Britons.

Miſunderſtanding between the two brothers.

The following year, when the two brothers *Julius* and *Caius Aſper* were conſuls, *Caracalla*, unalterably fixed in his wicked purpoſe of deſtroying his brother and ruling alone; but finding him guarded both againſt poiſon and open force, pretended a deſire of being reconciled with him, and, by means of their common mother *Julia*, invited him to an interview in her chamber. *Geta* readily accepted the invitation, f
and repaired, without guards, to the appointed place, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery in a propoſal which came from his mother, who loved him with great tenderneſs. But he had no ſooner entered her chamber, than ſome centurions, whom *Caracalla* had found means to convey privately into an adjoining room, ruſhing in, ſword in hand, fell upon *Geta*, and diſpatched him, with many wounds, in his mother's arms, who, in endeavouring to ſave him, was wounded in the hand [s]. *Caracalla* himſelf ſeems to have imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother; for *Dion Caſſius*

Geta *murdered in the arms of his mother.*

[n] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 882, & ſeq. Carac. & Get. vit. p. 87, & 91. [o] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 870. & l. lxxvi. p. 867. [p] Herod. l. iii. p. 538. [q] Idem, p. 539—543. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 871. [r] Dio, p. 871. [s] Herod. l. iii. p. 543.

a *Caſſius* tells us, that he afterwards conſecrated in the temple of *Serapis* the ſword with which he had murdered him [t]. Such was the end of this unhappy prince, after he had lived twenty-two years and nine months, and reigned, from the death of his father, one year and twenty-three days; for his father died on the fourth of *Febru-ary* of the year 211. and he was killed the year following, on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month [u]. He no ſooner expired, than *Caracalla*, leaving the palace with great haſte and precipitation, flew through the city to the camp of the prætorian guards, pretending great fear and diſmay, and crying out aloud, that his life was in danger; that a bloody conſpiracy had been formed againſt him; that he muſt have fallen a victim to the rage of his enemies, had not his innocence pro-
b tected him. Upon his arrival in the camp, he went ſtrait to the place where the enſigns and banners were kept, which was a kind of temple and aſylum; and there, throwing himſelf upon the ground, returned thanks to the gods for delivering him from ſo great and imminent a danger. To the ſoldiers, who crouded about him, he expreſſed himſelf with the ſame ambiguity; but by degrees let them know, that he was ſole ſovereign, and in a condition to beſtow upon them what wealth and honours he pleaſed; and that they might immediately feel the effects of his genero-ſity, which he ſaid was no longer checked or reſtrained, he doubled their pay, already very high, and added a largeſs of two thouſand five hundred drachmas a man, which he gave them leave to take that inſtant out of the public treaſury. Thus was the
c exchequer, which his father had, by innumerable murders, and unjuſt confiſcations, been filling for the ſpace of eighteen years, emptied in one day. *Caracalla* having, by this extravagant largeſs, ſecured the affections of the ſoldiery, told them in the end, that his brother *Geta* had attempted to murder him, but had loſt his life in the attempt. Hereupon *Caracalla* was ſaluted ſole emperor by the whole army, and the unhappy *Geta* declared a traitor and a public enemy [w]. There was at this time another camp in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, now *Albano*, where the murder of *Geta* was highly reſented; but *Caracalla*, haſtening thither, ſoon appeaſed them, by exaggerating to them the pretended treachery of his brother, and promiſing them an immenſe donative. *Caracalla* paſſed that night in the camp of the prætorian
d guards, and the next day went to the ſenate, with a cuiraſs under his robes, guarded by all his troops, ſome of whom he even placed among the ſenators, to be ready in caſe any of them ſhould attempt to revenge the death of *Geta*. His ſpeech turned upon the wicked deſigns of *Geta*, whom he ſaid he had ſlain unwillingly in his own defence, leſſening the heinouſneſs of his crime by the example of *Romulus* and others, who had revenged with death injuries offered them by their brothers. In withdrawing from the ſenate, he pronounced aloud the following words: "I give leave to all "thoſe who are in baniſhment, to return home; I except none, by what crimes ſoever "they may have deſerved that puniſhment [x]." From the ſenate he returned to the
e palace, leaning upon *Papinian* and *Chilo*; whence he cauſed the body of his deceaſed brother to be with great pomp conveyed to the tomb of the *Septimian* family on the *Appian* way; and when the funeral ceremonies were over, prevailed upon the ſenate to rank him with the uſual ſolemnity among the gods [y]. Finding, upon his return to the palace, his mother *Julia*, bewailing with other women the death of her ſon, tranſported with rage, he was at firſt for putting them all to death; but in the end got the better of his paſſion, and even ſhewed great kindneſs to *Julia*, ordering the ſame honours to be paid to her as to himſelf. *Spartian* and ſome other writers pretend, that ſhe gained his favour by ſacrificing to him what ought to have been dearer to her than her life. But neither *Herodian*, nor *Dion Caſſius*, charge *Julia* or *Caracalla* with any ſuch crime; and thoſe, who do, ſuppoſe *Julia* to have been only
f ſtep-mother to *Caracalla*, which is now by all writers agreed to be a groſs miſtake. We are told, that *Caracalla*, on hearing the name, or beholding the images or ſtatues of *Geta*, uſed to burſt into tears; but this affected grief did not prevent his maſſacring, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or quality, all the friends of *Geta* [z]. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that he began this general maſſacre by ordering all his domeſtics, to the number of twenty thouſand perſons, to be inhumanly butchered. It was death to utter his name; inſomuch, that no one durſt uſe it thenceforth, even on the ſtage, where it was commonly given to ſlaves. He likewiſe ordered all the money with his

Caracalla gains the ſoldiery with an immenſe largeſs.

His ſpeech in the ſenate.

Performs the obſequies of his brother, and cauſes him to be ranked among the gods.

Orders all his friends to be maſſacred.

[t] Dio, p. 880. [u] Vit. Get. p. 91. [w] Dio, p. 872. Herod. l. iv. p. 544. Vit. Get. p. 91. & Carac. p. 86. [x] Vit. Car. p. 86. [y] Car. vit. p 86. & Get. vit. p. 91, 92. [z] Vit. Get. p. 92. Herod. l. iii. p. 546.

his name to be melted down, and the inſcription eraſed. Among many illuſtrious perſons, whom the inhuman tyrant ſacrificed to his rage and jealouſy, as the friends of *Geta*, no one was more univerſally, or more deſervedly, regretted, than the celebrated *Papinian*, the greateſt civilian, in the opinion of *Zoſimus* [a] and *Cujas* [b], that ever was, or ever will be. As *Severus* had recommended chiefly to him his two ſons, he ſpared no pains to reconcile them, and often defeated the wicked attempts of *Caracalla*; on which account he was by him reckoned among the friends of *Geta*. Beſides, the tyrant deſiring him, after the murder of his brother, to compoſe a ſpeech for him, excuſing the crime, which he deſigned to pronounce in the ſenate, *Papinian*, whoſe love for juſtice, to uſe the expreſſion of *Zoſimus*, was equal to his knowledge of it, anſwered with great firmneſs, *It is not ſo eaſy a thing to juſtify a parricide, as to commit it; and it is a ſecond parricide to defame an innocent perſon, after having taken away his life.* The emperor, provoked at this anſwer, ordered his head to be immediately ſtruck off, and likewiſe his ſon's, who was then quæſtor, and had but three days before exhibited moſt magnificent ſports [c]. *L. Fabius Chilo*, another of *Severus*'s great favourites, for whom *Caracalla* himſelf had a particular eſteem, (for he uſed to ſtyle him his true friend, his benefactor, his father) was in the next place doomed to deſtruction, for having, together with *Papinian*, endeavoured by all means to promote union and concord between the two brothers. A tribune was ſent with a band of ſoldiers to ſeize him in his houſe, drag him to the palace, and there butcher him in the preſence of the emperor. But the people, and the city-guards, whom *Chilo* had commanded while governor of *Rome*, moved with compaſſion in ſeeing a perſon of his rank thus ignominiouſly treated by the inſulting ſoldiery, like a common malefactor, reſcued him out of their hands, uttering dreadful menaces againſt the authors of ſuch outrages; which ſo frightened *Caracalla*, that he declared he had given no ſuch orders; and, to appeaſe the multitude, cauſed both the tribune and ſoldiers to be immediately put to death [d]. He ſpared *Chilo*, but vented his rage without controul upon many other illuſtrious perſons, both of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, not ſparing any for whom either his father or brother had ever ſhewn the leaſt kindneſs or eſteem. Among theſe unhappy victims were a daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, whom the other emperors had treated with the utmoſt reſpect, but *Caracalla* ordered to be ſtrangled for ſhedding a few tears, when news was brought her of the death of *Geta*; *Septimius Severus Afer*, the ſon of *Geta*, brother to the late emperor *Severus*, to whom *Caracalla* had ſent the day before a diſh from his own table, as a token of his friendſhip; *Pompeianus*, who had been twice conſul, had commanded armies in ſeveral wars, and was grandſon to the emperor *M. Aurelius*, by the empreſs *Lucilla*; *Helvius Pertinax*, ſon to the emperor of that name, and therefore greatly beloved by the people, and no leſs hated by the jealous tyrant, whom he had likewiſe provoked with a ſatirical jeſt; for when the titles of *Parthicus* and *Sarmaticus* were decreed to him by the ſenate, *Pertinax* moved, that the ſurname of *Geticus* might be added to the other two, alluding not ſo much to the victory which *Caracalla* pretended to have gained over the *Getæ*, as to the murder of his brother *Geta* [e]. Some of *Geta*'s enemies fared no better than his friends; but the death of no man occaſioned greater ſurprize in the city, than that of *Lætus*, one of *Caracalla*'s moſt intimate friends, and the firſt who had adviſed him to diſpatch his brother. He did not even ſpare the veſtal virgins, ſome of whom he ordered to be ſtrangled for having bewailed the death of *Geta*. In ſhort, no ſex, rank, or age, eſcaped his cruelty. The people he loaded with taxes in all the provinces of the empire, and at *Rome* cauſed great numbers of them to be put to death, ſometimes out of revenge, and ſometimes only for his diverſion; for he delighted in nothing ſo much as in feats of cruelty, and in bloodſhed. The people having one day rallied, at the *Circenſian* games, a charioteer whom he favoured, he commanded his guards to ruſh in among the multitude, and put all the delinquents to the ſword; but as the ſoldiers could not in ſo great a croud diſtinguiſh them from the reſt, they fell indifferently upon all, ſword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the diſarmed multitude, ſparing only ſuch as had money enough about them to redeem their lives [f]. No prince ever employed more iniquitous means of raiſing money than *Caracalla*, or ſquandered it away with more prodigality. He often

The death of Papinian.

Many illuſtrious perſons inhumanly maſſacred.

The cruelty of Caracalla.

[a] Zos. l. i. p. 637. [b] Cuj. in cod. Theod. [c] Vit. Car. p. 88. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 742. [d] Vit. Car. p. 86. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 872. [e] Vit. Car. p. 87. [f] Herod. l. iv. p. 546.

a often uſed to ſay, that money ought not to be lodged in private hands, but only in the prince's. Purſuant to his maxim, he impoveriſhed his ſubjects in all the provinces of the empire, loading them with exceſſive impoſts and taxes; for which, as well as for his extravagant expences, when his mother took the liberty to blame him, he, like a true tyrant, ſhewed her his naked ſword, ſaying, *As long as I have this, I ſhall never want.* However, he gave away ſuch immenſe ſums, moſtly to perſons who leaſt of all deſerved them, *viz.* to his guards, buffoons, players, gladiators, charioteers, freed-men, *&c.* that he was in the end obliged to coin falſe money, which he ſpent at home, while he employed what true gold and ſilver he could extort from his ſubjects in keeping the barbarians quiet, who were conſtantly threat-

b ening him with war [g]. He ſhewed on all occaſions the utmoſt contempt for the ſenate, intirely neglected the adminiſtration of juſtice, took no care of the provinces, and raiſed to the higheſt employments the meaneſt, and in every reſpect the moſt infamous and unworthy, perſons of the empire. Thus he gave the government of *Rome* to an eunuch, named *Sempronius*, who was by birth an *Iberian*, by profeſſion a poiſoner and magician, who had been baniſhed by his father *Severus*, and confined to a deſert iſland. He appointed one *Theocritus* captain of the guards, who had been firſt a ſlave, and afterwards a dancing-maſter and ſtage-player. One *Epagathus*, another manumitted ſlave, bore likewiſe great ſway at court, and with the other two ruled and controuled both the empire and the emperor, ſetting all things to

c ſale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men, both innocent and guilty [h]. *Caracalla* was author of the famous law declaring all the free ſubjects of the empire *Roman* citizens. This conſtitution is commonly aſcribed to *M. Aurelius*; but that it was publiſhed not by that prince, but by *Caracalla*, we are told in expreſs terms by *Dion Caſſius* [i], whoſe authority is of far greater weight with us, than that of *Aurelius Victor*, who was, as we conjecture, led into that miſtake by the words of *Ulpian*, aſcribing the above-mentioned law to *Antoninus* [k], though from the context it is manifeſt, that *Uplian* ſpeaks in that place of *Antoninus Caracalla*, and not of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. St. *Chryſoſtom*, whom ſome writers have followed, ſuppoſes *Adrian* to have been the author of this law [l]. Though the name

d and privileges of *Roman* citizens were by this conſtitution made common to all the ſubjects of the empire, yet the ancient diſtinction of *colonies*, of *Latin*, *municipal*, and *free* cities, ſubſiſted long after, as appears from the *Theodoſian* code [m] and *digeſts* [n]. But to clear up this difficulty, which has puzzled the beſt civilians, is not the province of an hiſtorian.

Caracalla, finding himſelf generally hated at *Rome*, on account of his cruelties, reſolved to leave the city, and viſit, after the example of *Adrian*, all the provinces of the empire. Purſuant to this reſolution, having in the third year of his reign taken upon him his fourth conſulſhip, and named *Decius Cælius Balbinus*, afterwards emperor, for his collegue, he ſet out for *Gaul*, where he cauſed the proconſul of the

e province of *Narbonne* to be put to death, and made ſuch havock of the people, that he was more hated and abhorred there, than he had ever been at *Rome*. He did not even ſpare the phyſicians, who had taken care of him during a dangerous malady, with which he was ſeized; but, upon his recovery, cauſed them to be put to death [o]. In the beginning of the following year, when *Meſſala* and *Sabinus* were conſuls, he returned to *Rome*, bringing with him an incredible quantity of habits made after the *Gauliſh* faſhion, which he wore himſelf, diſtributed among the people, and would ſuffer none to wait upon him but in that dreſs. From this habit the emperor was nicknamed *Caracalla*, or *Caracallus*, for ſuch was its *Gauliſh* name [p]. Hence *Scaliger* derives, how rightly we leave the reader to judge, the word *caſſock*, the *caracalla* being a kind of caſſock. At *Rome* it was called *Antoniniane* from *Antoninus*, which was one of the emperor's name. His ſtay at *Rome* was very ſhort; for this very year the *Catti*, the *Alemanni*, whom we find now mentioned for the firſt time in hiſtory, and ſeveral other *German* nations, taking up arms, began to make inroads into the *Roman* dominions. The *Alemanni* inhabited at this time the preſent duchy of *Virtemberg*, and were, as appears from their name, a mixed multitude of all the neighbouring

Loads his ſubjects with taxes.

Is controuled by his freedmen.

Declares all the ſubjects of the empire Roman *citizens.*

His cruelties in Gaul.

Whence the name of Caracalla.

[g] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 758. & l. lxxvii. p. 875. [h] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 877. [i] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 755. [k] Digeſt. 1. t. 5. l. xvii. [l] Chrys. in act. apoſt. hom. xlviii. [m] Cod. Th. 2. t. 21. p. 189, 190. l. iv. t. 9. l. iii. p. 370. [n] Digeſt. 50. t. 15. l. i. p. 1921. & l. viii. p. 1923. [o] Vit. Car. p. 87. [p] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 890. Spartian. p. 72. Euseb. chron. p. 230.

bouring nations [q]. They had entered into an alliance with the *Catti*, whom we a
have frequently mentioned in the foregoing reigns, and made daily incurſions into
His expedition againſt the Catti *and* Alemanni. the *Roman* territories. *Caracalla* therefore marched againſt them, but in that expedition approved himſelf a better ſoldier than commander. For though he behaved with great courage, and even challenged the braveſt of the enemy to a ſingle combat; yet, for want of conduct, he was obliged to purchaſe a peace with vaſt ſums, and the liberty of retiring with ſafety into the *Roman* dominions [r]. Having aſked ſome women, whom he had taken in the countries of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, which they choſe, to be ſold for ſlaves or put to death, they all preferred death to ſlavery. The emperor nevertheleſs ordered them to be ſold; but they all laid violent hands on themſelves, and ſome of them after having put to death their children [s]. It was b
no ſooner known in *Germany*, that he had bought a peace of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, than all the nations inhabiting that extenſive country flew to arms, threatening him with deſtructive war, unleſs with them too he ſhared his treaſures; which he did accordingly, paying them yearly penſions, and by that means reducing himſelf to ſuch ſtreights, that he was obliged, as we have hinted above, to coin falſe money. When he received the deputies of the barbarians, he ſuffered no one to be preſent except the interpreters, whom he cauſed to be immediately put to death, leſt they ſhould divulge what had paſſed. However, the barbarians themſelves, when he was murdered, owned, that he had encouraged them to invade *Italy*, in caſe any misfortune ſhould befal him, and to march ſtrait to *Rome*, which, he ſaid, they might take c
with great eaſe [t]. During his ſtay in *Germany*, he cauſed *Gaiobamarus*, king of the *Quadi*; to be treacherouſly murdered; and having ordered all the youth of *Noricum* to take arms and join him, he commanded his troops, on what provocation we know not, to put them all to the ſword [u]. For his pretended victories over the *Alemanni*, he took the title of *Germanicus* and *Alemannicus* [w].

The following year, when *Lætus* was conſul, the ſecond time, with *Cerealis*, *Caracalla*, leaving *Germany*, led his army into *Dacia*, where he gained ſome ſmall advantages over the *Getæ*, and then purſued his march through *Thrace* to the *Helleſpont*,
He paſſes over into Aſia. which he croſſed, not without danger of being ſhipwrecked; and arriving in *Aſia*, haſtened to *Pergamus*, hoping to be delivered by the god *Æſculapius*, worſhipped d
in that city, from all the maladies, ſays *Herodian*, both of his body and mind; but the god, continues that hiſtorian, was deaf to his prayers; ſo that he left *Pergamus*, after having enriched it with many privileges, as if he deſigned to bribe the deity, and purſued his journey to *Ilium*, where he viewed the remains of ancient *Troy*, and viſited the tomb of *Achilles*, paying extraordinary honours to the memory of that hero, though an implacable enemy to the *Trojans*, from whom the *Romans* pretended to derive their origin. From *Ilium* he went to *Nicomedia*, where he ſpent the winter. In that city he invited *Dion Caſſius* to ſup with him, during the feaſt of *Saturn*; for he obliged moſt of the ſenators to attend him in all his journies, to defray his tra- e
velling charges, and to build in the cities, where he paſſed the winter, theatres, circuſes, and amphitheatres, for public ſports [x]. Hiſtorians obſerve, that, to gain
His levity. the affections of the foreign nations, he dreſſed after the manner of the countries through which he paſſed: thus in *Germany* he aſſumed the *German* habit, and choſe ſuch of the *German* ſoldiers as were moſt ſtrong and active for his guard. When he entered *Macedon*, from a *German* he became a *Macedonian* in habit and behaviour. For pretending to be a great admirer of *Alexander*, he adopted, not only the habit in which that conqueror was repreſented, but his air and mien, affecting an awful and threatening countenance, and bending his head ſomewhat to one ſide. He ordered ſeveral ſtatues to be ſet up in *Rome* to the honour of that hero; and among the reſt, ſome with two faces, one reſembling *Alexander*, and the other himſelf. He ordered himſelf to be ſtiled *Alexander*, and *Antoninus the Great*, called a ſquadron of his army a *phalanx*, and gave to his officers the names of the commanders of *Alexander*. He had no ſooner entered *Aſia*, than he forgot *Alexander*, and ſtudied in all things to reſemble *Achilles*, whoſe tomb he had viſited. Thus he travelled, more like a player than an emperor, being the laughing ſtock of other nations, and the ſhame and diſgrace of his own. The following year, when *C. Atius Sabinus* was conſul, the ſecond time, with *Cornelius Anullinus*, *Caracalla*, leaving *Nicomedia* after the

[q] Vide Vorburg. hiſt. Rom. Ger. p. 473. & Buch. Belg. l. vi. c. 7. [p] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 876.
[s] Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 749, 750. [t] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 891. [u] Idem in except. Val. p. 749, & 754. [w] Car. vit. p. 89. Goltz. p. 93. Birag. p. 293. [x] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884.

the fourth of *April*, (for he celebrated his birth-day there) croſſed *Bithynia*, *Aſia*, and
the other provinces, on his journey to *Antioch*, in which city he was received with
extraordinary pomp. During his ſtay there, he wrote to the ſenate, that he was well
appriſed they did not approve of his conduct; but ſo long as he had an army at his
command, he neither valued their reproaches, nor feared their hatred [y]. He was
very deſirous of picking a quarrel with the *Parthians*, who were involved in a civil
war, occaſioned by the ambition of the two ſons of the late king *Vologeſes*; but they
complying with all his demands, he poſtponed his intended expedition againſt them,
and bent his mind on the reduction of *Oſrhoene* and *Armenia*, though the kings of theſe
two countries lived in perfect amity with the *Romans*. However, *Caracalla*, having
b invited them to *Antioch*, as friends and allies of the *Roman* people, cauſed them to
be arreſted there, and impriſoned, without the leaſt colour or pretence for ſo doing.
Hereupon *Oſrhoene* immediately ſubmitted, and was, according to ſome writers,
reduced to a *Roman* province; though others maintain, that it was long after governed
by its own princes [z]. All we know for certain is, that *Caracalla* eſtabliſhed a *Roman*
colony at *Edeſſa*, the capital of *Oſrhoene* [a], and that, in the fourth century, the whole
country was ſubject to the *Romans*. The *Armenians*, notwithſtanding the captivity
of their king, made a vigorous reſiſtance; gave a total overthrow to *Theocritus* the
comedian, who was ſent againſt them at the head of a numerous army; baffled all
the efforts of *Caracalla*; and maintained themſelves in poſſeſſion of their ancient liber-
c ties [b]. From *Antioch* the emperor proceeded to *Alexandria*, where he made a dread-
ful havock of the inhabitants, being highly provoked againſt them for the many
lampoons, which, agreeable to their ſatirical humour, they had publiſhed on occa-
ſion of the death of *Geta*. He gave private orders to his numerous troops, who were
diſperſed all over the city, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time, to enter
and pillage their houſes, and put all to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or
condition. His cruel orders were executed with ſuch barbarity, as can hardly be
expreſſed; the whole city floated in blood; every houſe was filled with carcaſſes;
and the return of the day diſcovered in every ſtreet the ſad monuments of the mighty
butchery: but the tyrant, not yet ſatiated with blood, commanded the ſlaughter to
d be continued all the day following, that he might have the pleaſure of beholding it
from the temple of *Serapis*, where he had paſſed the preceding night, imploring,
during the general maſſacre, the protection of that deity. When the ſoldiers were
tired with ſlaughter, *Caracalla* wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he had
revenged the affronts offered him by the *Alexandrians*; but that it was not neceſſary
to ſpecify the number of the dead, nor their condition, ſince none had periſhed but
ſuch as were guilty. Before he left the city, he ſtripped it of all its privileges; ſup-
preſſed the celebrated aſſembly of learned men; ordered all ſtrangers who lived
there to abandon the place; and that ſuch as had eſcaped the general maſſacre, who
were very few, might not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing one another, he cut off all
e communication of one ſtreet with another, by walls built for that purpoſe, and guarded
by the troops he left there [c]. However, as the tyrant died ſoon after, *Alexandria*
ſpeedily recovered its former ſplendor, and continued to be the firſt city of the em-
pire after *Rome*.

He treacherouſly ſeizes and impriſons the kings of Oſrhoene *and* Armenia.

Orders a general maſſacre at Alexandria.

From *Alexandria* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to make war
upon the *Parthians*, and, by ſome memorable exploit, deſerve the ſurname of *Parthi-
cus*, which he ſeems to have preferred to all others. In order to have ſome pretence
for declaring war, he ſent an embaſſy to *Artabanes* with rich preſents, to deſire his
daughter in marriage, not doubting, but the *Parthian* would deny him his requeſt;
which happened accordingly, *Artabanes* alledging, that his daughter, brought up
f after the *Parthian* manner, could never be reconciled to the cuſtom of the *Romans* [d].
Herodian writes, that *Caracalla* perſiſting in his demand, *Artabanes* at length com-
plied with it; ſuffered him to enter his dominions; diſpatched orders to his govern-
ors to receive and entertain him every-where with the utmoſt magnificence; and
went out himſelf in perſon to meet him, as he approached the royal city of *Cteſiphon*,
where the nuptials were to be ſolemnized. *Artabanes* was attended by the chief nobi-
lity of the kingdom, and a numerous body of guards, all unarmed, and in their gayeſt
attire. But *Caracalla*, abuſing the confidence they repoſed in him with a treachery
hardly

His treachery towards the Parthians.

[y] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 879. Herod. l. iv. p. 519. [z] Vide Spanh. l. ii. 86. & Syncel. p. 359.
[a] Spanh. l. ix. p. 775. [b] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 875. [c] Herod. l. iv. p. 549. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 879, 880. Vit. Car. p. 87. [d] Dio, l. lxxviii p. 896.

hardly to be matched, gave the ſignal to his ſoldiers to fall upon them ſword in hand; a
which they did accordingly, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the unarmed multitude, expecting nothing leſs than ſuch a reception. However, the king had the good fortune to make his eſcape unhurt. After this exploit, worthy of ſuch an emperor as *Caracalla*, the cruel and perfidious monſter, inraged that *Artabanes* had eſcaped him, wrecked his fury on all the countries through which he paſſed on his return to *Syria*, leaving every-where diſmal monuments of his barbarous cruelty and inſatiable avarice [e]. Thus *Herodian*. But *Dion Caſſius* writes, that *Caracalla*, upon the *Parthian* king's refuſing him his daughter, entered his dominions, without any further declaration of war; ravaged great part of *Media*; deſtroyed ſeveral cities; took *Arbela*; and there demoliſhed the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs, inſulting their remains in b
a moſt outragious manner. The ſame writer adds, that as the irruption was ſudden and unexpected, he no-where met with the leaſt oppoſition, or even ſaw the face of an enemy [f]. *Spartian* indeed ſpeaks of a tumultuary engagement between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, in which *Caracalla* let looſe wild beaſts againſt the enemy [g]. But with us his authority is of no weight, when claſhing with that of *Dion Caſſius*. The emperor returned from this memorable expedition to *Edeſſa*, whence he wrote boaſting letters to the ſenate, as if he had ſubdued the *Parthians*, and reduced all the eaſt.

Honoured by the ſenate with the title of Parthicus.

The ſenate, though informed of what had paſſed, yet decreed him a triumph, and the title of *Parthicus*, which above all he ſeemed to covet [h]. The following year, when c
C. Bruttius Præſens and *T. Meſſius Extricatus* were conſuls, a bloody doom at length overtook this man of blood. He had often rallied as a coward, and threatened with death, *Macrinus* captain of the guards; beſides, about this time a ſoothſayer declared publicly in *Africa*, that *Macrinus* and his ſon *Diadumenus* were deſtined to the empire. Hereupon the ſoothſayer was immediately ſent to *Rome*, where he repeated and maintained the ſame thing before *Maternianus*, captain of the city-guards, whom the emperor, as he repoſed in him an entire confidence, had injoined to employ all poſſible means, even the deteſtable myſteries of magic, in order to diſcover, whether any one privately aſpired at the empire. *Maternianus* therefore did not fail to write immediately to the emperor what he had learned of the ſoothſayer; but the letter being delivered to *Julia*, whom *Caracalla* had left at *Antioch*, with full power to d
open and read all his diſpatches, (for he himſelf was ſtill at *Edeſſa*, where he had paſſed the winter) *Macrinus*, who attended the emperor, was acquainted with the contents of it, before *Julia* could tranſmit it from *Antioch* to *Edeſſa*. This intelligence was conveyed to him by *Ulpius Julianus* his intimate friend, who delivered the letter to a courier diſpatched from *Rome* ſtrait to the court at *Edeſſa* [i]. *Herodian* writes, that a pacquet being brought to the emperor, while he was buſied in driving a chariot at the public ſhews, he ordered *Macrinus* to read the letters, and acquaint him with the contents of them afterwards; and that *Macrinus* found among the reſt the letter of *Maternianus*. Be that as it will, *Macrinus* was, as all authors agree, informed before the emperor of what *Maternianus* had wrote; and therefore being ſenſible, that he e
could not uſe too much diſpatch [k], he immediately gained with great promiſes two brothers, *Aurelius Nemeſianus* and *Aurelius Apollinaris*, both tribunes of the guards; *Julius Martialis*, an exempt, whom the emperor had provoked, by refuſing him the poſt of a centurion; *Martius Agrippa* the admiral; *Rhætianus*, tribune of the ſecond legion, and ſeveral others, who put their deſign in execution on the eighth of *April* of this year 217. while the emperor was going on horſe-back with a ſmall retinue from *Edeſſa* to viſit a temple of the moon at *Carrhæ*; for being obliged to ſtop by the way to eaſe nature, and all withdrawing except one of the prince's domeſtics, as he was ready to mount again, *Martialis*, loth to let ſlip that opportunity, ran haſtily to him,

Macrinus *conſpires againſt him.*

Caracalla *murdered.*

gave him with his dagger ſuch a ſtab in the throat, that he expired immediately, and f
returning to the reſt mixed with the croud, before they were appriſed of what had paſſed; but when the emperor's death was publicly known, a *Scythian*, who belonged to the guards, obſerving *Martialis* with a bloody dagger in his hand, which, in that confuſion, he had not the precaution to conceal, and thence concluding him to be the author of the murder, ſhot him through with an arrow. *Caracalla* was killed after he had lived twenty-nine years and four months, and reigned ſix years, two months, and

[e] Herod. l. iv. p. 551—553. [f] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 881. [g] Vit. Car. p. 87. [h] Dio, ibid. Herod. p. 553. [i] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 882. [k] Herod. ibid. p. 554.

and four days, from the death of his father [l] (O). The soldiers immediately gathered about the body of the deceased prince, conveyed it to *Edessa*, and there proceeded, even before they had performed the funeral obsequies, to the election of a new emperor. They were in suspense that and the two following days; but on the fourth, the eleventh of *April* and the birth-day of *Severus*, the prætorian guards, who were at *Edessa*, at the instigation of the tribunes, who had been privy to the conspiracy of *Macrinus*, declared him emperor; for no one, except his accomplices, imagined him to have been any-ways accessory to the death of *Caracalla*, which they ascribed to *Martialis* alone, as if he had committed the murder out of private passion and revenge. *Macrinus* pretended at first to decline such a heavy burden; but was easily prevailed upon to submit to it; distributed on that occasion large sums amongst the soldiery; made them ample promises; and granted a general pardon to all persons accused of, or condemned for, crimes of majesty or high treason [m]. *Herodian* writes, that the army first chose *Adventus*, *Macrinus*'s collegue in the command of the prætorian guards, who excused himself on account of his great age [n]. But, according to *Dion Cassius*, *Adventus* only bragged, that, in regard to his seniority, he had a better right to the empire than *Macrinus*, declaring at the same time, that he willingly yielded it to him [o]. *Adventus* was an excellent commander; but altogether unqualified for a statesman, exceeding old, no less meanly born than *Macrinus*, and illiterate to such a degree, that he could not even read [p]. However, *Macrinus* created him senator, appointed him governor of *Rome*, and the following year chose him for his collegue in the consulship.

Opelius Macrinus *declared emperor by the soldiery.*

As for the new emperor *Opilius*, or rather *Opelius*, *Macrinus*, he was a native of *Cæsarea* in *Mauritania*, now *Algier*, and of a very mean descent. We are told, that many things concerning his birth, his education, and first employments, were invented by his successor *Heliogabalus*, and by his orders inserted as true in his life. Hence, without taking notice of what we read in *Julius Capitolinus*, who was strangely prejudiced

His birth and preferments.

[l] Dio, p. 891. Herod. p. 556. [m] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 893—895. [n] Herod. l. iv. p. 535. [o] Dio, p. 894. [p] Idem ibid.

(O) The authors, who lived under *Caracalla*, were *Q. Serenus Sammonicus*, who wrote a great number of books, which were much admired by *Geta*; and hence *Sammonicus* was by *Caracalla*'s orders murdered, while he was at supper as a friend to *Geta* (81). None of his works have reached our times, except some books in *Latin* verse on physic, and a few passages quoted by *Macrobius* out of a book in prose, which he inscribed to the emperor *Severus* (82). *Vossius* is of opinion, that he published some historical pieces (83). His library consisted of sixty-two thousand volumes, which his son, who bore the same name, bequeathed to young *Gordian*, whose preceptor he had been (84). The emperor *Alexander* is said to have taken great delight in reading the works of *Horace* and *Serenus Sammonicus*, with whom he had been acquainted (85); but this must have been the son. *Ælius Maurus*, whom *Spartian* quotes in relating the death of *Severus* (86), wrote in the reign of *Caracalla*, being then very old; for he had been a slave to *Polegon*, the celebrated freed-man of the emperor *Adrian* (87). *Vossius* ranks him among the *Latin* historians; because *Spartian* does not say, that he wrote in *Greek* (88). *Oppian*, the celebrated *Greek* poet, lived under *Antoninus*, the son of *Domna*; that is, under *Caracalla*, the son of *Julia Domna*, as he himself informs us (89), and not under *Antoninus the Philosopher*, as we read in the chronicle of *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom* (90). He was a native of *Anazarbus*, a town of *Cilicia*, as appears from the short account of his life, which is prefixed to his works (91). His father being banished by *Severus* to the island of *Malta*, or to that of *Meleda* near *Ragusa*, *Oppian* accompanied him to the place of his exile, and there composed his poems, which he afterwards rehearsed at *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary applause, and pleased the emperor *Severus* to such a degree, that he recalled his father from banishment, and rewarded the poet with as many pieces of gold as there were verses in his poem on the art of fishing; whence he used to call those verses, *golden verses* (92). He inscribed that poem to *Antoninus*, that is, to *Caracalla*, about the year 204. according to *Scaliger*, and the other on *the chace* to the same prince, after the death of his father *Severus* (93). The latter poem ought to consist of five books as well as the former, though there are but four in the *Paris* edition of 1555. and in that of *Plantin* in 1597. both which editions are evidently imperfect. St. *Jerom* cries up the poem on the art of fishing as a wonderful performance (94). *Scaliger* styles it a *divine work*; but *Sozomenus*, not so lavish of his praises, calls it only an indifferent poem (95). We learn from his life, that besides the two above-mentioned works, he composed several other admirable poems, as the anonymous author styles them (96). He tells us himself, that he described in verse the *Parthian* war, and the taking of *Ctesiphon*, no doubt by *Severus*. He is said to have retired with his father to *Anazarbus*, their native city, and to have died there of the plague in the flower of his age, being but thirty years old (97). The inhabitants of *Anazarbus*, his countrymen, erected a statue to him, with a pompous inscription.

(81) *Car. vit. p.* 86. & *Get. vit. p.* 92. (82) *Voss. poet. Lat. p.* 52. & *Macrob. saturn. l.* ii. *c.* 17. (83) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* ii *c.* 2. (84) *Gord. vit. p.* 159. (85) *Alex. vit. p.* 124. (86) *Vit. Sev. p.* 71. (87) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 2. (88) *Idem ibid.* (89) *Oppian. de venat. l.* i. *p.* 129. (90) *Euseb. chron. p.* 121, 122. (91) *Oppian. vit.* (92) *Sozom. l.* i. *p.* 394. (93) *Oppian. d. pisc. l.* ii. *p.* 54. & *de venat. l.* i. *p.* 129. *Euseb. chron. p.* 222. (94) *Hier. chron.* (95) *Sozom. ibid.* (96) *Oppian. vit.* (97) *Ibid.*

diced againſt him, we ſhall chiefly follow *Dion Caſſius*, who flouriſhed under him, and ſeems quite free from all perſonal hatred and perſonal affection. According to that writer, he was a perſon of a moſt mild and humane temper, which gained him the affections both of the people and ſoldiery, and covered the meanneſs of his birth and firſt employments. He was pretty well verſed in the laws, which induced *Plautianus* to commit to him the care of his eſtate; that is, to appoint him his ſteward. Afterwards *Severus* charged him with the care of the poſts in *Italy*; but ſoon after baniſhed him, for what tranſgreſſion we know not, into *Africa*, where he ſupported himſelf with pleading cauſes of ſmall conſequence. He returned to *Rome* after the death of *Severus*, when *Caracalla* gave him an employment in the exchequer, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the ſame prince named him to ſucceed the celebrated *Papinian* in the command of the prætorian guards. His chief province in that office was to decide cauſes with the emperor, or in his name; which he did with great equity, when *Caracalla* himſelf was not preſent [q]. He married one *Nonia Celſa*, a woman of a very indifferent character, and had by her a ſon, born on the nineteenth of *September* of the year 208. and commonly called by the *Latin* hiſtorians *Diadumenus*; but by *Dion Caſſius*, by *Herodian*, and in moſt inſcriptions, *Diadumenianus* [r]. With the empire he took the names of *Severus* and *Aurelius*, which are ſtill to be ſeen on ſeveral of his medals [s]: but on none appears that of *Antoninus*; whence we conclude *Capitolinus* to have been miſtaken in giving him it. Before he left *Edeſſa*, he cauſed the body of *Caracalla* to be burnt with the uſual ſolemnity, and ſent his aſhes, incloſed in an urn, to his mother *Julia* at *Antioch*, who not caring to outlive him, eſpecially after *Macrinus* had ordered her to leave that city, on account of her bitter invectives againſt him, and her private intrigues, in order to ſeize the empire for herſelf, abſtained from all food, and died ſtarved. Her body was ſent to *Rome*, and depoſited in the tomb of *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſars*, the grandſons of *Auguſtus*, and from thence conveyed afterwards by her ſiſter *Mela* to the mauſoleum of *Adrian* [t]. *Macrinus* was no ſooner declared emperor, than he ſent for his ſon *Diadumenus*, who was then at *Antioch*. The ſoldiers who attended him, and were intirely addicted to *Macrinus*, gave him, purſuant to their private inſtructions, as it were of their own motion, the title of *Cæſar*; which, upon his arrival at *Edeſſa*, was confirmed to him by the whole army, his father giving on that occaſion another bounty to the ſoldiery. The new prince did not fail to acquaint the ſenate immediately with the death of *Caracalla*, and his acceſſion to the empire, by a letter, in which he ſpoke with great reſerve of the deceaſed emperor, neither commending nor diſcommending him: he only ſaid, that ſince the doom which he ſeemed to have deſerved had at length overtaken him, and the army had choſen him to command in his room, he would acknowledge himſelf indebted to the ſenate alone for the empire, if they thought fit to confirm that choice. Though the ſenate had heard before the news of the death of *Caracalla*, yet apprehending it to be only a falſe report, they had carefully concealed their ſentiments; but being now aſſured of the truth by *Macrinus*'s letters, they loaded him with dreadful curſes; ordered all his gold and ſilver ſtatues to be melted down, his name to be eraſed out of all inſcriptions; annulled his acts, and declared his memory infamous, ſtyling him no longer *Antoninus*, but *Baſſianus*, *Caracalla*, and *Tarantus*, which was the name of a little, deformed, and cruel gladiator [u]. They were ſo tranſported with joy in ſeeing themſelves delivered from the tyranny of *Caracalla*, that, overlooking the meanneſs of *Macrinus*'s birth, they declared him emperor without the leaſt heſitation, heaping upon him all the honours, which they had ever conferred upon any prince. His family was ranked among the patrician families, his ſon proclaimed *Cæſar*, and his wife, *Nonia Celſa*, honoured with the title of *Auguſta*. In their anſwer to his letter, they earneſtly intreated him to puniſh, according to their deſerts, the miniſters of the late tyrant, and utterly to extirpate the whole tribe of informers. *Macrinus* complied in ſome degree with their requeſt; for he ſuffered them to condemn, not to death, but to baniſhment, three ſenators, and many others of an inferior rank, and ordered all the ſlaves and freed-men, who had informed againſt their maſters or patrons, to be crucified. The new emperor in the mean time, leaving *Edeſſa*, led his army to *Antioch*; and there, in the preſence of all his troops, gave his ſon the name of *Antoninus*, a name highly revered, and, in a manner,

The death of Julia.

Diadumenus *declared* Cæſar.

The hatred of the ſenate to Caracalla.

Macrinus *acknowledged emperor by the ſenate.*

[q] Idem, l. lxxviii. p. 892, 893.
[r] Idem, p. 888, Herod. p. 566. Goltz. p. 102.
[s] Goltz. p. 95.
[t] Dio, p. 899.
[u] Idem, p. 892.

ner, adored by the ſoldiery [w]. On this occaſion the whole army demanded with loud cries the deification of *Caracalla*; a demand which greatly ſurpriſed *Macrinus*, who nevertheleſs was in the end forced to comply with it, and command the ſenate to rank among the gods one, whom he himſelf had cauſed to be murdered, and who was deſervedly looked upon by all, except the ſoldiery, as a profeſſed foe to human race, a monſter gorged with blood, a parricide, and the moſt inhuman tyrant that could ever wear and diſgrace a diadem. The ſenate, purſuant to the emperor's orders, immediately decreed him divine honours, a temple, altars, prieſts, ſacrifices, and all the apparatus of divinity. The new emperor was even obliged to cauſe one *Aurelianus* to be condemned and executed, for having privately removed ſome of the deceaſed emperor's ſtatues [x]; ſo great was the authority which the army had, by degrees, uſurped both over the ſenate and prince.

Caracalla *deified.*

WHILE theſe things paſſed at *Antioch* and *Rome*, *Artabanes*, king of the *Parthians*, having aſſembled a powerful army, advanced at the head of it, with a deſign to invade the *Roman* territories, and retaliate the injuries he had received. *Macrinus*, prompted partly by his natural timidity, (for he was not a man of courage) and partly by motives of juſtice and equity, endeavoured to appeaſe him, by ſending back all the priſoners taken by *Caracalla*, and with them embaſſadors to propoſe a peace, on terms equally honourable to both nations; but *Artabanes* declaring, that he would hearken to no propoſals, unleſs the *Romans* engaged, by way of preliminary, to rebuild all the cities they had deſtroyed, to give up *Meſopotamia*, and to pay an immenſe ſum, to be employed in repairing the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs overturned by *Caracalla*, and making good the loſſes his ſubjects had ſuſtained by the late unjuſt invaſion. *Macrinus*, aſhamed to comply with ſuch high demands, took the field, and met the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Niſibis* [y]. *Herodian* tells us, that the battle which enſued laſted two whole days, night alone putting an end to the conteſt, and both parties challenging the victory. He adds, that the third day, the two armies, not being able to approach each other on account of the dead bodies, which formed a kind of wall between them, retired to their reſpective camps [z]. But *Dion Caſſius* writes, that the *Romans*, inured under *Caracalla* to an idle and effeminate life, were overcome in two engagements; inſomuch, that *Macrinus*, not daring to venture a third, ſent embaſſadors with rich preſents for *Artabanes*, and all the grandees of his court, and by that means obtained a peace, which coſt him, according to our hiſtorian, fifty millions of drachmas [a]. However, the ſenate decreed him the ſurname of *Parthicus*, which he accepted, as appears from ſome of his medals [b]; but declined the triumph which was decreed him at the ſame time [c]. As for the *Armenians*, whom *Caracalla* had likewiſe provoked, *Macrinus* appeaſed them, by reſtoring their king *Tiridates* to the throne, and to him thoſe lands which they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Cappadocia* [d]. *Capitolinus* ſpeaks of a war with the people of *Arabia*, in which *Macrinus* ſignalized his courage, and was attended with great ſucceſs [e]; but of this war no mention is made by any other hiſtorian. *Macrinus*, having thus concluded a peace both with the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, returned to *Antioch*; and there, by means of many excellent laws, endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuſes which had prevailed in the reign of his predeceſſor. He declared all the reſcripts and deciſions of the emperors void and null, unleſs they were found agreeable to the ancient and known laws of *Rome*, ſaying, It was a ſhameful thing, that the caprices of a *Commodus* or a *Caracalla* ſhould be held for laws. He puniſhed crimes with great ſeverity. When any perſons, of what rank ſoever, were convicted of adultery, he cauſed the delinquents to be tied together, and, thus tied, to be burnt alive. He obliged fugitive ſlaves to fight like gladiators: ſometimes he ordered criminals to be ſhut up and ſtarved to death. He puniſhed with death ſuch informers as could not make good their accuſations; when they did, they had the uſual reward, that is, the fourth part of the criminal's eſtate; whence they were called *Quadruplatores*; but at the ſame time *Macrinus* declared them infamous. He revived, according to *Capitolinus*, who betrays a ſtrange prejudice againſt him, the puniſhment of *Mezentius*, who is ſaid to have tied the living to the dead, that they might both putrify together. Hence the people, commending once in the circus the mild temper of his ſon *Diadumenus*, publicly repeated the verſe of *Virgil* in commendation of *Lauſus*

The Parthian *war.*

The Romans *defeated.*

Macrinus *concludes a peace with the* Parthians *and* Armenians.

Macrinus's *ſeverity againſt criminals.*

[w] Idem, p. 896. HERODIAN. l. iv. p. 561. [x] DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 892. Vit. Macr. p. 95. [y] Vit. Macr. p. 96. DIO, ibid. p. 890. [z] HERODIAN. l. iv. p. 557. [a] DIO, ibid. p. 866. [b] NORIS. de Dio. p. 19. [c] DIO, ibid. p. 900. [d] Idem, p. 887. [e] Vit. Macr. p. 95.

Lauſus the ſon of *Mezentius*; *Dignus cui pater haud Mezentius eſſet*, *It was a pity he had a* Mezentius *for his father* [f]. He took from the inhabitants of *Pergamus* all the privileges which had been lately granted them by *Caracalla*, and appointed *Dion Caſſius* the hiſtorian governor of that city and of *Smyrna* [g]. A conſpiracy being diſcovered againſt him, he puniſhed ſome of the authors of it; but pardoned *Arbianus*, *Thuſcus*, and *Gellius*, of whom the former is ſtyled duke of *Armenia*, and the two latter lieutenants of *Aſia* and *Arabia*; nay, he continued them in their employments, hoping to gain them by that means. We are told by *Capitolinus*, that *Diadumenus* wrote on this occaſion to his father, and likewiſe to the empreſs his mother, complaining of the indulgence which the emperor had ſhewn them, and begging that they might be executed without mercy [h] (P). But we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that *Diadumenus*, then only nine or ten years old, was capable of writing ſuch letters.

An inſtance of his clemency.

We have hitherto ſeen nothing in *Macrinus* blame-worthy: however, he was not without his faults; for, in the firſt place, as he himſelf was of a mean deſcent, he deprived of their employments thoſe who were nobly born, and raiſed to the higheſt poſts perſons of his own condition, though, generally ſpeaking, void of all merit. Thus he appointed *Adventus*, of whom we have ſpoken before, governor of *Rome*, and prince of the ſenate, even before he was a ſenator, though altogether unequal to that high poſt, being incapable of ſpeaking in public, and ſo illiterate, that he could not ſo much as read. He recalled from the government of *Pannonia* and *Dacia Sabinus* and *Caſtinus*, men of merit and diſtinction; and ſent *Marcius Agrippa*, a manumitted ſlave, formerly baniſhed by *Severus* for treaſonable practices, to ſucceed the former; and ſubſtituted *Decius Tricianus*, a man of no rank, in the room of the latter. In the ſoldiers he puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſion or neglect of duty with ſuch ſeverity, that, inſtead of *Macrinus*, he was called by them *Macellinus*, from the word *macellum*, ſignifying *ſhambles*. In the reign of *Caracalla*, they had been quartered in the cities, where they indulged themſelves with impunity in all manner of licentiouſneſs; but *Macrinus* obliged them to live under tents in the fields, and would not ſuffer them to approach or enter any city, in order to inure them to a regular and military life. This they could not endure, the more becauſe the emperor himſelf wallowed in pleaſures at *Antioch*, while they in the field often wanted neceſſaries. They therefore began to regret the loſs of *Caracalla*, to hate the very name of *Macrinus*, and publicly to reproach him with the meanneſs of his birth and former life. At the ſame time, they were informed, that he had been the chief author of the murder of *Caracalla*; which incenſed them againſt him to ſuch a degree, that they only wanted a favourable opportunity to revolt from *Macrinus*, and appoint another emperor in his room; which they did accordingly the following year, when *Macrinus* and *Adventus* were conſuls. This revolution was brought about by the contrivance and artifices of *Mæſa*, ſiſter to the late empreſs *Julia*, a woman of great craft, dexterity, experience, and even courage. She had lived at court with her ſiſter during the reigns of *Severus* and *Caracalla*, and had acquired there great knowledge of affairs, and likewiſe immenſe wealth; which *Macrinus* ſuffered her to enjoy after the murder of *Caracalla*, but ordered her to quit the court, and retire to *Emeſa* in *Phœnicia*, her native city. She had two daughters, *viz. Julia Soœmis*, or *Soœmias*, and *Julia Mamæa*. Of theſe the latter had a ſon named *Alexianus*, and the former one called *Varius Avitus Baſſianus*. When *Mæſa* retired by *Macrinus*'s orders to *Emeſa*, ſhe took her two

Raiſes only perſons of a mean deſcent, and no merit.

He diſobliges the ſoldiers by his exceſſive ſeverity.

[f] Vit. Macr. p. 96. [g] Dio, p. 897. [h] Diad. vit. p. 100.

(P) The letter which he is ſaid to have written to his father, was conceived in the following terms: "I cannot be ſilent on the preſent occaſion, with "out being wanting to my duty. You were ſurely "quite unmindful of your own ſafety, when you "ſpared the authors of the late rebellion. Men, "whoſe minds are once exulcerated, will never be "reclaimed by mercy; and friends, when they once "begin to hate, are of all enemies the moſt cruel, "the moſt implacable; beſides, they are ſtill in a "condition to do miſchief, they have ſtill troops "under their command:

Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Aſcanium ſurgentem, & ſpes hæredis Iuli
Reſpice, cui regnum Italiæ Romanaque tellus
Debentur ——————

"You muſt put them to death, if you deſire to live "in ſafety, Your ſparing them will encourage "others (ſuch is the perverſeneſs of mankind!) to "follow their example." In his letter to his mother, he expreſſed himſelf thus. "The emperor "my father, by ſparing his enemies, ſhews that he "neither loves you nor himſelf: therefore exert "yourſelf on this occaſion, and take care they be "executed; for tho' my father ſpares them, they "will not, when occaſion offers, ſpare us (98.)"

(98) *Vit. Diad. p.* 100.

two grandſons with her, *Avitus* being then thirteen years old, and *Alexianus* only nine, and cauſed them both to be conſecrated to the ſun, the chief deity of the inhabitants of *Emeſa*, who had erected a ſtately temple to him, under the name of *Eleagabalus*. *Baſſianus*, the eldeſt of the two, was appointed pontiff of that deity, and thence called *Eleagabalus*, or, as he is commonly ſtyled by hiſtorians, *Heliogabalus* [i]; for his name has occaſioned great diſputes among the learned. As the temple of the ſun was but at a ſmall diſtance from *Macrinus*'s camp, the *Roman* ſoldiers, coming frequently to viſit the deity of the place, were mightily taken with the comelineſs of the young pontiff, who, in his perſon, was tall and genteel, well-ſhaped, and had ſomething in his air and looks extremely gracious and pleaſing. *Mæſa*, obſerving her grandſon thus admired by the ſoldiery, reſolved to improve the opportunity, giving out, that *Heliogabalus* was the ſon of *Caracalla*; that ſhe poſſeſſed immenſe treaſures, and would willingly inrich with them ſuch as ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of the deceaſed emperor's ſon. The ſoldiers, who were incamped in the neighbourhood of *Emeſa*, believing *Heliogabalus* to be truly the ſon of *Caracalla*, and allured by the mighty promiſes of *Mæſa*, invited her with her grandſon to their camp; and, upon their arrival, proclaimed *Heliogabalus* emperor, by the name of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and inveſted him with all the enſigns of ſovereignty [k]. *Macrinus*, who was then at *Antioch*, when informed of this revolt, inſtead of marching in perſon to quaſh it at once, as he might have eaſily done, contented himſelf with ſending *Ulpius Julianus*, one of the captains of the guards, with ſome troops, againſt them. *Julianus* attacked their camp with great reſolution, and might have made himſelf maſter of it the very firſt day, the ſoldiers under his command being moſtly *Moors*, and conſequently greatly attached to *Macrinus* their countryman; but *Julianus* checking their ardour, and putting off the aſſault to the next day, in hopes they would in the mean time ſubmit of their own accord, the beſieged raiſed new works during the night, ſuſtained the aſſault the next morning with great reſolution, and by ſhewing *Heliogabalus* on the ramparts, and with him the treaſures they had received from *Mæſa*, induced the *Romans* who were with *Julianus*, and highly diſſatisfied with *Macrinus*, to murder their own officers and join them. *Julianus* betook himſelf to flight, and lay for ſome time concealed; but being at length diſcovered, one of the ſoldiers ſtruck off his head, and carried it to the emperor, wrapped up in a linen cloth, and ſealed with *Julianus*'s own ſeal, pretending it to be the head of *Heliogabalus*; and made his eſcape while the emperor was unfolding it. *Macrinus*, perceiving whoſe head it was, and thence concluding, that he had been betrayed and defeated, haſtened to the camp of the *Albanians*; that is, of the ſoldiers who had their fixed quarters at *Alba*, and were then incamped in the neighbourhood of *Apamea*; acquainted them in a very injudicious ſpeech with the revolt of the troops near *Emeſa*; declared *Heliogabalus*, his couſin *Alexianus*, both their mothers, and their grandmother *Mæſa*, public enemies; and proclaimed his ſon *Diadumenus Auguſtus*, and his partner in the empire, promiſing on that occaſion to each ſoldier five thouſand drachmas, and paying them of that ſum one thouſand on the ſpot. At the ſame time, he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the revolt of the troops and the promotion of his ſon, and injoining them to promiſe to the people in his name one hundred and fifty drachmas a man. The ſenate, by whom *Macrinus* was greatly beloved, confirmed the title of *Auguſtus* to his ſon, and declared *Heliogabalus* a public enemy. From *Apamea* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, inſtead of marching without loſs of time againſt the rebels at *Emeſa*; which city was but at a ſmall diſtance. He was ſcarce gone, when the *Albanians*, and the other troops incamped in that neighbourhood, declared for *Heliogabalus*, who thereupon marched ſtrait to *Antioch*, to attack *Macrinus*, before he had time to aſſemble his other forces. The emperor, upon the news of his approach, marched out of *Antioch* at the head of the prætorian bands; and the two armies meeting on the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, a bloody engagement enſued, in which the troops of *Heliogabalus*, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, began in the end to give ground; but were brought back to the charge by *Mæſa*, *Soæmis*, the mother of *Heliogabalus*, and by *Heliogabalus* himſelf, who ſignalized his valour on that occaſion in a very eminent manner. The fight being thus renewed with more fury than ever, *Macrinus*'s men would have gained the day, according to *Dion Caſſius*, had they not been

Heliogabalus *is by ſome proclaimed emperor.*

Julianus, *ſent againſt him, is betrayed by his own men, and murdered.*

Moſt of the troops revolt.

[i] Herod. l. *v.* p. 562. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 111. Macr. vit. p. 96. [k] Dio, p. 902. Herod. p. 564. Vit. Macr. p. 96.

Macrinus *abandons his men in an engagement, who join* Heliogabalus.

been abandoned by their leader, who, as he was naturally timorous, betook himſelf to flight, when he ſaw the troops of *Heliogabalus* return to the charge. The prætorian guards kept their ground, even after his flight, till *Heliogabalus* aſſured them upon his oath, that they ſhould not be diſcharged, but ſhould enjoy under him all the privileges and exemptions which had been granted them by other emperors; then they declared for him, as the other troops had already done[l]. *Macrinus* retired to *Antioch*, and there giving out that he had gained a complete victory, ordered his ſon to ſhelter himſelf in the country of the *Parthians*; and, before the news of his defeat was publicly known, fled himſelf in diſguiſe, taking with him letters for thoſe who had care of the poſts, as if he had been ſent by the emperor upon ſome important affair that required diſpatch. Thus he croſſed undiſcovered the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*. To avoid *Nicomedia*, he imbarqued at a port in the neigbourhood of that city, called *Eribolus*, with a deſign to go by ſea to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to croſs over to *Byzantium*; but being driven back by a contrary wind to *Chalcedon*, when he was upon the point of landing at *Byzantium*, he was there unfortunately taken ill, and diſcovered by thoſe whom *Heliogabalus* had ſent to purſue him. The ſoldiers, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, put him into a chariot, in order to carry him to *Heliogabalus*; but he having thrown himſelf out of it, when he was informed that his ſon too had been taken, and by the fall broken his ſhoulder-bone, the ſoldiers put an end to his pain and life, by cutting off his head; which they carried to *Heliogabalus*; who ordered it to be expoſed on the point of a ſpear to public view[m]. Such was the end of *Macrinus*, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, after he had reigned four months wanting three days; for we reckon his reign ended on the day of his defeat, which was the ſeventh of *June* of the year 218. His ſon *Diadumenus* was publicly executed by the new emperor's orders, as a common malefactor, and his head carried about, with that of his father, on the point of a ſpear. We are told, that ſome of the ſoldiers, conſidering his youth, (for he was but ten years old) were for ſaving him; but the letters, which he was ſuppoſed to have written againſt *Arabianus* and his accomplices, being produced, they conſented to his death. *Baſilianus*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Marius Secundus*, governor of *Phœnicia*, (for that province had at this time its peculiar governor) refuſed to acknowledge *Heliogabalus*, even after the death of *Macrinus*; which occaſioned ſeveral ſeditions in thoſe countries, in one of which great numbers of the people and ſoldiery were killed, and among the reſt *Secundus* himſelf. *Baſilianus* fled to *Italy*, and lay ſome time concealed in the neighbourhood of *Brunduſium*; but was in the end betrayed by one of his old friends, to whom he had written for ſome relief, and by *Heliogabalus*'s orders executed at *Nicomedia*, where that prince paſſed the firſt winter after his acceſſion to the empire[n].

Both he and his ſon Diadumenus *put to death.*

Heliogabalus, immediately after the defeat and flight of *Macrinus*, entered *Antioch*, and from thence wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the defeat of *Macrinus* and his acceſſion to the empire, and promiſing to conform in every thing to the excellent inſtitutions of *Auguſtus* and *M. Aurelius*, and to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the ſenate, whoſe authority ſhould be ever ſacred to him. However, as he ſtyled himſelf *Auguſtus* the ſon of *Antoninus*, that is, of *Caracalla*, and the grandſon of *Severus*, and likewiſe aſſumed the proconſular and tribunitial power, and the titles of *Happy* and *Pious*, before they had been conferred upon him by the ſenate, his letter occaſioned a general conſternation in the city; nevertheleſs they confirmed to him all the titles he had aſſumed; declared *Macrinus*, tho' by them greatly beloved, a public enemy, and honoured both *Mæſa* and *Soæmis* with the title of *Auguſtæ*. Thus was *Varius Avitus Baſſianus*, commonly known in hiſtory by the name of *Heliogabalus*, raiſed to the empire. He was the moſt profligate, impious, inhuman, effeminate, and prodigal tyrant that ever diſgraced a diadem. His grandmother *Mæſa*, who was a woman of great parts and experience, quite aſhamed of his ſcandalous and unaccountable conduct, ſtrove to the utmoſt of her power to keep him within ſome bounds; but he, utterly deſpiſing her, only hearkened to the wicked counſels of his mother *Soæmis*, and of ſuch as flattered him in his crimes. Hence he may be truly ſaid to have exceeded *Nero* himſelf in cruelty, *Caligula* in prodigality, and the moſt abandoned princes, who reigned either before or after him, in

Heliogabalus *acknowledged emperor by the ſenate.*
His character

[l] Dio, p. 889. Herod. l. v. p. 565. [m] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 889. Herod. ibid. p. 566. Macr. vit. p. 96. [n] Dio, p. 905. Heliog. vit. p. 102.

in all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery. He did not reign full four years, and in that ſhort time married ſix wives. His firſt wife was *Julia Cornelia Paula*, a lady of an unblameable character, and ſprung from two of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*; but ſoon after divorced her, and ſtripped her of the title of *Auguſta*, and all the other honours he had conferred upon her. He then married *Julia Aquilia Severa*, a veſtal virgin, which was accounted by the *Romans* an enormous crime; but ſoon put her away to marry *Annia Fauſtina*, the grand-daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, though already married to *Pomponius Baſſus*, whom he cauſed to be murdered. *Fauſtina*, and three others, whoſe names are unknown, were in a ſhort time obliged to give room to *Aquilia Severa* the veſtal, whom he admitted anew to his bed, ſaying, That he hoped, as ſhe was a prieſteſs and he a prieſt, to have by her an offſpring worthy of the immortal gods[o]. But his frequent marriages and divorces did not give ſo much offence as his ſcandalous lewdneſs and unheard-of debaucheries. He turned the imperial palace into a brothel, filling it with ſuch numbers of proſtitutes, for the convenience, he ſaid, of his friends and favourites, that it ſeemed a city, ſays *Herodian*, inhabited only by lewd women. With them, and his debauched companions, he paſſed the greateſt part of his time, abandoning himſelf to the moſt ſcandalous and unnatural practices. He often aſſembled them in one of the halls of the palace, appeared among them in the apparel, and with the air, of a proſtitute; encouraged them in formal harangues to lay aſide all modeſty, ſhake off all reſtraints, and make it their whole ſtudy to find out new methods of ſatisfying their luſtful appetites. In his ſpeeches he addreſſed them with the title of *commilitones*, *fellow-ſoldiers*; and truly they were the only ſoldiers worthy of ſuch a general. After ſome time he drove many of the debauched women out of the palace, and took catamites in their room; for he was himſelf of that infamous tribe, having been publicly married firſt to *Aurelius Zoticus*, one of his officers, and afterwards to *Hierocles*, a ſlave. He was not aſhamed to ſatisfy his moſt infamous and unnatural luſts in public, in the face of the ſun and the whole *Roman* people, putting thereby out of countenance even the moſt profligate amongſt his debauched companions. But to dwell on ſuch abominable ſcenes of impurity is beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian, and only worthy of ſuch a biographer as *Ælius Lampridius*, who ſeems to take particular delight in deſcribing the unheard-of pollutions and abominations of this lewd monſter. His prodigality was as boundleſs as his luſt; for in the ſhort time of his reign he is ſaid to have reduced almoſt to beggary all the ſubjects of the empire, and to have left at his death the exchequer quite empty. He ſuffered nothing to appear at his table, but what was brought from the moſt diſtant countries at an immenſe charge. His palace, his chambers, and his beds were all furniſhed with cloth of gold. When he went abroad, all the way between his chamber and the place where his chariot waited for him was ſtrewed with gold-duſt; for he thought it beneath him to tread upon the ground like other men. All his tables, cheſts, chairs, and ſuch veſſels as were deſtined for the meaneſt uſes, were of pure gold. Though his cloaths were exceeding coſtly, and beſet with jewels and precious ſtones, yet he is ſaid never to have worn one ſuit twice, nor ever to have put on again a ring which he had once uſed. He was conſtantly ſerved in gold-plate; but every night after ſupper diſtributed among his gueſts and attendants what had been made uſe of that day. He often diſtributed among the people and ſoldiery, not corn only and money, as other emperors had done, but gold and ſilver-plate, jewels, precious ſtones, and tickets intitling them to immenſe ſums, which were immediately paid. He cauſed his fiſh-ponds to be filled with water diſtilled from roſes, and the *naumachia*, where ſea-fights were exhibited, with wine. His rooms, tables, couches, and galleries where he walked, were daily ſtrewed with roſes, lillies, and all ſorts of flowers. His banquets and entertainments were expenſive almoſt beyond belief, his favourite diſhes being tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the brains of parrots and pheaſants. He fed his dogs with the livers of geeſe, his horſes with raiſins, and his lions and other wild beaſts with partridges and pheaſants. In ſhort, the whole wealth of the *Roman* empire was ſcarce ſufficient, ſays *Herodian*, to ſupply the extravagance of one man[p]. As for his unheard-of follies, we refer our readers to *Lampridius*, who relates them at length, not thinking them worthy of a place in our hiſtory.

His wives.

His monſtrous lewdneſs.

His prodigality.

To

[o] Dio, l. lxxix. p. 911. Herod. p. 568.

[p] Herod. p. 569. Vit. Heliog. p. 102.

Cauſes ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to be murdered.

To give ſome account of this ſtrange reign, according to the order of time; a *Heliogabalus*, before he left *Syria*, commanded ſeveral perſons, both in the eaſt and at *Rome*, to be put to death; and among the reſt, *Julianus Neſtor*, captain of the guards under *Macrinus*; *Fabius Agrippinus*, governor of *Syria*; *Reanus*, governor of *Arabia*; *Claudius Attalus*, who had governed *Thrace* in the year 194. and was then governor of *Cyprus*; and *Decius Triccianus*, who commanded in *Pannonia* [q]. From *Syria*, the new emperor marched to *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, where he paſſed the winter, and gave many freſh inſtances of his cruel and inhuman temper, cauſing, beſides many others, one *Gannys* to be murdered for adviſing him in a friendly manner to abandon his former vices, and behave like a *Roman* emperor. *Gannys* was one of *Mæſa*'s domeſtics, but favoured to ſuch a degree by *Heliogabalus*, on account of his fidelity, and b the zeal he had ſhewn in his cauſe, that he deſigned to marry his mother to him, and declare him *Cæſar*. However, his finding fault with his vices provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death upon the ſpot, and gave him with his own hand the firſt blow [r]. In the beginning of the following year, *Heliogabalus* entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue one *Sacerdos*, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory. Early in the ſpring, the new emperor ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received both by the people and ſenate with great demonſtrations of joy, though no one doubted but he would prove a ſecond *Nero* or *Caligula*. The next day, he went to the ſenate; and taking with him his grand- c

He ranks his grandmother among the ſenators, and inſtitutes a ſenate of women

mother, placed her next to the conſuls, ordered her name to be ſet down among thoſe of the other ſenators, and appointed, that ſhe ſhould vote as the reſt, and be conſulted in all matters of importance. For his mother *Soæmis* he inſtituted a ſenate, conſiſting only of women, and declared her their head or preſident. The ſubject of their conſultations, debates, and decrees, were the dreſs and apparel of the *Roman* matrons, their ranks and dignities, their viſits, ceremonies, and other important matters of the like nature [s]. The emperor himſelf was not employed in affairs of

Eſtabliſhes the worſhip of the god Eleagabalus.

greater moment, being wholly taken up in eſtabliſhing at *Rome* the worſhip of his god *Heliogabalus*, or, as he is ſtyled on the medals of this prince, *Eleagabalus*. He erected a magnificent temple to him, worſhipped him with ceremonies never before practiſed at *Rome*, preferred him to *Jupiter* himſelf, and to all the other gods of d the *Romans*, who, he ſaid, were but the ſervants of his god; and declared, that he would ſuffer no other god to be adored, at *Rome* or elſewhere, but *Eleagabalus*. In order to this, he profaned all other temples, ſtripped them of their ornaments, and attempted to convey into the temple of his own god the perpetual fire of *Veſta*, the ſtatue of *Cybele*, the bucklers of *Mars*, the palladium brought from *Troy*, as was ſuppoſed, by *Æneas*, and whatever elſe was looked upon by the *Romans* as moſt ſacred. From *Carthage* he ordered the goddeſs *Cæleſtis* to be brought to *Rome*, and with her all the rich ornaments belonging to her temple; married her to *Eleagabalus*, and cauſed the nuptials of the two deities to be celebrated with great pomp and ſolemnity [t]. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that, in honour of his god, he abſtained from e hogs-fleſh, and cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed [u]; and *Herodian*, that he erected another magnificent temple for him in the country, whither he conveyed him every year in the beginning of the ſummer. The ſame author adds, that, beſides many other victims, he ſacrificed children to him, moſtly ſprung from illuſtrious families, and privately ſnatched up by the miniſters of his cruelty, diſperſed all over *Italy* for that purpoſe [w]. *Dion Caſſius* obſerves, that he cauſed ſeveral illuſtrious perſons to be inhumanly murdered this year; and among the reſt, *Seius Carus*, *Valerianus Pætus*, *Silius Meſſala*, and *Pomponius Baſſus*, all ſenators of great diſtinction, for no other crime, but becauſe he believed they diſliked his conduct [x].

The following year, *Heliogabalus* entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having for f his collegue *Eutychianus*, an imperial freedman, and a celebrated buffoon; whence he was ſurnamed *Comazon*, which, in the *Greek* tongue, ſignifies *waggiſh*, or *gay*. He had greatly contributed to the riſe of *Heliogabalus*; for at his inſtigation the troops near *Emeſa* had declared for him; on which account the new emperor immediately declared him captain of the guards, and conferred upon him the conſular ornaments. This year he honoured him with the conſular dignity; and, when his conſulſhip expired, appointed him governor of *Rome* [y]. The next year, when *Gratus Sabinianus* and

[q] Dio, l. lxxix. p. 894. [r] Idem, in excerpt. Val. p. 761, 762. [s] Heliog. vit. p. 102, 105, 106. [t] Heliog. vit. p. 102, 103. Herod. l. v. p. 568. Dio, l. lxxix. p. 912. [u] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 762. [w] Herod. ibid. Heliog. vit. p. 103. [x] Dio, p. 908, 909. [y] Dio, p. 888.

and *Seleucus* were conſuls, *Mæſa*, foreſeeing that the *Romans* could not long bear with ſuch a prince as *Heliogabalus*, prevailed upon him to adopt his couſin *Alexianus*, and declare him *Cæſar*, though at that time only twelve, or, at moſt, thirteen, years old. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and the young prince on that occaſion took the names of *Alexander* and *Severus*, the former from the king of *Macedon*, and the latter from the emperor, his ſuppoſed grandfather [z]. *Heliogabalus* treated him at firſt in a very friendly and obliging manner, hoping to draw him over to his lewd courſes; but finding that the excellent youth could not by any means be induced to follow his example, and that he was more beloved both by the people and ſoldiery than himſelf, he began to repent his having adopted him, and gave private orders to thoſe, who were truſted with the care of his education, to diſpatch him. But all their attempts being rendered abortive, by the care and circumſpection of *Mamæa*, mother to the young prince, and of his grandmother *Mæſa*, who betrayed all the emperor's ſecrets, *Heliogabalus*, tranſported with rage, ordered the ſenate to degrade *Alexianus* from the dignity of *Cæſar*, and annul the late adoption. At the ſame time, he diſpatched aſſaſſins to murder him; and retiring to an old palace on mount *Eſquilin*, waited there till news was brought him of his death. But, in the mean time, the prætorian guards, appriſed of the danger that threatened the young prince, flew to the palace, and would have put the emperor himſelf to death, had he not ſoftened them with mighty promiſes, abandoned to them all his debauched companions, and ſuch as were deemed enemies to *Alexander*; and ſolemnly declared, that he deſigned for the future to lead a quite different life, and to redreſs all the grievances, of which, he ſaid, they had but too much reaſon to complain [a]. The next year, he took upon him his third conſulſhip; and pretending to be reconciled to *Alexander*, choſe him for his collegue; but being determined at all events, notwithſtanding his late proteſtations, to rid himſelf of ſo troubleſome a rival, in the firſt place, he ordered all the ſenators to quit the city, leſt they ſhould thwart his deſigns; and then cauſing *Alexander* to be ſhut up in the palace, gave out, that he was all on a ſudden taken ill, and almoſt paſt recovery. This report he ſpread abroad on purpoſe to diſcover the diſpoſition of the ſoldiery, who no ſooner heard it, than they flew to arms, and demanded to ſee *Alexander*. The young prince was accordingly brought forth to them, and by the emperor himſelf conducted to the camp, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, while no one took the leaſt notice of *Heliogabalus*; which provoked the tyrant to ſuch a degree, that he ordered thoſe, who had applauded *Alexander*, to be puniſhed as traitors. But the reſt, reſcuing them out of the hands of the executioners, began to croud about the emperor, uttering dreadful menaces; which ſo terrified him, that he attempted to ſave himſelf by flight, thoſe who had attended him to the camp endeavouring to diſperſe the multitude. Hereupon a quarrel enſued between the partizans of the two princes, in which thoſe who favoured *Heliogabalus* were ſoon defeated and cut in pieces, with *Hierocles*, that prince's chief favourite, the captains of the guards, and all the miniſters who attended him. The emperor himſelf withdrew, during the conteſt, into the moſt filthy place of the camp, and conſequently the moſt worthy of him; where he was ſoon diſcovered, and murdered by the enraged ſoldiery, together with his mother *Soæmis*, who had retired thither with him, and held him the whole time in her arms. Both their heads were ſtruck off; and after their bodies had been ignominiouſly dragged through the city, and moſt outrageouſly inſulted by the populace, that of *Heliogabalus* was, with a great weight faſtened to it, thrown from the *Æmilian* bridge into the *Tiber* [b]. Such was the deſerved end of *Heliogabalus*, the moſt wicked and moſt debauched of all the *Roman* emperors, in the eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and four days, from the ſeventh of *June*, of the year 218, on which day he defeated *Macrinus*, to the eleventh of *March* of the year 222, when he met with his deſerved doom. The ſenate cauſed the name of *Antoninus*, which he had aſſumed and diſgraced with his lewd life, to be eraſed out of the public regiſters and all inſcriptions; and paſſed a decree, excluding for ever women from the ſenate, and loading with curſes ſuch as ſhould for the future attempt to tranſgreſs it [c].

Alexianus *adopted and created* Cæſar.

Heliogabalus *repents his adopting him, and attempts to deſtroy him.*

The ſoldiers mutiny.

Heliogabalus *and his mother* Soæmis *murdered.*

UPON

[z] HEROD. l. v. p. 570. DIO, l. lxxix. p. 914. [a] DIO, p. 915. HEROD. ibid. Heliogab. vit. p. 106. [b] HEROD. p. 573. Heliog. vit. p. 106. [c] Heliog. vit. p. 107.

Alexander *declared emperor.*

Upon the death of *Heliogabalus*, his couſin *Alexander*, then in the fourteenth year of his age, was proclaimed emperor by the ſoldiery, and conducted from the camp to the ſenate, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with the titles of *Auguſtus*, of *father of his country*, and all the other marks of diſtinction peculiar to the imperial dignity. At the ſame time, they offered him the name of *Antoninus*, and the ſurname of *Great*; but he modeſtly declined them both. He was the ſon of *Julia Mamæa*, or *Mammæa*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and of *Geneſius Marcianus*, a *Syrian*. He was a native of the city of *Arca* in *Phœnicia*, and born there, according to *Lampridius* [d], in a temple conſecrated to *Alexander the Great*; whence, upon his being adopted by *Heliogabalus*, he took the name of *Alexander*. His former name was *Baſſianus*, according to *Dion Caſſius*; but according to *Herodian*, *Alexianus*, his grandfather's name. His father dying when he was very young, his mother brought him up with great care; for *Julia Mamæa* is thought by many writers of great note to have been inſtructed in the truths of the goſpel, and to have embraced the chriſtian religion [e]: at leaſt, *Euſebius* ſtyles her a very pious and religious woman [f]; epithets which we can hardly perſuade ourſelves a chriſtian biſhop would have beſtowed upon a pagan. While ſhe was at *Antioch*, in the year 218, hearing *Origen* greatly commended on account of his knowledge in religious matters, ſhe ſhewed a great deſire to ſee him, ſent for him from *Alexandria*, received him with great joy, and kept him ſome time with her [g]. It is not improbable, that ſhe was by him convinced of the truth, and embraced it. Be that as it will, ſhe brought up her ſon with extraordinary care, employing only ſuch perſons to inſtruct him as were equally renowned for their probity and learning, and allowing no one to come near him, whom ſhe ſuſpected capable of corrupting his morals. He applied himſelf, from his infancy, to the ſtudy of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and was as well verſed in the former as any man of his age; but his improvement in the latter was not ſo great, as appeared from his ſpeeches to the ſenate, to the ſoldiery, and to the people [h]: neither did he admire the *Latin* eloquence ſo much as the *Greek*. He was well ſkilled in all the other branches of polite learning, and, beſides, in the arts of painting, ſinging, playing upon inſtruments, &c. From his infancy, he gave innumerable inſtances of a moſt mild, humane, and generous temper; ſhewed an utter averſion to bloodſhed and all manner of cruelty; and made it his chief ſtudy to pleaſe and oblige, not only his parents and relations, but even his domeſtics. As he paid an intire deference to his mother *Mamæa* and grandmother *Mæſa*, both women of great experience and extraordinary parts, at their motion, he choſe, as ſoon as he was raiſed to the empire, ſixteen ſenators for his council, all men of known probity, and long verſed in public affairs, tranſacting nothing without their advice, and conſtantly conforming to it. Among theſe were, *Fabius Sabinus*, generally ſtyled the *Cato* of his time; *Domitius Ulpianus* and *Julius Paulus*, two celebrated civilians; *Antoninus Gordianus*, afterwards emperor; *Catilius Severus*, *Alexander*'s kinſman, and one of the moſt learned perſons of his age; *Ælius Serenianus*, a man of extraordinary integrity; and *Quintilius Marcellus*, a great admirer of the cuſtoms and manners of the ancient *Romans* [i]. The deference he paid to his mother was ſo great, that *Herodian* reckons it among his faults; for though he was himſelf a man of extraordinary talents, of ſuch diſcernment and penetration, ſays *Lampridius*, that no one ever deceived him, yet he conſtantly preferred her opinion to his own [k]. He gave her name to ſeveral buildings, which they ſtill retained in the end of the fourth century [l]; and cauſed her to be honoured with the titles of *Auguſta*, or *mother of her country*, *of the armies*, and *of the ſenate*, which had been formerly conferred on *Julia*, the wife of *Severus* [m]. As *Mamæa* profeſſed, in all likelihood, the chriſtian religion, no wonder that *Alexander* ſhewed great favour to the chriſtians, and would not ſuffer them to be any-ways moleſted on account of their religion. *Euſebius* tells us, that his court was filled with chriſtians [n]; and *Lampridius*, that in his private oratory he worſhipped *Chriſt* and *Abraham*, and would have cauſed temples to be erected to the founder of the chriſtian religion, had he not been diverted from it by the anſwers of the oracles, aſſuring him, that if he ever ſuffered *Chriſt* to be ranked among the gods, all the other temples would be ſoon

His birth and education.

His mother Julia Mamæa

His counſellors

Alexander *favours the chriſtians.*

[d] Vit. Alex. p. 114. [e] Vide Oros. l. vii. c. 18. Cedren. t. i. p. 256. Abulfar. p. 80. Vinc. Lerin. c. 23. [f] Euseb. l. vi. c. 21. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Vit. Alex. p. 115. [i] Alex. vit. p. 241. [k] Herod. l. vi. p. 575. [l] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 372. [m] Spon. p. 194. [n] Euseb. l. vi. c. 28.

ſoon abandoned and the gods neglected [o]. He ſeems to have been well acquainted with the morals of the chriſtian religion; for he had conſtantly in his mouth that golden rule, *Do as you would be done by*; cauſed it to be ſet up over the gates of his palace, and on ſeveral public edifices, and obſerved it himſelf, if the writers of his life may be credited, with the greateſt exactneſs [p]. For he made it his chief ſtudy to oblige all men, and is ſaid never to have wronged any. During the firſt year of his reign, he was wholly taken up in reforming the many enormous abuſes, which had prevailed in the court under his predeceſſor. With this view he baniſhed all the freed-men, ſlaves, eunuchs, players, and buffoons, who had borne any ſway in the late reign; and choſe in their rooms perſons of blameleſs characters, and known integrity. Having by this means reformed the court, he made a ſtrict inquiry into the manners and conduct of the public officers, eſpecially of the governors of provinces, and diſcharged moſt of thoſe who had been employed by *Heliogabalus*. Such of them as had oppreſſed the people committed to their care, were baniſhed; and the reſt reduced to their former condition, as perſons altogether unfit for any public office [q]. The next year, when *L. Marius Maximus* and *L. Roſcius Ælianus* were conſuls, the emperor's nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He married *Sulpicia Memmia*, the daughter of *Sulpicius* a conſular, and grand-daughter of *Catulus*. As the whole empire enjoyed at this time a profound peace, nothing remarkable happened either at *Rome*, or in the provinces, in the two following years; in the firſt of which *Julianus* and *Criſpinus* were conſuls, and in the ſecond *Fuſcus* and *Dexter*. But the fourth year of *Alexander*'s reign, and during his ſecond conſulſhip, in which he had *Quintilius Marcellus* for his collegue, *Artaxerxes* having utterly ruined the *Parthian*, and re-eſtabliſhed the *Perſian*, empire, of which great revolution we have ſpoken elſewhere, advanced at the head of a mighty army againſt the *Romans*, with a deſign to recover *Meſopotamia* and the other provinces, which had formerly belonged to the *Perſian* empire. His approach occaſioned great conſternation in *Syria*; and many of the *Romans* quartered in *Meſopotamia*, abandoning the caſtles which they gariſoned, liſted in his army; ſo that he might with great eaſe have over-run, not only *Meſopotamia*, but likewiſe *Syria*, had he not attacked on his march the city of *Atra*, before which place he loſt ſuch numbers of his men, without being able to reduce it, that, dropping for the preſent his expedition againſt the *Romans*, he thought it adviſeable to march back into his own country, after having ravaged great part of *Media*, and made ſome unſucceſsful attempts upon *Armenia* [r]. The next conſuls were *Albinus* and *Maximus*; during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity: but the following conſulſhip of *Modeſtus* and *Probus* was remarkable for the death of the celebrated civilian *Domitius Ulpianus*, who being appointed by *Alexander* captain of the prætorian guards, and endeavouring to eſtabliſh among them the ancient diſcipline, provoked their hatred to ſuch a degree, that, after having in vain ſolicited *Alexander* to remove him, they at length murdered him in the emperor's preſence. The chief authors of his death were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, and the moſt factious among the guards ignominiouſly diſcharged. In the room of *Ulpian*, the emperor choſe one *Decimus*, and *Julius Paulus*, a native of *Padua*, who had been baniſhed by *Heliogabalus*, on account of his great probity, and was perhaps as well ſkilled in the laws as *Ulpian* [s]. This year ſeveral tumults happened at *Rome* and in the provinces. The troops quartered in *Meſopotamia* revolted, murdered their general *Flavius Heracleo*, and went in great numbers over to the *Perſians* [t]. The troops in *Syria* proclaimed one *Taurinus* emperor, who, as they had conferred that honour upon him againſt his will, made his eſcape; and being purſued by the mutinous ſoldiery, threw himſelf into the *Euphrates*, and was drowned [u]. *Zoſimus* and *Syncellus* ſpeak of one *Uranus*, who, having uſurped the empire at *Edeſſa* in *Oſrhoene*, was defeated by the troops that remained faithful to *Alexander*. At *Rome* the prætorian guards attempted to raiſe one *Antoninus* to the empire; but he, declining that burden, withdrew into the country, and never afterwards appeared in the city [w]. But *Ovinius Camillus*, a ſenator, ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, ſtudying to gain the affections of the ſoldiery, in order to raiſe himſelf, by their means, to the empire, *Alexander* was no ſooner informed of his private practices, than he ſent for

Diſcharges the miniſters of the late emperor.

The Perſian *empire re-eſtabliſhed.*

The death of Ulpian.

The ſoldiers mutiny in ſeveral provinces.

[o] Alex. vit. p. 124, 139. [p] Idem, p. 132. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Dio, l. lxxx. p. 918. & in excerpt. Val. p. 769. Herod. l. vi. p. 176. [s] Vit. Alex. p. 122. [t] Dio, l. lxxx. p. 917, 918. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Syncell. p. 357. Zos. p. 639.

Ovinius Camillus *aſpireing at the empire, how treated by* Alexander.

for him to court, and thanked him for offering to take upon him ſo great a burden, ſtyled him his collegue, took him with him to the ſenate, allotted him an apartment in the palace, cauſed him to be attired in a far more pompous habit than his own, and treated him in every reſpect as his partner in the empire. As a war broke out at this time, which required the emperor's preſence, *Alexander* offered the command of the army to *Camillus*; but he declining it, the emperor deſired he would at leaſt ſhare with him the fatigues and the glory of that expedition. Accordingly they both ſet out from *Rome* on foot; but *Camillus*, who was not enured to a military life, being tired, after five miles march, *Alexander* begged he would purſue his journey on horſeback; which he did for two days, when the emperor, perceiving he could no longer bear even that fatigue, ordered a chariot to be provided for him; which proved ſo great a mortification to *Camillus*, that he begged leave to reſign the empire, and return home; which *Alexander* readily granted, aſſuring him before they parted, that he might live in ſafety where he pleaſed. *Camillus* retired to his country-ſeat, and there lived unmoleſted, during the reign of *Alexander*; but was put to death by ſome of his ſucceſſors, for what crime we are no-where told [x]. The expedition which *Alexander* is ſaid to have undertaken this year, was probably againſt the *Germans*; for it appears from ſome ancient inſcriptions, that great advantages were gained over them this year, the ſeventh of the emperor's reign [y]; and *Lampridius* tells us, that the *Germans* were overcome by *Varius Macrinus*, governor of *Illyricum* [z]. The ſame year, *Furius Celſus* ſignalized himſelf in *Mauritania Tingitana*, and *Junius Palmatus* in *Armenia*, and were both rewarded with the conſular ornaments [a].

a

b

c

The following year, *Alexander* entered upon his third conſulſhip, having *Dion Caſſius*, the ſecond time conſul, for his collegue. *Dion* was in the beginning of this reign in *Aſia*; whence he paſſed into *Bithynia*, his native country, with a deſign to ſtay ſome time with his friends and relations; but he was ſoon ſent into *Africa*, to govern that province, with the character of proconſul. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was appointed governor of *Illyricum*, and from thence removed into *Upper Pannonia*, where he revived the ancient military diſcipline among the troops, puniſhing the leaſt neglect of duty with the utmoſt ſeverity; inſomuch, that the prætorian guards, who dreaded his rigor, upon a report, that he was recalled to command them, no ſooner ſaw him appear in *Rome*, than they began to mutiny, and preſs the emperor to put him to death. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to their unjuſt demand, heaped many honours upon him, often appeared with him in public, and took him this year for his collegue in the conſulſhip: however, fearing the ſoldiers might offer him ſome inſult, if he appeared in *Rome* with the enſigns of the conſular dignity, he adviſed him to retire from the city, and paſs the time of his conſulſhip in the country, which he did accordingly. Soon after he obtained leave to withdraw into his own country, where he ſpent the remaining part of his life in quiet and retirement [b]. It will not be foreign to our purpoſe to inſert here the account which that writer gives us of the ſtate of the *Roman* legions at this time, and of the provinces where they were quartered. There were in the time of *Auguſtus* twenty-five legions, of which only nineteen were now remaining, the other ſix having been either diſbanded, or incorporated into ſome of thoſe that ſtill remained. On the other hand, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Veſpaſian*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Severus*, raiſed thirteen new ones; ſo that the legions at this time were in all thirty-two. Of theſe, three were quartered in *Britain*, one in *Upper*, and two in *Lower*, *Germany*, one in *Italy*, one in *Spain*, one in *Numidia*, one in *Arabia*, two in *Paleſtine*, one in *Phœnicia*, two in *Syria*, two in *Meſopotamia*, two in *Cappadocia*, two in *Lower*, and one in *Upper*, *Mœſia*, one in *Noricum*, and one in *Rhætia* [c]. Our author does not inform us where the two remaining legions were quartered, nor how many men each of them contained; but *Lampridius* ſeems to inſinuate, that each legion conſiſted of five thouſand men [d]. From this diſtribution of the legions it appears, that the *Romans* at this time looked upon the *Caledonians*, the *Parthians*, or rather *Perſians*, and the nations beyond the *Danube*, as their moſt formidable enemies, and were not ſo apprehenſive of any invaſion on the ſide of *Germany*, as they had been in former times; for now there were but three legions in that country, whereas in the reigns of *Auguſtus* and

Dion Caſſius *hated by the ſoldiery on account of his ſeverity.*

The number of the Roman *legions.*

d

e

f

[x] Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131. Not. Caſaub. p. 172. & Salmas. p. 230. [y] Birag. p. 323. [z] Vir. Alex. p. 134. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Dio, l. lxxx. p. 918. [c] Dio, l. lv. p. 564. [d] Alex. vit. p. 131.

a and *Tiberius*, the banks of the *Rhine* had been guarded by no fewer than eight legions, which were deemed the main ſtrength of the empire [c]. This year *Alexander*, who did not ſpare his greateſt friends, when manifeſtly convicted of abuſing the confidence he repoſed in them, cauſed *Vetronius Turinus*, one of his chief favourites, to be put to death for a crime of that nature. The emperor had a particular eſteem and kindneſs for *Turinus*, and often conſulted him in private, as he was a man of extraordinary abilities, about affairs of the greateſt importance. This honour and deference, which the emperor ſeemed to pay to him, the crafty courtier reſolved to turn to his own advantage, and accordingly gave out, that *Alexander* tranſacted nothing without his advice; that he had gained an abſolute ſway over him; and that it was
b in his power to raiſe whom he pleaſed to the firſt employments in the empire. By this means he accumulated immenſe wealth in a ſhort time, all who wanted any favour or preferment, recurring to *Turinus*, whoſe intereſt was not to be gained without rich preſents. He often did not ſo much as mention to the emperor the perſons whom he pretended to recommend; but nevertheleſs, when they happened to obtain, by means of others, what they demanded, he aſſumed the whole merit of it to himſelf, and exacted a proportionable acknowledgment, which in thoſe days was called *ſelling ſmoke*. The emperor, who was a man of great penetration, began to ſuſpect his favourite of ſuch practices; and therefore a perſon, in whom he could confide, ſoliciting him one day for a favour, he told him he would grant him his
c requeſt, provided he privately addreſſed *Turinus*, as if he wanted his recommendation. *Turinus*, glad of this opportunity, promiſed to employ all his intereſt in his behalf, and ſoon after told him, that he had already recommened him to the emperor, who, he was ſure, would grant him the deſired favour the very firſt time he had an opportunity of recommending him anew, which he hoped would be very ſoon. He added, that he deſerved to be rewarded for his trouble; and the petitioner referring that to his diſcretion, he not only exacted a large ſum for what he pretended to have done, but obliged him to promiſe, in the preſence of witneſſes, a far more conſiderable one, to be paid as ſoon as he obtained his requeſt. The emperor, who was informed of the whole, immediately granted the favour; which *Turinus* no
d ſooner knew, than he obliged his client, tho' he had never once mentioned his name to the emperor, to make good his word and pay the promiſed ſum, pretending, that by his means alone he had obtained what he deſired. Hereupon *Alexander* cauſed a diligent inquiry to be made into his former conduct, when it appeared, that he had received large ſums, not only from thoſe who had obtained any preferment, but from ſuch too as had had law-ſuits, and often from both parties; which ſo provoked the emperor, that he accuſed him to the ſenate, who ſentenced him to death; and the ſentence was put in execution in the following manner: The criminal was, by the emperor's orders, tied to a gibbet, and ſuffocated with the ſmoke of green wood and wet ſtubble, kindled round him, the public crier in the mean time
e proclaiming, *He who ſold ſmoke, dies with ſmoke* [f]. The following year, *L. Virius Agricola* and *Sex. Catius Clementinus* being conſuls, the emperor retired into *Campania*, and there ſpent this and the following year, when *Pompeianus* and *Pelignianus* were conſuls [g]. The next conſuls were *Lupus* and *Maximus*; during whoſe adminiſtration, *Artaxerxes*, the reſtorer of the *Perſian* monarchy, having reduced all the neighbouring countries, unexpectedly invaded the *Roman* dominions at the head of a mighty army, ravaged *Meſopotamia*, and advanced to the very confines of *Syria*. Hereupon *Alexander*, following the advice of his council, diſpatched embaſſadors with a letter to that conqueror, exhorting him not to engage the two empires in a long and dangerous war, without provocation, and putting him in mind of the
f victories gained over the eaſtern nations by *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, *L. Verus*, and *Severus*. But *Artaxerxes*, puffed up with his late ſucceſſes, deſpiſed the remonſtrances of *Alexander*, and purſued his ravages in *Meſopotamia*, laid ſiege to *Niſibis*, and entering *Cappadocia*, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. Hereupon the emperor reſolved to march againſt him in perſon; and accordingly, to the great grief both of the ſenate and people, left *Rome* in the ſpring of this year 232. the eleventh of his reign; and bending his march through *Illyricum*, where he was joined by the troops quartered in that province, arrived at *Antioch* about the beginning of the autumn; whence he ſent a ſecond embaſſy to *Artaxerxes*, hoping that his preſence would add ſome weight to

Vetronius Turinus abuſes the confidence placed in him by the emperor.

How puniſhed by the emperor.

Artaxerxes *invades the* Roman *dominions.*

Alexander *haſtens to* Antioch.

[c] Tacit. annal. iv. c. 5. Birag. p. 313.
[f] Alex. vit. p. 124, 125.
[g] Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 146.

to the reaſons he had formerly alledged. But the haughty *Perſian*, deriding the peaceable temper of the *Roman* emperor, choſe four hundred of the talleſt men in his army, and ſent them, well mounted, and richly apparelled and armed, in quality of embaſſadors, to acquaint the *Romans* and their emperor, that the great monarch *Artaxerxes* ordered them to retire forthwith from *Syria* and *Aſia*, and all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Ægean* ſea, which had formerly belonged to the *Perſians*. *Alexander* heard their meſſage with great temper, and then cauſed the embaſſadors to be ſtript of their rich armour and apparel, and ſent under a guard into *Phrygia*, where he allotted them houſes and lands to cultivate [h]. After this, he began to prepare for war in good earneſt, ordered the legions quartered in the different provinces of the eaſt to join him with all poſſible expedition, cauſed a great number of warlike engines to be got ready, and diſpatched officers into all parts to raiſe new levies. In imitation of *Alexander the Great*, whoſe name he bore, and for whom he had a particular veneration, he armed ſome companies of foot with ſhields covered with gold and ſilver, and formed ſix legions into a body of thirty thouſand men, which he called his *phalanx*. Theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves, during the war, in a very eminent manner, and were, when it was ended, rewarded for their ſervices with double pay [i]. *Lampridius* tells us, that the emperor being informed, ſoon after his arrival at *Antioch*, that ſome of his ſoldiers were gone to *Daphne*, and there bathed with the lewd women of that diſſolute place, he immediately ordered them to be arreſted and laid in irons. Hereupon the whole legion, to which they belonged, beginning to mutiny, *Alexander* went out to them, and, without betraying the leaſt fear, told them, that as the ancient diſcipline was the main and only ſupport of the empire, he was reſolved to maintain it at all events, and puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity, nay, with death, thoſe diſorders and debaucheries which had been allowed in the late reign. At theſe words, the whole legion began to utter their rage in horrible cries; but *Alexander*, with an air of authority, *Silence*, ſaid he, *I command ſilence; keep theſe clamours to terrify the* Perſians, *the* Sarmatians, *and the* Germans: *you have learnt of thoſe, who taught you the art of war, that you are to frighten the enemy with that ſavage noiſe, and not your emperor, who, at the expences of his people, maintains, cloathes, and pays you. Forbear therefore theſe unſeaſonable clamours, which are only fit for battle, leſt I diſband you all, or inflict upon you a more ſevere puniſhment.* Hereupon the uproar increaſing, and ſome of the boldeſt even menacing him with their ſwords; *Reſerve your menaces*, ſaid he, *for the enemy; them you may frighten, but not me, who deſpiſe your impotent rage: ſhould you murder me, the republic will not be at a loſs to find me a ſucceſſor, who will puniſh you according to your deſerts.* As the mutiny ſtill continued, he cried out with a loud voice, *I diſband you all; citizens, lay down your arms, and be gone.* With theſe words the whole legion was thunderſtruck; they obeyed, quitted their arms, laid down even their military garments, and retired in ſilence, while the emperor's guards took up their ſtandards, and carried them, together with the arms of the diſbanded legion, to the camp. However, before the emperor ſet out againſt the *Perſians*, he reſtored them, upon the interceſſion of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, to their former rank, after having puniſhed with death their tribunes, for having ſuffered the ſoldiers under their command to tranſgreſs with impunity the military laws, and for neglecting to ſuppreſs the tumult [k]. This legion ſignalized themſelves above the reſt in the *Perſian* war, and ſhewed more concern for the death of *Alexander* than any other [l].

Haughty emblem of the Perſian *monarch.*

Alexander prepares for war.

A legion mutinies.

The intrepidity of Alexander.

At length *Alexander* took the field at the head of a numerous army, obſerving in all his marches and motions ſuch order and diſcipline, that his camp ſeemed a well governed city, his ſoldiers citizens, and his officers ſo many ſenators [m]. He puniſhed with great ſeverity ſuch as offered the leaſt injury to any of the inhabitants of the countries through which he marched. One of his ſoldiers having injured an old woman, he not only diſbanded him, but obliged him to maintain her, as her ſlave, with his labour, ſo long as ſhe lived. Others he puniſhed for very ſmall offences with death, cauſing the public crier to repeat during the execution, *Do as you would be done by*. It was death for any officer, of what rank ſoever, to detain the leaſt part of his ſoldiers pay or allowances. But notwithſtanding his great ſeverity, no emperor was ever more beloved both by the officers and ſoldiers, as no one ever rewarded them

Marches againſt the Perſians.

His care of the military diſcipline, and of the ſoldiery.

[h] Herod. l. vi. p. 579. [i] Alex. vit. p. 131. [k] Vit. Alex. p. 133. [l] Idem, p. 136. [m] Idem, p. 130.

a them with more generoſity, when they complied with their duty; took more care of them when ſick or wounded; or ſupplied them on all occaſions more plentifully with proviſions. He kept conſtantly in his cabinet certain regiſters, in which were marked the names of all the officers and ſoldiers, the provinces were they were quartered, the time of their ſervice, the dates of their commiſſions, the names of the perſons at whoſe recommendation they had been preferred, their exploits, if they had performed any, their good and evil qualities, *&c.* Theſe regiſters he frequently peruſed, and by that means became acquainted with moſt of the officers and ſoldiers of his different armies, often mentioned their names, and preferred only perſons of merit[n]. When they were ſick, he viſited them in their tents, even the common
b ſoldiers, ſupplied them with chariots, and ſuffered them to want nothing that could any-ways relieve or comfort them in their ſickneſs. If they were not in a condition to purſue their march, he recommended them to the care of perſons of known integrity and good-nature, whom he rewarded with great generoſity for their trouble, whether the ſoldiers died or recovered[o]. He was always ready to hearken to the complaints of the meaneſt in the army againſt their tribunes and other officers, puniſhing them, when guilty, according to the quality of their crime, without any favour or diſtinction[p]. He frequently diſtributed large ſums among them, aſcribing chiefly to their poverty the diſorders they committed. They were all ſo well clad and armed, ſays *Lampridius*, and the cavalry ſo well mounted, that nothing gave a more true
c idea of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire, than the army of *Alexander Severus*[q]. In his marches he cauſed proviſions to be got ready before-hand at the ſeveral places where the army was to incamp; whereas before his time each ſoldier uſed to carry with him ſubſiſtence for ſeventeen days. In the enemy's country, where he could not uſe that precaution, he cauſed the neceſſary proviſions to be carried on horſes, mules, and camels; which gained him the affections of the ſoldiery, and at the ſame time rendered his marches ſo quick and expeditious, that he is ſaid in moſt of his wars to have ſurpriſed the enemy[r]. In his garb and dreſs he little varied from the common ſoldiers, and his diet was the ſame with theirs. He conſtantly dined and ſupped in public with his tent open, and in the ſight of the whole army, and viſited, before
d he withdrew to repoſe, each quarter in the camp. Thus, partly with a ſeaſonable ſeverity, partly with his affable and obliging behaviour, he re-eſtabliſhed the ancient diſcipline among the troops, which had been intirely neglected in the reign of *Heliogabalus*; and gained, by his firmneſs and intrepidity, ſuch an authority over them, as to diſband whole legions; which no emperor had offered to do ſince the time of *Julius Cæſar*[s]. With an army thus diſciplined, the emperor marched early in the ſpring of this year 233. againſt *Artaxerxes*, who, fluſhed with his former ſucceſſes, would hearken to no terms, however reaſonable; but advanced towards the frontiers of the *Roman* dominions at the head of an army conſiſting of an innumerable multitude of foot, and one hundred and thirty thouſand horſe, with eighteen hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, and ſeven hundred elephants bearing towers on their backs,
e filled with archers, after the *Perſian* manner[t]. Of this war *Herodian* gives us the following account: *Alexander*, having divided his army into three bodies, ordered one to enter *Media*, another to march into the country of the *Parthians*, and led himſelf the third, which conſiſted of the flower of the army, at an equal diſtance from the other two. They were all to meet at an appointed place; but *Alexander*, either through want of courage, or yielding to the intreaties and tears of his mother, inſtead of purſuing his march and entering the enemy's country, halted in *Meſopotamia*; ſo that the body which had marched through the country of the *Parthians* were intirely cut off, while they waited the arrival of the emperor at the appointed place, and the
f other obliged to retire, and repaſs in the depth of winter the mountains of *Armenia*, in which painful march great numbers of them died either with cold or hunger. The body which *Alexander* commanded was greatly diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and the emperor himſelf was ſeized with a dangerous malady, which almoſt brought him to the point of death[u]. Others write, that *Alexander* was betrayed by ſome of his own people, and obliged to ſave himſelf and his army by flight. But moſt hiſtorians aſſure us, that he gained a complete victory over the *Perſians*; and *Lampridius* quotes the very words of *Alexander* to the ſenate on that occaſion. According to him, the emperor

He is both feared and beloved by the ſoldiery.

The ſucceſs of his expedition againſt the Parthians.

[n] Idem, p. 120, 121. [o] Idem, p. 130. [p] Idem, p. 119, 121. [q] Idem, p. 132. [r] Idem, p. 134. [s] Idem, p. 117. [t] Idem, p. 133. HERODIAN. l. vi. p. 580. [u] HEROD. ibid.

emperor entered the enemy's country, without ſo much as acquainting before-hand a
his officers with the rout he intended to take. He was ſoon met by *Artaxerxes*, at
the head of the moſt numerous army that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts; where-
upon a battle enſuing, the emperor diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner,
encouraging the ſoldiers more by his example than by words; expoſed himſelf to the
enemies darts and arrows like a common ſoldier; viſited, during the engagement,
both the wings of his army; flew through the ranks; and, in ſhort, diſcharged every
duty of a valiant ſoldier and experienced commander [w]. The numerous army of
Artaxerxes was utterly routed, and that conqueror obliged, notwithſtanding his former
victories and conqueſts, to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful flight. The particulars of this
engagement we may learn from *Alexander* himſelf, who, on his return to *Rome*, gave the b
ſenate an account of this memorable expedition in the following ſpeech: "Conſcript
His ſpeech to the ſenate.
" fathers, we have overcome the *Perſians*, and there is no need of great eloquence
" to acquaint you with the particulars of this victory. The enemy came with ſeven
" hundred elephants, the greateſt number ever ſeen together in the field. Theſe
" carried towers upon their backs, filled with archers and arrows. Three hundred
" of the elephants we took, two hundred we killed upon the ſpot, and eighteen we
" have brought hither with us. They had eighteen hundred chariots armed with
" ſcythes, of which we took two hundred. We have cut in pieces an army of one
" hundred and twenty thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand men armed cap-a-pé, with
" whoſe ſpoils we have inriched our troops. We took a great number of priſoners, c
" whom we have ſold. The country of *Meſopotamia*, lying between the *Tigris* and
" the *Euphrates*, which my predeceſſor *Heliogabalus* had neglected, we have recon-
" quered, and brought again under ſubjection. We have put the moſt potent king
" *Artaxerxes*, as he is ſtyled, to flight; the country of *Perſia* beheld him flying for
" the firſt time. In the place where the *Romans* formerly loſt their enſigns and ſtand-
" ards, the *Perſians* have now loſt theirs. You ſee, conſcript fathers, what we
" have atchieved; the ſubject needs no eloquence to adorn or ſet it out; the army is
" returned rich, and loaded with booty. It is incumbent upon you to appoint pub-
" lic thankſgivings for ſo ſignal a victory, that we may not ſeem ungrateful to the
Diſagreement amongſt authors about the ſucceſs of this expedition.
" gods, who have bleſſed our arms with ſuch ſucceſs [x]." This ſpeech, *Lampridius* d
aſſures us, he copied out of the journals of the ſenate, and found it, word for word,
in the works of many hiſtorians; and therefore he cannot conceive how *Herodian*
could write, that *Alexander* loſt his army by famine, cold, and ſickneſs; which, he
ſays, is contradicting all the records, memoirs, and hiſtories of thoſe times. *Julius
Capitolinus* tells us, that *Herodian* hated *Alexander*, and therefore gave an unfaithful
and detracting account of his *Perſian* expedition [y]. However, he is followed by
Zonaras [z] and *Cedrenus* [a]. But *Aurelius Victor*, *Feſtus*, *Eutropius*, St. *Jerom*, and *Syn-
cellus*, abandon him in this particular, and follow *Lampridius*. All the oriental hiſto-
rians write, that *Alexander* was utterly defeated, and obliged to purchaſe a peace,
by yielding to the *Perſian* all the countries lying between the *Euphrates* and the fron- e
tiers of *Paleſtine* [b]. But, after all, *Lampridius* relates ſo many particulars of this vic-
tory, and appeals with ſuch confidence to the journals of the ſenate and the hiſtorians
of thoſe times, that we cannot help preferring his authority to that of the oriental
hiſtorians, and of *Herodian* himſelf. After this victory *Alexander* returned to *Antioch*,
with a deſign to purſue the war with freſh vigor the following year; but, in the mean
while, being informed, that the *Germans* had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and at
the ſame time that *Artaxerxes* had diſbanded great part of his army for want of pro-
viſions, he reſolved to quit the eaſt and return to *Rome*, apprehending greater evils
from the *Germans* than from the *Perſians*. Accordingly, having erected ſeveral forts
in *Meſopotamia*, and left numerous gariſons to defend them, he ſet out from *Antioch* f
in the ſpring of the following year, when *Maximus* and *Urbanus* were conſuls; and
Alexander *returns to* Rome, *and triumphs.*
arriving ſafe at *Rome*, was there received by perſons of all ranks with the greateſt
demonſtrations of joy imaginable. He entered the city in triumph, his chariot being
drawn, not by four white horſes, as was uſual, but by four of the elephants which he
had taken [c]. When the ceremony was over, he went to the ſenate, where he made
the ſpeech we have related above. From the ſenate he repaired to the capitol, and
there conſecrated ſome of the *Perſian* ſpoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Then turning to
the

[w] Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Vit. Maxim. p. 143. [z] Zonar. p. 225.
[a] Cedren. p. 256. [b] Rein. epiſt. xlviii. p. 438. [c] Alex. vit. p. 135. Fest. p. 553.

a the people, *I have overcome the* Perſians, ſaid he, *and the army is returned loaded with booty. I promiſe you a largeſs, and propoſe to exhibit to-morrow the* Circenſian *ſports.* From the capitol he marched to the palace on foot, followed by his triumphal chariot, and attended by the ſenate, the equeſtrian order, and ſuch crouds of people, all crying, Rome *is ſafe, while* Alexander *is ſafe*, that with much-ado he reached the palace in four hours. The next day, he exhibited the *Circenſian* ſports, gave the promiſed largeſs, and, in honour of his mother, eſtabliſhed a fund for the maintenance of the children of the poor citizens, who were thence called the children of *Mamæa* [d].

He leaves Rome *to march againſt the* Germans.

In the mean time, news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Germans* and other nor-
b thern nations had paſſed the *Rhine* and the *Danube* in great numbers, the emperor, to the inexpreſſible grief of the ſenate and people, left the city, and haſtened with his victorious army into *Gaul*, to ſtem this furious torrent. We are told, that a woman, by profeſſion a *Druid*, meeting him on his march, cried out to him in her language, *You may go; but hope not for victory, nor truſt your own ſoldiers.* The hiſtorian does not inform us whether or no *Alexander* heard and underſtood her; but he aſſures us, that *Alexander* feared neither death, nor the omens that were thought to preſage it, whereof he gives us the following inſtance: A celebrated aſtrologer, by name *Thraſybulus*, the emperor's particular friend, having one day told him, that his fate was to fall by the hand of a barbarian, he was tranſported with joy, not doubting, but he ſhould die in
c the field, which, he ſaid, was a death worthy of an emperor, obſerving to the aſtrologer, that many great men had ended their days by a violent death, and naming among the reſt *Alexander the Great*, *Pompey*, *Julius Cæſar*, *Demoſthenes*, and *Cicero* [e]. In the beginning of the following year, when *Severus* and *Quinctianus* were conſuls, *Alexander* advanced with his army to the banks of the *Rhine*; but finding the enemy had repaſſed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be built over it, with a deſign to attack them in their own country, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would allow him to take the field [f]. *Herodian*, who always paints *Alexander* as a weak and timorous prince, tells us, that he ſent embaſſadors to the *Germans* with propoſals of peace, which he even offered to purchaſe at any rate; and adds, that during
d the time of this ſhameful negotiation, he diverted himſelf with driving chariots, and ſuch-like unprincely exerciſes; which provoked the ſoldiers, and occaſioned his ruin [g]. But *Lampridius* clears the emperor from theſe ill-natured aſperſions, and aſcribes the diſcontent of the ſoldiery, that is, of the legions quartered in *Gaul*, to their licentiouſneſs, and to the ſeverity of *Alexander*, which they could not endure, after having been, under *Heliogabalus*, long inured to idleneſs and all manner of debauchery. Among theſe troops was one *Maximinus*, by nation a *Goth*, whom *Alexander*, in regard of his valour, had preferred to the command of a body of *Pannonians*; but he, unmindful of his duty and of the obligations he owed to the emperor, inſtead of attempting to appeaſe the licentious and diſcontented ſoldiery, fomented under-hand
e the tumult, and, by his ſeditious ſpeeches, inſpired the multitude with contempt for *Alexander*, as one who was governed by a woman, meaning *Mamæa*, and conſequently unfit for carrying on the war with vigor [h]. The emperor was then either at *Mentz* or *Sicilia*, which moſt geographers take to be the preſent village of *Siclingen* in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, or that of *Ober-Weſel* on the *Rhine*, in the territory of *Treves*, between *Boppart* and *Bingen*. As *Alexander* had but a ſmall body of troops with him, *Maximinus* reſolved to lay hold of that opportunity, and to diſpatch him, not doubting, but the troops under his command, whom he had gained with mighty promiſes, would, upon the death of that prince, proclaim him emperor. He imparted his deſign to ſome of the moſt bold and reſolute among his men, who, animated with the
f hopes of great preferments, readily engaged to put it in execution, and immediately ſet out for the place where the emperor then was, which they contrived to reach about an hour after mid-day, when thoſe who attended the emperor were withdrawn to refreſh themſelves, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, with a ſhort ſleep after dinner. They no ſooner appeared, than the few ſoldiers who were upon guard betook themſelves to flight, having probably been gained over before-hand by *Maximinus*. *Mamæa*, alarmed at the unexpected noiſe and tumult, ran out, attended by the captains of the guards, to appeaſe it; but the aſſaſſins, having firſt murdered both her and

Who retire at his approach.

The Gauliſh *legions complain of the ſeverity of* Alexander.

They are encouraged by Maximinus.

[d] Vit. Alex. p. 133, 134. [e] Idem, p. 135, 136. [f] Idem, p. 137. [g] Hero. l. vi. p. 585, 589. [h] Idem, ibid.

and them, entered with their drawn ſwords the emperor's tent, who, as he was unarmed and left quite alone, threw his imperial mantle over his face, and received, without uttering a ſingle word, the many blows with which they diſpatched him, deriding him the whole time as a child unfit to be at the head of an army, and inveighing againſt his mother, as one whoſe only care was to amaſs riches [b]. Such was the unfortunate and undeſerved end of *Alexander Severus*, after he had lived, according to the moſt probable opinion, twenty-ſix years, five months, and nineteen days, and reigned thirteen years and nine days. The loſs of no prince was ever more regretted by the ſenate, the people, and the ſoldiery, than that of *Alexander*, who, by his wiſe adminiſtration, had gained the affections of all ranks of men. The ſenate immediately decreed both to him and to his mother *Mamæa* divine honours, appointed them altars, prieſts, and ſacrifices, and inſtituted, in honour of the deceaſed emperor, an annual feaſt, which was ſtill kept in the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, on the firſt of *October*, *Alexander*'s birth-day [c]. The ſoldiers were no ſooner appriſed of his death, than they put to the ſword all thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſory to it, except the chief author of it, *Maximinus*, who, by perſuading the ſoldiery that he had no hand in the murder, eſcaped for the preſent the deſerved puniſhment. *Alexander* was, according to the teſtimony of all the ancients, *Herodian* alone excepted, one of the beſt and wiſeſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre, and would, had he lived longer, have intirely reformed thoſe abuſes, which, after his death, involved the empire in endleſs calamities. He was ſparing of the public money, liberal of his own, kind and generous to all good men; but an irreconcileable enemy to the wicked, eſpecially to ſuch as were convicted of having plundered the provinces, and oppreſſed the people committed to their care. Theſe he never ſpared, though his friends, favourites, and kinſmen; but ſentenced them to death, and cauſed them to be executed, notwithſtanding their quality or former ſervices, like common malefactors. *Eucolpius* the hiſtorian, one of *Alexander*'s chief favourites, tells us, as quoted by *Lampridius* [d], that he could not even bear the ſight of ſuch public robbers; inſomuch, that one *Septimius Arabinus*, who had been tried for that crime, but acquitted by favour of *Heliogabalus*, coming one day with other ſenators to wait upon the emperor, *Alexander*, on ſeeing him, cried out in a violent paſſion, *O ye immortal gods! is* Arabinus *ſtill alive, and a ſenator! Does he even preſume to appear in my preſence! Surely he takes me to be as wicked as himſelf!* After this, he cauſed it to be proclaimed by the public crier, that if any one guilty of the ſame crime ever preſumed to appear in his preſence, he ſhould immediately receive his deſerved puniſhment, notwithſtanding the pardon granted him by his predeceſſor [e]. He uſed to ſay, that it was not a ſufficient puniſhment to deprive corrupt magiſtrates and governors of their places; but that, as the truſt repoſed in them was great, they ought to pay for the breach of it with their lives. He baniſhed one of his ſecretaries for giving to his council in writing a falſe account of an affair, and cauſed the ſinews of his fingers to be cut, that he might never write after. One of his ſlaves, convicted of having received a bribe, he cauſed to be crucified on the road which led from the city to the villa, where he frequently reſided, that by the ſight of the body, which was left on the croſs, his other ſlaves might be deterred from the like practices [f]. He never pardoned any crime committed againſt the public; but ſuffered no one to be condemned, till his cauſe was thoroughly heard, and his offence evidently proved. The firſt thing he did after his acceſſion to the empire was, to diſcharge all the officers, miniſters, and governors employed by *Heliogabalus*, and appoint in their room perſons of known probity. He retrenched all the penſions which that prodigal prince had ſettled on his freedmen, on buffoons, ſtage-players, charioteers, gladiators, *&c.* ſaying, that the emperor was but the ſteward of the people, and therefore could not, without the utmoſt injuſtice, thus wantonly ſquander away their revenues upon perſons no-ways uſeful to them. No prince ever paid greater deference to the ſenate than *Alexander*. He was the firſt emperor who allowed the ſenators to ſit when they came to wait upon him. He appointed no governors or magiſtrates without adviſing with them, and never failed to prefer ſuch as they recommended to him. He admitted none into the ſenate without the concurrence and approbation of all the members of that venerable body, aſking the opinion of each in particular, and examining with great ſtrictneſs into the manners and former conduct

Alexander is aſſaſſinated.

His character

His hatred to thoſe who robbed the public.

His deference to the ſenate.

[b] Idem, p. 135. Vict. epit. Zos. l. i. p. 639. Herod. l. vi. p. 587.
[c] Alex. vit. p. 136.
[d] Alex. vit. p. 119.
[e] Idem, ibid.
[f] Idem, p. 124.

a conduct of the perſon who was to be admitted. If upon this inquiry he was found unworthy of a place in the ſenate, ſuch of the ſenators as had recommended him, were themſelves degraded, and ſuch as had given teſtimony of his probity, condemned, as in caſes of perjury, to loſe their eſtates, and baniſhed for ever. He never admitted either freed-men or their children to the equeſtrian order, which he uſed to call *the nurſery of the ſenate*. He appointed, that the captains of the guards ſhould no longer be choſen out of the equeſtrian, but only out of the ſenatorial, order; that no one ſhould have the power of judging a ſenator, but who was himſelf a ſenator; for the captains of the guards had been long the ordinary judges of the ſenators in caſes of treaſon [g]. Thus by degrees the captains became the moſt powerful officers b in the ſtate, and their office more conſiderable than even that of the conſuls, which in the end ruined the authority of the ſenate. In the adminiſtration of juſtice *Alexander* never took upon him to decide any law-ſuit, without conſulting his council, which conſiſted of the moſt learned civilians in *Rome*, whom he obliged to give their opinions in writing, after having allowed them time to examine and weigh matters at their leiſure, that they might not pronounce ſentence without due premeditation. Thus were all matters of juſtice determined by perſons of known integrity, and well ſkilled in the laws. In military affairs he conſulted only ſuch perſons as had acquired experience by their long ſervice, and were well acquainted with the ſituation of places, or men verſed in hiſtory, inquiring of them what had at any time been done on the c like occaſions by his predeceſſors or other great captains. He is ſaid never to have given any public office out of favour or friendſhip; but to have employed ſuch only as were both by himſelf and the ſenate judged the beſt qualified for the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them. He preferred one to the command of the guards, who had retired into the country on purpoſe to avoid that office, ſaying, that with him the declining of ſuch honourable employments was the beſt recommendation to them. He would not ſuffer any employments to be ſold, ſaying, *He who buys, muſt ſell in his turn; and it would be unjuſt to puniſh one for ſelling, after he has been ſuffered to buy*. In appointing governors of provinces he obſerved a commendable cuſtom, which was to publiſh their names, and encourage all perſons to declare, either in public or d private, whether they had any thing to lay to their charge: *Since* Jews *and* Chriſtians, ſaid he on this occaſion, *uſe ſuch commendable methods in the choice of their prieſts, it is reaſonable we ſhould proceed with the like care in the choice of rectors of provinces, who are intruſted with the lives and fortunes of ſo many perſons*. As he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who betrayed their truſt, ſo he rewarded with great generoſity ſuch as had anſwered the good opinion he entertained of them, and either raiſed them to employments of greater profit, or, if they choſe to retire, preſented them with houſes and lands, ſaying, that ſince corrupt governors inriched themſelves at the expence of the people, good governors ought to be inriched at the expence of the prince [h]. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and ſhew, and extremely modeſt in his apparel, e telling thoſe who found fault with him on that account, that a prince ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, not by his apparel, but by his gallantry and virtuous actions. The rich preſents ſent him by foreign princes he beſtowed on the temples; but ſold all the jewels, employing the money accruing from them to the relief of the poor citizens. The embaſſadors of an eaſtern prince having preſented the empreſs with two pearls of an extraordinary ſize, *Alexander* ordered them to be ſold; but no one being found rich enough to purchaſe them, he conſecrated them to ſerve as pendents to a ſtatue of *Venus*, that the empreſs might not ſeem by wearing them to encourage luxury in others. He kept ſuch a ſmall number of ſlaves and freed-men, whom he cauſed to wear a particular habit, in order to put them in mind of their f condition, that when he gave any public entertainment, he was obliged to uſe thoſe of his friends, nay, and to borrow their plate; for he ſold all the gold and moſt of the ſilver-plate belonging to the palace, to defray the neceſſary charges of the government, without burdening the people. He reduced the impoſts with which *Heliogabalus* had loaded both *Rome* and the provinces, to the thirtieth part, and ſuffered ſeveral cities to apply even that towards the repairing of their public buildings. He lent money without intereſt to the poor, wherewithal to purchaſe houſes and lands, allowing them time to pay the capital with the product of their lands. He was ſo far from filling the exchequer at the expence of the people, that he could not abide the ſight of thoſe, whoſe province it was to levy the taxes; he uſed to call them *neceſſary*

He beſtows the office of captain of the guards only on ſenators.

Impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

Prefers only perſons of merit.

Alexander *an enemy to all pomp and ſhew*

Reduces the taxes.

[g] Idem, p. 120. [h] Idem, p. 119, &c.

neceſſary evils, and never ſuffered any of them to continue in his office a full year. He filled at a vaſt charge the public granaries, which, upon his acceſſion to the empire, he found almoſt empty; diſtributed weekly great quantities of oil and corn amongſt the poor citizens; and allotted funds for the maintenance and education of their children [l]. He would not ſuffer the money levied upon the public proſtitutes and catamites to be returned into his private coffers, as other emperors had done; but allotted it towards the repairing of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre. He built granaries in all the quarters of the city, for the uſe of thoſe who had none of their own. Of theſe public and common granaries frequent mention is made by the ancients. He cauſed baths to be likewiſe erected in each quarter of the city, and at his own expence furniſhed them with wood, and oil for the lamps in the night; whereas before his time they were never opened till the riſing, and were ſhut again at the ſetting, of the ſun. He built a great many fine houſes for ſuch of his friends and miniſters as had ſerved him faithfully, and lived without reproach [k]. He furniſhed the governors of provinces at their firſt ſetting out with money and other things which were thought neceſſary; that is, according to *Lampridius*, with twenty pounds weight of ſilver, eight mules, two horſes, two gowns, an hundred pieces of gold, one cook, one coachman, and one concubine, if the perſon he named was not married [l]. He founded a great many free ſchools in *Rome*, and took particular care of the children of noble, but decayed, families. He imbelliſhed *Rome* with an incredible number of ſtately buildings; repaired moſt of the ancient ſtructures, leaving upon them the names of their firſt founders; and erected in the great ſquare of *Nerva* ſtatues in honour of moſt of the emperors his predeceſſors, with inſcriptions on columns of braſs, containing ſuccinct accounts of all their memorable actions [m]. *Alexander* was a great encourager of learning, took great delight in converſing with learned men, and ſpent all the time he could ſpare from public affairs in reading the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, eſpecially *Plato*'s commonwealth, *Tully*'s offices, the works of *Horace*, of *Virgil*, whom he uſed to ſtyle the *Plato* of the poets, and of *Serenus Sammonicus*, another poet, whom we have mentioned above [n]. He was himſelf well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, and deſcribed in verſe the exploits of ſome of his predeceſſors [o]. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology, which was by his orders publicly taught at *Rome*, and pretended to be thoroughly acquainted with the ſcience of the ſoothſayers and augurs, both as to entrails of ſacrifices and the flight and chirping of birds [p]. He often went to hear the poets and orators declaim in the public ſchools; but would not allow them to write any thing in his praiſe. In ſhort, *Alexander*, to end the hiſtory of his reign with the words of *Aurelius Victor*, made it his whole ſtudy to encourage virtue and learning, to reform abuſes, to reſtore the military diſcipline, and to diſcharge with the greateſt fidelity and diſintereſtedneſs each duty of an excellent prince. His endeavours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the empire would have ſtill retained its former luſtre, had thoſe who ſucceeded him firmly maintained what he had ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed. Some of his predeceſſors, namely *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius*, performed perhaps greater things; but were older when they came to the empire, than *Alexander* was at the time of his death [q]. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, the reader will find a ſuccinct account in our note (Q).

His public works.

His learning.

[i] Idem, p. 124, 130. [k] Idem, p. 127. [l] Idem, p. 130. [m] Idem, p. 123. [n] Hiſt Univerſ. Vol. VI. p. 129. not. (O). [o] Vit. Alex. p. 123. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Aur. Vict. in vit. Alex.

(Q) *Lampridius*, in his life of *Alexander*, often quotes *Acholius Septimus*, and *Eulcopiûs*, but ſeems to prefer *Septimius* to the other two (99). They flouriſhed under *Alexander*, and wrote the hiſtory of that prince's reign. *Voſſius* ranks them among the *Latin* hiſtorians, tho' none of their works have reached our times; and *Lampridius* does not inform us, whether they wrote in *Greek* or *Latin* (100). *Acholius* lived in the time of *Alexander*, but died long after; for he was *admiſſionum magiſter*, that is, in the modern phraſe, maſter of the ceremonies, to the emperor *Valerian*, who began his reign in the year 253. eighteen years after the death of *Alexander* (1). He even wrote the life of *Valerian*, and conſequently outlived him; nay, *Voſſius* is of opinion, that he was ſtill alive in the reign of *Aurelian*, who was raiſed to the empire in 270 (2). *Eulcopius* not only lived in the time of *Alexander*, but was highly favoured by that prince (3). A treatiſe on government, aſcribed to *Eulcopius*, was tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Engliſh* above a hundred years ſince, in which the reader will find a particular account of a ſuppoſed conference between the emperor *Alexander* and *Origen*. But as ſome circumſtances of that conference

(99) *Vit. Alex. p.* 119, 131, 136. (100) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p.* 719. (1) *Aur. Vict. p.* 213. (2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *p.* 182. *Alex. vit. p.* 119.

ference are inconſiſtent with what we read in the beſt hiſtorians, we are inclined to aſcribe that piece to ſome modern *Greek* writer, and to look upon the whole as a mere fable (4). *Gargilius Martialis* wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of the reign of *Alexander*, and is ranked by *Vopiſcus* among thoſe hiſtorians who wrote with more exactneſs than elegance (5). *Servius* and other writers quote a treatiſe on gardening by one *Gargilius Martialis* (6); but whether this be the hiſtorian, or another author of the ſame name, we cannot take upon us to determine. *Marius Maximus* wrote the hiſtory of the emperors from *Trajan* to *Alexander*, and is often quoted by the *Auguſtine* writers. *M. Valois* takes him to be the ſame perſon with *L. Marius Maximus*, who had been conſul, and was preferred by *Macrinus* to the government of *Rome* in the year 218 (7). *Ammianus Marcellinus* obſerves, that at *Rome*, in the fourth century, when learning was utterly neglected, many, who never looked into any other book, read with great attention the ſatires of *Juvenal* and the hiſtory of *Marius Maximus* (8). *Capitolinus* commends his ſincerity and exactneſs (9); but *Vopiſcus*, whoſe judgement is of great weight with the learned, ſtyles him, of all hiſtorians, the moſt tedious and long-winded, and finds fault with him for filling his books with fables (10). The life of *Alexander* was likewiſe publiſhed by *Aurelius Philippus*, his father's freed-man (11). *Julius Granianus*, who inſtructed *Alexander* in rhetoric, left ſome declamations, which were ſtill extant in the time of *Lampridius* (12). Beſides the celebrated civilians *Ulpianus* and *Paulus*, of whom we have made mention above, *Florentinus*, *Ælius Marcianus*, *Hermogenes* or *Hermogenianus*, *Calliſtrata*, and *Q. Claudius Venuleius Saturninus*, whoſe names are famous in the pandects, were all *Papinian*'s diſciples, and flouriſhed under *Alexander*; as did likewiſe *Herennius Modeſtinus*, who was preceptor to *Maximinus*, the ſon of the emperor of that name, and wrote ſeveral books of juriſprudence, and, among the reſt, one in *Greek*, on the excuſes of guardians. He was honoured with the conſulſhip by *Alexander*, but was ſtill alive in the reign of *Gordian*, which began in 239 (13). In the time of *Alexander*, flouriſhed, as we ſuppoſe, the ſophiſts, who are mentioned by *Philoſtratus* in the end of his work; for he wrote ſoon after that prince's reign (14). Among theſe was *Aſpaſius*, who attended the emperor into the eaſt, afterwards taught at *Rome*, and was in the end preferred to be one of the emperor's ſecretaries, and charged with the province of drawing up his reſcripts, which he did in a bombaſtic and obſcure ſtyle. He was a native of *Ravenna* (15). *Caniſius* publiſhed in 1602. the work of an anonymous chriſtian writer, compoſed, as the author informs us, in the thirteenth year of *Alexander*'s reign, and the 236th after the birth of our Saviour. But he counts two hundred and ſix years ſince our Saviour's death, ſuppoſing him to have lived only thirty years. This work is an ill-digeſted abridgment of geography and chronology, and, in the opinion of the learned, full of anachroniſms and other faults. The tranſcribers of *Caniſius*'s copy have left out the chronological table of the *Roman* emperors, which is twice promiſed in the preface (16). Father *Labbé*, who has publiſhed the ſame author, found in his copy the above-mentioned table, which is far from being exact (17). It ends with the thirteen years and nine days of the reign of *Alexander* (18); whence it is plain, that the author put the laſt hand to it in the beginning of the reign of *Maximinus*. In father *Labbé*'s edition of this work, the author promiſes a catalogue of the biſhops of *Rome*, and the time of their reſpective epiſcopacies; but that catalogue is wanting in the manuſcript. The author was perhaps a native of *Rome*, and a prieſt; for in father *Labbé*'s edition, he addreſſes himſelf to a deacon, whom, he ſays, he deſigns to inſtruct; which, in the primitive church, no eccleſiaſtic of an inferior rank, and much leſs a layman, would have taken upon him to do. Of this writer *Voſſius* takes no notice.

But the moſt famous of all the writers, who flouriſhed under *Alexander*, was the celebrated hiſtorian *Dion Caſſius*, called alſo *Caſſius Cocceius*, or *Cocceianus*. He was a native of *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, and probably related to *Cocceianus Dion*, a citizen of *Pruſa* in the ſame province, in whoſe behalf *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan* (19). Under *Trajan* flouriſhed another *Dion* of *Pruſa*, a famous ſophiſt, commonly known by the name of *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, who wrote ſeveral works, which have reached our times (20). The hiſtorian was the ſon of *Apronianus*, who was governor of *Cilicia* about the year 183. when the two brothers *Quintilii* were put to death by *Commodus*'s order (21). He was likewiſe for ſome time governor of *Illyricum* (22). His ſon was at *Rome* in the reign of *Commodus*, at leaſt towards the latter end of it (23). He was ſenator in the year 192. the laſt of the reign of *Commodus*, and named prætor for the enſuing year by *Pertinax*, who had a particular kindneſs and eſteem for him (24). He was appointed conſul by the emperor *Severus* (25), attended, after that prince's death, his ſon *Caracallæ* into the eaſt (29), and ſpoke with him, for the laſt time, at *Nicomedia*, about the latter end of the year 215 (27). *Macrinus* named him to the government of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*, which he held under *Heliogabalus*, and was ſtill in *Aſia* in the year 221 (28). From *Aſia*, he went into *Bithynia*; whence he was recalled, and appointed governor, firſt of *Africa*, afterwards of *Illyricum*, and laſtly of *Pannonia*; in which governments he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Alexander*, upon his return to *Rome*, honoured him with a ſecond conſulſhip in the year 228 (29). When the time of his conſulſhip expired, he obtained leave to return into his own country, where he paſſed the remaining part of his life in retirement. *Dion Caſſius* wrote in eight decades, that is, in eighty books, the *Roman* hiſtory, from the landing of *Æneas* in *Italy*, to the reign of the emperor *Alexander* (30). In the time of *Severus*, he wrote a book on the dreams and other prodigies, which ſeemed to preſage the riſe of that prince; which being well received by the emperor, *Dion* dreamt the following night, that his genius commanded him to undertake the writing of hiſtory. Accordingly he immediately began that of the reign of *Commodus*; and being encouraged by *Severus* and others, to whom he read what he had done, to apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory, he undertook that of *Rome* (31), and ſpent ten years in collecting the neceſſary materials for ſo great a work, and twelve more in compoſing it (32). He is very minute in his hiſtory

(4) *Vide Selden. in Eutych. Ægypt. &c. not. p.* 174, 175. *Londin. ann.* 1642. (5) *Vopiſc. Prob. vit. p.* 234. (6) *Vide Caſaub. not. p.* 168. (7) *Ammian. not. p.* 364. *Spon. p.* 114. (8) *Ammian. l.* xxviii. *p.* 372. (9) *Vit. Alb. p.* 84. (10) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 3. *p.* 178 (11) *Vit. Alex. p.* 118. (12) *Idem ibid, p.* 115. (13) *Alex. vit. p.* 137. & *Caſaub. not. p.* 178. *Maxim. vit. p.* 148. *Cod. Juſtin. l.* ii. *tit.* 12. *leg.* 11. *p.* 197. (14) *Philoſ. ſoph.* lix. *p.* 622. (15) *Idem. p.* 623. (16) *Canis antiq. lect. tom.* ii. *p.* 594. (17) *Labbé bibl. nov. tom.* i. *p.* 308. (18) *Idem, p.* 309. (19) *Plin. l.* x *epiſt.* 87. *p.* 612. (20) *Suid. p.* 753, & 765. (21) *Dio, l.* lxix. *p.* 788. & *l.* lxxii. *p.* 820. (22) *Idem, l.* xlix. *p.* 413. (23) *Idem, l.* lxxii. *p.* 818. (24) *Idem ibid. p.* 820, 827. & *l.* lxxiii. *p.* 835. (25) *Idem, l.* lxxvi. *p.* 869. (26) *Idem, l.* lxxviii. *p.* 883, 884. (27) *Idem, l.* lxxix. *p.* 909. (28) *Idem, p.* 915. (29) *Idem, l.* lxxx. *p.* 917. (30) *Suid. d. p.* 753. (31) *Idem, l.* lxxii. *p.* 828. *Phot. c.* 71. *p.* 105. (32) *Idem, l.* lxxii. *p.* 829.

of the emperors to the death of *Heliogabalus*; but gives us only a ſummary account of the eight firſt years of *Alexander*, having been, as he himſelf informs us, moſt part of that time abſent from *Italy* (33), and conſequently not ſo well acquainted with what paſſed at *Rome*. He had, it ſeems, begun his hiſtory before the death of *Plautianus*, that is, before the year 204. and ended it ſoon after the year 229. for he takes no notice of *Alexander*'s war with the *Perſians*. His account of the public tranſactions, from the reign of *Commodus* to that of *Alexander*, is very particular and minute; for he then began to write, not what he had learnt of others, but what he had himſelf ſeen and obſerved. He aſſures us, that no one capable of writing a hiſtory was better acquainted than himſelf, both with the public and private tranſactions; which is not at all incredible in a perſon of his rank. His ſtyle, according to *Photius*, is ſublime, and anſwerable to the greatneſs of his ſubject; his terms expreſſive, his phraſe elegant, his periods full and well-ſounding, and the whole worthy of the beſt hiſtorians of ancient *Greece*. He propoſed *Thucydides* for his model, and does not, in the opinion of *Photius*, fall much ſhort of that excellent writer (34). *Voſſius*, however, blames him for crying down the greateſt men of antiquity, namely, *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and *Seneca*; but others clear him from that cenſure, and think he acted the part of an unbiaſſed hiſtorian, in diſcovering the faults (for no man is without faults) even of thoſe whom he himſelf moſt admired (35). He blames only what in them was blame-worthy, and commends what to him ſeemed commendable. Others think him too diffuſe in his accounts of dreams, prodigies, and other things of that nature, beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian. He wrote, as we have obſerved above, the *Roman* hiſtory in eighty books; but of that great work only a ſmall part has reached us. For the firſt thirty-four books have been long ſince entirely loſt; and of the thirty-fifth only ſome fragments are remaining: the following books, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are thought to be intire; but the next ſix are, in ſome places, ſtrangely maimed and corrupted. Of the twenty laſt, we have only ſome fragments publiſhed by *Fulvius Urſinus* and *M. Valois*. However, that great loſs has been in ſome degree ſupplied by *John Xiphilin*, who was patriarch of *Conſtantinople* in the eleventh century, and epitomized *Dion*'s hiſtory from the thirty-fifth book to the end. This epitome is greatly eſteemed by the learned, and thought to be very exact. The hiſtory of *Zonaras* may likewiſe be called an abridgment of *Dion*'s work; for he copied, as he himſelf owns, moſt of his hiſtory from *Dion*, and followed him with great exactneſs. Theſe abridgments have been of great uſe to us in the compiling of our hiſtory; for in them are to be found the moſt material tranſactions of the *Romans*, from the period where *Tacitus*'s hiſtory ends, to the time of the emperor *Alexander*: from that prince to *Conſtantine*, the hiſtory of the emperors is more perplexed and leſs certain. For *Herodian* wrote with more elegance than exactneſs; and *Lampridius* and the other *Auguſtine* writers ſcarce deſerve the name of hiſtorians. They wrote in the beginning of the fourth century; and *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* only copied them about the cloſe of the ſame century. *Zoſimus*, who wrote at the end of the fifth century, ſhews, by the miſtakes of which he is guilty in the very beginning of his work, that he either made uſe of bad memoirs, or did not underſtand the good ones. *Dion Caſſius*, beſides his *Roman* hiſtory, publiſhed a particular hiſtory of *Trajan*, the life of the philoſopher *Arrian*, the diſciple of *Epictetus*, itineraries, the hiſtory of the *Perſians*, and that of the *Getæ* (36). The latter was known to *Jornandes*, who copied from it what he writes of *Telephus*, king of the *Getæ* in the times of *Achilles* and *Ulyſſes* (37).

(33) *Idem*, *l.* lxxvi. *p.* 860. (34) *Phot. c.* 71. *p.* 103. (35) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 15. *p.* 238. (36) *Suid. d. p.* 714. (37) *Jornan. de reb. Gothic. c.* 9.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Alexander Severus, *to the captivity of* Valerian, *when the empire was uſurped by thirty perſons at once, commonly called* the thirty tyrants.

Maximinus *declared emperor, and his ſon* Maximinus Cæſar.

THE murder of *Alexander* occaſioned a great tumult and confuſion in the army; during which the *Pannonian* troops, under the command of *Maximinus*, proclaimed him emperor; and the reſt, finding no other appeared to claim or diſpute that title, followed their example, and took the uſual oaths to *Maximinus*, after he had ſolemnly declared, that he had been no-ways concerned in or acceſſory to the death of *Alexander*. The new emperor immediately declared his ſon *Maximinus Cæſar* and prince of the *Roman* youth, inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular power, honoured him with the title of *Auguſtus*, and took him for his partner in the ſovereignty. The ſenate, whom he took care to acquaint as ſoon as poſſible with his aſſumption to the empire, not daring to oppoſe the choice of the ſoldiery, confirmed

a confirmed it; ſo that *Maximinus* was, without the leaſt oppoſition, acknowledged emperor by the ſenate, the people, and the army [r]. He was, according to *Syncellus* [s], a native of *Thrace*; according to *Herodian*, *Capitolinus*, and *Jornandes*, born in a village on the confines of that province, and the country of the barbarians. His father, by name *Micea*, or *Micca*, was a *Goth*; and his mother *Ababa*, or *Abala*, an *Alan* [t]. He is ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions *C. Julius Verus Maximinus*. He was of a very mean extraction, and in his early youth a ſhepherd, but of a gigantic ſtature, being eight foot and a half tall, and withal exceeding well ſhaped, all his limbs anſwering his ſtature in ſymmetry and proportion. Of his ſtrength, wonderful things are related by the ancients, *viz.* that he was often ſeen

His extraction and preferments.

His mighty ſtrength.

b to draw a loaded waggon, which two oxen could ſcarce move, to tear up trees by the roots, to crumble pebbles between his fingers, *&c.* Beſides, he was ſo bold and courageous, that he took delight in expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers: whence he was called, for his courage and valour, *Achilles*, *Hector*, and *Ajax*; for his ſtrength, *Hercules*, *Antæus*, and *Milo*; but at the ſame time, for his ſavage cruelty, *Buſiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*. He was firſt known to the emperor *Septimius Severus* on the following occaſion: That prince having exhibited, as he paſſed through *Thrace*, ſome military games and exerciſes in honour of his ſecond ſon *Geta*, and propoſed prizes for the conquerors, *Maximinus*, at that time about twenty years old, begged leave of the emperor, partly in the *Latin*, and partly in the *Thracian*, language, to

c enter the liſts, and try his ſkill with the reſt. The emperor, admiring his ſize, matched him, not with the ſoldiers, as he was a barbarian, but with ſome of the ſtrongeſt ſlaves in the camp, whom he overcame, ſixteen one after the other. Hereupon the emperor ordered him to be liſted among the horſe. A few days after, as the emperor was viſiting the different quarters of the camp on horſeback, *Maximinus*, accoſting him, began to run by him. The emperor, to try whether he could run as well as he could wreſtle, put his horſe upon a full gallop, and rid round the camp, *Maximinus* keeping cloſe by him the whole time, till both he and his horſe were quite ſpent. Then turning to him, *Thracian*, ſaid he, *art thou now diſpoſed to wreſtle? I am*, anſwered *Maximinus*, *as much as you pleaſe*. The emperor imme-

d diately diſmounted, and ordered ſome of the ſtrongeſt ſoldiers and beſt wreſtlers in the army to enter the liſts with him, of whom he overcame and threw down ſeven, as if they had been ſo many children; which ſo pleaſed the emperor, that he preſented him with a golden collar, placed him among his guards, and heaped many favours upon him, appointing him extraordinary allowances, the common pay not being ſufficient to ſupport him. For he uſed to eat, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, forty, according to *Ælius Cardus*, a more ancient hiſtorian, ſixty, pounds weight of fleſh a day; and to drink eight amphoræ of wine, that is, ſix gallons, without ever eating or drinking to exceſs [u]. He was preferred by *Caracalla* to the poſt of a centurion, but quitted the army upon that prince's death, being unwilling to ſerve

e under *Macrinus*, the chief author of the murder, and retired to his own country. When *Heliogabalus* came to the empire, he offered his ſervice to him; and being admitted again into the army, he was, by the intereſt of his friends, raiſed to the rank of a tribune; but always declined, under ſome pretence or other, attending the emperor, who had diſobliged him with an impure jeſt, alluding to his mighty ſtrength [w]. He had even abſented himſelf from *Rome*, not being able to bear the ſight of that lewd monſter; but returned thither when he underſtood that *Alexander* was raiſed to the empire, and was by that prince received with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, recommended by him to the ſenate, created ſena-

He is greatly favoured by Alexander.

f tor, and honoured with the command of a new-raiſed legion, which the emperor thought him well qualified to inſtruct in the military exerciſes. In that office he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Alexander* preferred him to a higher command, and, at the breaking out of the *German* war, charged him with the care of diſciplining the new-raiſed troops, conſiſting chiefly of *Pannonians*. We are told, that *Alexander* had even ſome thoughts of marrying his ſiſter *Theoclia* to the ſon of *Maximinus*, who, in moſt inſcriptions, is ſtyled *C. Julius Verus Maximinus*. He was a youth of extraordinary beauty, in ſtature almoſt equal to his father, well ſhaped, brave, courageous, but proud and haughty to ſuch a degree, that, upon his being proclaimed *Auguſtus*,

[r] Max. vit. p. 142. [s] Sync. p. 361. [t] Herod. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138. Jornand. regn. c. 22. [u] Herod. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138, 139. [w] Max. vit. p. 139, 140.

Auguſtus, and his father's partner in the empire, he ſuffered his ſoldiers not only to a
kiſs his hand, but his knees and feet, which his father could never endure. When he
was killed with his father in the year 238. he was betrothed to *Julia Fadilla*, the
great neice of *Antoninus Pius* [x].

His cruelty after his acceſſion to the empire.

Maximinus no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power, than he diſ-
miſſed all thoſe who had been employed by *Alexander* in places of truſt, and appointed
creatures of his own in their room, ſelected for the moſt part out of the very
dregs of the people. He made it his chief ſtudy to gain the affections of the ſoldiery;
but chuſing rather to be feared than loved by the reſt of his ſubjects, he began his
reign with unheard-of cruelties. All thoſe who had been intimate with *Alexander*,
or ſhewed the leaſt concern for his death, were by his orders inhumanly maſſacred; b
the ſenators, whom he had created, degraded; and ſuch officers as he had raiſed,
under various pretences, diſcharged, and moſt of them baniſhed. Being aſhamed of
the meanneſs of his extraction, he cauſed all thoſe who knew his parents, or any of his
family, to be privately murdered, though many of them had relieved him when in a
low condition, and by their intereſt raiſed him in the army. His cruelty was height-
ened by the conſpiracy of *Magnus*, a conſular of an illuſtrious family and great merit.

The conſpiracy of Magnus.

He conſpired with ſome of *Alexander*'s old ſoldiers to break down the bridge which
that prince had built over the *Rhine*, after *Maximinus* had paſſed it, and abandon
him to the enemy. But the conſpiracy being diſcovered, all thoſe, whom *Maximi-
nus* only ſuſpected to have been privy to it, were inhumanly maſſacred, to the number c
of four thouſand, without being tried, or even examined; which induced many to
believe, that the plot was only a contrivance of *Maximinus*, to rid himſelf of thoſe
who gave him umbrage [y]. A few days after the conſpiracy of *Magnus*, the *Oſrhoe-*

The Oſrhoenians *revolt.*

nians, who ſerved in the army, and had been always greatly attached to the late
emperor, no longer doubting that he had been aſſaſſinated by *Maximinus*'s orders,
openly revolted, proclaimed *T. Quartinus* emperor, and attired him, much againſt
his will, with the imperial purple and all the enſigns of ſovereignty. But ſoon after
one *Macedo*, who had been the chief author of the revolt, and pretended great friend-

Quartinns *betrayed and murdered.*

ſhip for *Quartinus*, murdered him while he was repoſing in his tent, and carried his
head to *Maximinus*, who, inſtead of rewarding him according to his expectation, d
cauſed him ſome time after to be executed, for rebelling againſt his prince and betray-
ing his friend [z]. The *Oſrhoenians* returning to their duty after the death of *Quartinus*,
the following year, when *Severus* and *Quintianus* were conſuls, *Maximinus* entered

Maximinus *gains ſeveral victories over the* Germans.

Germany at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt
the enemy's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible
number of priſoners. Several battles were fought in the woods and marſhes, in each
of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand, diſcharging
every duty of a gallant ſoldier and experienced commander. He choſe always to
fight at the head of his troops, and often grappled with the enemy hand to hand like
a common ſoldier. Having, in one encounter, to encourage his men, ruſhed ſword e
in hand into the midſt of the enemy, he was ſurrounded on all ſides, and had been
either killed or taken, notwithſtanding his extraordinary ſtrength, in which he placed
too much confidence, had not his men, animated by the example of their general,
haſtened to his reſcue. He took care to tranſmit an account of his victories to the
ſenate, telling them among other things, that he had laid waſte the enemy's country
four hundred miles round; deſtroyed near one hundred and fifty of their villages;
taken an incredible numbers of priſoners; and fought more battles, than any of the
ancients had ever done [a]. He ordered his exploits to be repreſented in painting, and
hung up in the ſquares and public places at *Rome*. For theſe victories the ſenate
decreed both to him and his ſon the title of *Germanicus*; which is ſtill to be ſeen on f
ſeveral of his medals [b]. From *Germany* he marched into *Illyricum*, and having paſſed
the winter at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, where he entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, and
took *Africanus* for his collegue, early in the ſpring he led his army into the countries

Overcomes the Dacians *and* Sarmatians.

of the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, gained ſeveral victories over thoſe barbarous nations,
and obliged them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them.
He had nothing leſs in view, than to extend the borders of the empire to the northern
ocean; which he would have eaſily accompliſhed, ſays *Herodian* [c], had he not been
inter-

[x] Max. vit. p. 119, &c. [y] Idem, p. 142. Herod. l. vii. p. 589. [z] Herod. l. vii. p. 590. Max. vit. p. 142, &c. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Goltz. p. 101, 102. Birag. p. 329. [c] Herod. l. vii. p. 592.

a interrupted by a civil war and great diſturbances at home, occaſioned by his unheard-of cruelty and inſatiable avarice. He encouraged informers, feigned plots, and condemned, without diſtinction of quality, ſex, or age, all who were accuſed, ſeizeing their eſtates, and reducing the richeſt families in *Rome* to beggary. Perſons of the greateſt diſtinction were ſnatched away from their friends and relations, and, upon various groundleſs accuſations, carried into *Pannonia*, to be judged by the emperor, who never failed to condemn them either to death or baniſhment, and to ſeize their eſtates, whether the crimes laid to their charge were proved or no. Not ſatisfied with the wealth of ſo many illuſtrious families, he began to plunder the temples, to ſtrip the public buildings of their ornaments, and to ſeize on the public
b money in the cities allotted for the maintenance or diverſions of the people. This alarmed the populace, and diſpoſed them to a general revolt, which firſt broke out in *Africa*, about the middle of *May* of the enſuing year, when *Perpetuus* and *Cornelianus* were conſuls, on the following occaſion: Two young men of great diſtinction, being condemned by the emperor's receiver in that province, who oppreſſed the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, to pay a fine, which would have reduced them to beggary, conſpired to ſave their fortunes, by deſtroying him; and accordingly, having gained ſome ſoldiers of the legion quartered there, they fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut in pieces both him and ſuch of the ſoldiers as attempted to defend him. This murder, they well knew, the emperor would never forgive; and therefore,
c well appriſed, that the only means of eſcaping the puniſhment due to their crime, was to create a new prince, they openly revolted, and with the concurrence of the people, who could no longer bear the tyrannical government of *Maximinus*, proclaimed *Gordianus*, at that time proconſul of *Africa*, emperor in his room. *Gordianus* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, and univerſally beloved both at *Rome* and in the provinces, many of which he had governed, on account of his extraordinary merit and virtues; but as he was ſtricken in years, being at this time eighty and upwards, when the people broke unexpectedly into his houſe, and ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, he threw himſelf upon the ground, and begged with many tears they would ſuffer him to ſpend the poor remains of his life in quiet,
d and chuſe ſome other more able, on account of his age, to deliver the ſtate from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned. But the people, and at their head one *Mauricius*, a perſon of great authority among them, continuing unalterable in their former reſolution, *Gordianus* was in the end conſtrained to accept the enſigns and title of emperor; which he had no ſooner done, than, to the inexpreſſible joy of all the *Africans*, he took his ſon, who bore the ſame name, was then his lieutenant, and had been conſul, for his partner in the empire. From *Thyſdrus*, a city of no ſmall note in *Byzacene*, not far from *Adrumetum*, where this happened, *Gordianus* marched to *Carthage*, and made his entry into that city arrayed with the imperial purple, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, ſaluting him with the title of *Gordianus*
e *Africanus*. From *Carthage* he wrote to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, acquainting them with what had happened in *Africa*, and aſſuring them, that he had accepted of the empire againſt his will, and was ready to reſign it, if they did not think fit to confirm his election. In the decrees which he ſent with his letters, and ordered to be publicly ſet up with the approbation of the ſenate, he gave leave to all exiles to return home, baniſhed the informers, promiſed large ſums to the people, and to the ſoldiery a greater largeſs than any emperor had ever given. At the ſame time, he wrote to all the great men in *Rome*, moſt of whom were his particular friends, encouraging them to exert themſelves on the preſent occaſion, and join him in reſcuing *Rome* from the inſupportable tyranny of *Maximinus*, which was the only motive that had prompted
f him in his old age to ſubmit to ſo heavy a burden as the empire. In his letter to *Junius Syllanus*, then conſul, he charged that magiſtrate to diſpatch without delay *Vitalianus*, who commanded the body of the prætorian guards that had been left in *Rome*, and was greatly attached to *Maximinus*, being of a no leſs cruel and ſavage temper than that tyrant. *Syllanus*, upon the receipt of this letter, ſent the quæſtor, attended by ſome reſolute men, with letters to *Vitalianus*, which he pretended to have juſt received from *Maximinus*, injoining them to draw him aſide, and diſpatch him while he was peruſing them; which they did accordingly, and then gave out, that what they had done was by *Maximinus*'s orders: which was believed; for thus he uſed to treat even his beſt friends. After this, the conſul *Syllanus* aſſembled at his houſe the prætors, ædiles, and tribunes of the people, and, attended by them, went to the

His cruelty.

The people in Africa *revolt.*

Gordian *proclaimed emperor in* Africa.

He writes to the ſenate.

ſenate, and there read, on the twenty-ſeventh day of *May*, the letters which *Gordianus* had written both to them and to him. Hereupon the ſenate, in great tranſports of joy, declared, without the leaſt heſitation, the two *Gordians* emperors, the two *Maximins* public enemies, and decreed a great reward to ſuch as ſhould kill either of them. At the ſame time, they named to the prætorſhip of the enſuing year a third *Gordian*, grandſon to the elder, tho' then only but twelve years old. Theſe proceedings, however, were kept ſecret, till ſuch time as the ſenate had taken the neceſſary meaſures for quaſhing at once the party of the *Maximins* in *Rome*; which was no ſooner done, than they gave out, that they were both killed, and that the two *Gordians* reigned in their room. The edicts of the latter were publicly hung up, and their images carried to the camp, with their letters to the ſoldiery, who being, after the death of *Vitalianus*, deſtitute of a leader, readily ſubmitted to the *Gordians*. As for the people, tranſported with rage againſt *Maximinus* hardly to be expreſſed, they immediately ran and pulled down all his ſtatues and monuments, uttering dreadful imprecations againſt the bloody tyrant and his ſon. At the ſame time, the ſenate enacted a decree, ſentencing to death all the friends of *Maximinus*, and the miniſters of his cruelty. Hereupon ſuch of them as had not the good luck to eſcape were maſſacred without mercy by the enraged multitude, dragged through the ſtreets, and thrown into the common ſewer. Several innocent perſons periſhed with the guilty, many laying hold of that opportunity to diſpatch their private enemies or creditors. *Sabinus*, governor of *Rome*, endeavouring to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, had his brains daſhed out with a blow from one of the mob, and his body was left for ſome time in the public ſtreet [d].

Who acknowledge him emperor, and declare Maximinus *a public enemy.*

The friends of Maximinus *at* Rome *murdered.*

In the mean time, it being publicly known, that *Maximinus* was ſtill alive, the ſenate iſſued a ſecond decree againſt him, declaring anew both him and his ſon public enemies, and at the ſame time diſpatched perſons of the greateſt intereſt and authority into all the provinces, with letters to the proconſuls, preſidents, lieutenants, tribunes, *&c.* exhorting them to join in the common cauſe, and exert themſelves in defence of their common liberties, againſt a raging tyrant and public enemy (S). They likewiſe choſe twenty ſenators, who had all been conſuls, and ſent them into different parts of *Italy*, with orders to guard night and day all the roads, ports, and harbours, that no account of what had paſſed at *Rome* might be tranſmitted to *Maximinus* before the arrival of *Gordian*. The letters of the ſenate were received in moſt cities and provinces with incredible joy, and a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the officers and friends of *Maximinus*. Only a few places continued faithful to him, and either delivered up to the tyrant, or maſſacred, the deputies of the ſenate. At *Rome* perſons of all ranks and ages, even the women and children, crouded to the temples, beſeeching the gods, that they would never ſuffer the bloody tyrant to approach the city [e]. *Maximinus*, who was at this time either in *Thrace* or *Sarmatia*, ſoon received intelligence of what had paſſed at *Rome* and in *Africa*, notwithſtanding all the precautions of the ſenate; nay, a copy of the decree of the ſenate, declaring him a public enemy and ſetting a price upon his head, was tranſmitted to him; upon the reading of which he flew into ſuch a paſſion, as can hardly be expreſſed or conceived: more like a wild beaſt than a human creature, ſays the author of his life, he beat his head againſt the wall, threw himſelf upon the ground, tore his royal robes, drew his ſword, and, after having uttered dreadful menaces againſt the ſenate, fell upon thoſe who ſtood next to him, and would have killed his ſon, had he not quickly withdrawn, for having refuſed to quit him and live at *Rome*; which the father adviſed him to do upon their firſt coming to the empire, and which would, in his opinion,

The ſenate all to a man revolt from Maximinus.

His rage upon the news of the revolt.

[d] Gordian. vit. p. 153, & ſeq. Max. vit. 143, & ſeq. Herod. l. vii. p. 595—598.

[e] Herod. l. vii. p. 599. Max. vit. p. 141.

(S) The letter, which the ſenate wrote on this occaſion, was conceived in the following terms: "To all proconſuls, preſidents, lieutenants, commanders, tribunes, free towns, cities, villages and caſtles, the ſenate and people of *Rome*, whoſe deliverance from the tyranny of the cruel monſter *Maximin* is begun by the *Gordians*, greeting: By the favour of the gods we have for emperor *Gordian*, a perſon of the greateſt merit and virtue. We have proclaimed him emperor, and, for the greater ſecurity of the ſtate, his ſon in conjunction with him. It is incumbent upon you to concur with us in procuring and promoting the public welfare and ſafety; in oppoſing the wicked deſigns of thoſe who threaten us; and in purſuing to death the cruel tyrant *Maximin* and his friends; for we have declared him and his ſon public enemies (33)."

(33) *Vit. Max. p.* 143, 144.

a opinion, have kept the ſenate and people in awe, and prevented the preſent revolt. In ſhort, ſuch was his fury and rage, that his friends, looking upon him as a man bereft of his underſtanding, with much-ado ſnatched his arms from him, and carried him to his room. Being returned to himſelf, he ſpent ſome days in deliberating with his council about the moſt proper meaſures to be purſued at ſuch an important conjuncture. Then aſſembling his army, he acquainted them with the ſtate of affairs, pretending to be under no apprehenſion, and promiſing to diſtribute among them the eſtates of the ſenators and *African* rebels. Having ended his ſpeech, he gave his ſoldiers a great bounty, and without loſs of time began his march towards *Italy*. *He marches for* Italy.

b The troops not ſhewing ſo much ardour and forwardneſs as he expected, he wrote to his ſon, who was marching with a ſeparate body at ſome diſtance, to join him with all poſſible expedition, leſt the army ſhould, in his abſence, attempt upon his life. At the ſame time, he diſpatched perſons to *Rome*, to publiſh there in his name a general pardon with reſpect to all paſt injuries, and with them letters to *Sabinus*, not being yet appriſed of his death, in which was incloſed a copy of the decree declaring him a public enemy; for he ſuppoſed *Sabinus*, who had abſented himſelf that day from the ſenate, to be altogether ignorant of what had paſſed there [f]. While *Maximinus* was marching towards *Italy*, the face of affairs was quite changed in *Africa*: A ſenator, by name *Capelianus*, had been appointed governor of *Mauritania* by *Maximinus*, with a conſiderable body of troops under his command, to make

c head againſt the *Moors* not ſubject to *Rome*, who infeſted with daily incurſions the *Roman* territories. But *Gordianus*, to whom he had ever been a declared enemy, and whom he had on all occaſions oppoſed, immediately diſcharged him, and named another in his room. *Capelianus*, who was an officer of great valour and experience, inſtead of obeying the orders of the new emperor, aſſembled all his forces, levied ſeveral companies of *Moors*, and having with incredible diſpatch drawn together a very conſiderable body of well diſciplined and reſolute men, marched at the head of them ſtrait to *Carthage*. His approach alarmed the city. The inhabitants, however, betook themſelves to their arms, and marched out under the conduct of *Gordianus* the younger to meet the enemy. Hereupon a bloody engagement enſued, in which

d *Gordianus*'s raw and undiſciplined troops performed wonders; but were in the end put to flight, and moſt of them cut in pieces either in the battle or the purſuit. *Gordianus* himſelf was killed in the field, which, together with the loſs of the battle and the approach of the enemy, reduced the father to ſuch deſpair, that he ſtrangled himſelf with his own girdle [g]. Such was the end of the two *Gordians*, after having reigned, according to the moſt probable opinion [h], one month and ſix days. They were ſprung from two of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious families in *Rome*. *Gordianus* the father, ſtyled in moſt medals and inſcriptions *M. Antonius Gordianus*, was the ſon of *Mæcius Marullus*, deſcended from the *Gracchi*, and of *Ulpia Gordiana*, of the family of the emperor *Trajan*. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had

e been conſuls, and he himſelf twice diſcharged that honourable office, firſt with the emperor *Caracalla* in 213. and the ſecond time with *Alexander Severus* in 229. His wealth was anſwerable to his quality; for he poſſeſſed, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, more land in the provinces, than any private man in *Rome* [i]. The ſame writer obſerves, that he was the firſt private perſon who had a conſular habit of his own, the reſt, and even ſome of the emperors, contenting themſelves with the common robes that were lodged in the capitol [k]. He was well-ſhaped, of a comely and majeſtic aſpect, and thought to reſemble the emperor *Auguſtus*. He was highly eſteemed by the emperor *Alexander*, who returned public thanks to the ſenate for preferring ſo deſerving a perſon to the government of *Africa*, ſtyling him, in the letter which he

f wrote on that occaſion, a nobleman of great magnanimity, eloquence, juſtice, moderation, integrity, goodneſs, *&c.* He was exceeding kind to all his relations, and paid ſuch reſpect to his wife's father, *Annius Severus*, that he never preſumed, before he was prætor, to ſit down in his preſence, and never failed waiting upon him once a day, even when he was conſul. He was very ſober in his diet, modeſt, but proper, in his dreſs, and regular in all his actions, without ever being guilty of any exceſs, or diſcompoſed by any paſſion [l]. He was well verſed in all the branches of literature, eſpecially in poetry, and wrote in his youth ſeveral poems, which were greatly eſteemed,

Capelianus *raiſes forces againſt the* Gordians.

Their death.

Extraction and preferments of the two Gordians.

[f] Gord. vit. p. 157, 158. Herod. p. 601. Max. vit. p. 141. [g] Herod. l. vii. p. 602, 603. Gord. vit. p. 158. Max. vit. p. 145. [h] Vide Petav. doct. temp. p. 337. [i] Gord. vit. p. 151, 152. [k] Idem, p. 152. [l] Idem, p. 152, 153.

eſteemed, and, among the reſt, one intituled *Antoniniades*, deſcribing in thirty books a
the lives and wars, the public and private actions of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Aurelius*, or *Antoninus Philoſophus*. He wrote likewiſe in proſe the praiſes of the *Antonini*. His chief entertainment was to read *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, and the other ancient authors. No one ever gave greater ſatisfaction to the people, or diſcharged the public offices with more generoſity, than *Gordianus*. During the year of his ædileſhip, he exhibited public ſhews once a month, ſometimes five hundred couple of gladiators at a time, and never leſs than one hundred and fifty. He cauſed an incredible number of wild beaſts to be brought to *Rome*, for the diverſion of the people, from the moſt diſtant parts of the empire. In one day a thouſand bears were hunted
and killed, and, in his other ſhews, ſuch numbers of wild beaſts of all kinds, as had b
never before been ſeen in *Rome*; which gained him the affections of the people, intirely addicted to diverſions of that nature. After his ſecond conſulſhip, he was immediately ſent into *Africa* in quality of proconſul; which office he diſcharged with ſuch juſtice, equity, and moderation, that he was univerſally adored, and more beloved by the people than any governor had ever been before him, ſome calling him a *Scipio*, ſome a *Cato*, ſome a *Mutius Scævola*, a *Rutilius*, a *Lælius*. He married *Fabia Oreſtilla*, the daughter of *Annius Severus*, and grand-daugter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, and had by her a daugter named *Mæcia Fauſtina*, who was married to *Junius Balbus* a conſular; and a ſon ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions and medals *M. Antonius Gordianus* [m], with the title of *pontifex*; whereas his father is diſtinguiſhed with that of c
pontifex maximus. The ſon was killed in the year 237. the forty-ſixth of his age [n], and conſequently was born in 191. the twelfth of the reign of *Commodus*. He had an extraordinary memory, and was well verſed in polite literature, having had *Serenus Sammonicus* for his preceptor, who bequeathed to him his famous library, conſiſting of ſixty-two thouſand volumes. He wrote ſeveral pieces both in proſe and verſe, which ſhewed, ſays *Capitolinus* [o], that he had a fine genius, but neglected to cultivate and improve it. He was well ſkilled in the law, and one of *Alexander*'s chief counſellors. He was univerſally beloved on account of his obliging carriage and extraordinary ſweet temper; but loved his pleaſures, and ſpent moſt of his time in baths, gardens, and groves. He kept conſtantly twenty-two concubines, and is ſaid to have had by d
each of them three or four children; whence he was called the *Priamus*, and ſatirically the *Priapus*, of his time. *Ælius Cordus* writes, that he could never be prevailed upon to marry, and conſequently had no lawful iſſue. On the other hand, *Dexippus* tells us, that he married, and had by his wife *Gordian*, afterwards emperor [p]. But, according to *Herodian*, the emperor was not his, but his ſiſter's, ſon. But of him hereafter, *Gordian*, of whom we are now writing, was highly favoured by *Heliogabalus*, as a young man addicted to his pleaſures, and by that prince raiſed to the quæſtorſhip. *Alexander* preferred him, as he was a man of known integrity and great abilities, to the prætorſhip, and ſoon after honoured him with the conſular dignity. In the reign of *Alexander* or *Maximinus* he was ſent into *Africa*, in quality e
of lieutenant to his father, who took him for his partner in the empire, and, upon his death, put an end to his own life in the manner we have related above.

To reſume now the thread of our hiſtory. The diſmal tidings of the death of the two *Gordians* in *Africa* threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation. However, as they dreaded above all things the cruel effects of *Maximinus*'s reſentment, and expected to find no mercy at the hands of ſo barbarous a tyrant, they reſolved, not to ſubmit to him, but to defend themſelves to the laſt. The ſenate therefore, aſſembling in the temple of *Concord*, choſe two new emperors, *M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus* and *Decimus Cælius Balbinus*. The former was a perſon of low birth, but extraordinary merit. His father was, according to ſome, a cart-wright, according f
to others, a lock-ſmith; but the ſon raiſed himſelf, chiefly by his courage and valour, to the firſt employments in the empire. He ſerved firſt in quality of a private ſoldier; but was ſoon preferred, as he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions, to the poſt of a centurion, then to that of a tribune, and not long after to the command of ſeveral legions, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was admitted into the ſenate, created prætor, honoured with the conſulſhip, and ſucceſſively appointed governor of *Bithynia*, *Greece*, and *Narbonne Gaul*. From *Gaul* he was ſent to command the troops in *Illyricum*, where he gained great advantages over the *Sarmatians*, and the

Pupienus *and* Balbinus *proclaimed emperors.*

The riſe and preferments of Pupienus.

[m] Goltz. p. 102. [n] Vit. Gord. p. 158. [o] Idem, p. 160. [p] Idem ibid.

the forces in *Germany*, where he was attended with equal ſucceſs againſt the *Germans*. Upon his return from *Germany*, he was made governor of *Rome*, in which place he acquitted himſelf with ſuch prudence, integrity, and diſcretion, that he was both eſteemed and beloved by perſons of every rank and condition. He appeared always grave and ſerious, and ſhewed no great complaiſance to any one; but was juſt, merciful, and never guilty of the leaſt action that ſavoured of inhumanity, but on the contrary always ready to forgive. He addicted himſelf to no party, was ſteady and inflexible in his reſolutions, and, without truſting to others, examined every thing himſelf with great care and attention. In ſhort, the ſenate entertained ſuch an high opinion of his extraordinary merit and virtues, that, in declaring him
b emperor, they ſolemnly proteſted, that, in the whole empire, they knew no perſon better qualified than he for ſuſtaining the name and dignity of a prince[q]. He is commonly called *Pupienus* by the *Latin* hiſtorians, and by the *Greek* writers *Maximus*, which has ſtrangely perplexed *Capitolinus*, who, after a long deſcant, concludes, that they were two names of one and the ſame perſon: this trouble he might have ſaved himſelf by only looking upon one of that prince's coins. *Balbinus* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and pretended to derive his pedigree from *Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*, a celebrated hiſtorian, and a man of the firſt rank in the iſland of *Leſbos*, who was made free of *Rome* by *Pompey the Great*. The preſent emperor had been twice conſul, and had governed without blame ſeveral provinces, *viz.* *Aſia*, *Africa*,
c *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Gaul*. He had likewiſe commanded armies; but, being ſomewhat timorous, he was thought better qualified for civil than military affairs. He poſſeſſed immenſe wealth, lived with great ſplendor, was addicted to pleaſures, but at the ſame time univerſally beloved on account of his integrity, (for he injured no man but himſelf) his humanity, ſweet temper, and obliging behaviour. He was an excellent orator, no mean poet, and had an uncommon talent in making extemporary verſes[r].

The extraction and employments of Balbinus.

Maximus and *Balbinus* being, with the unanimous conſent of the ſenate, raiſed to the ſovereignty, and inveſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power, went, at the breaking up of the aſſembly, to the capitol. But while they were offering there
d the uſual ſacrifices, the populace roſe, and, armed with ſtones and clubs, declared, that they would not obey the new emperors, and demanded, with great clamour, a prince of the *Gordian* family. *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, backed by ſome young knights, attempted to open themſelves a way through the croud, ſword in hand; but were in the end, in ſpite of all their efforts, obliged to ſend for young *Gordian*, then only twelve years old, who was received by the populace with loud ſhouts of joy, and carried to the capitol; where the ſenate, to appeaſe the multitude, declared him *Cæſar*, arrayed him with the habit peculiar to that dignity, and in that attire ſhewed him to the people, who thereupon diſperſed, and, retiring quietly to their houſes, ſuffered the new emperors to take poſſeſſion of the palaces[s], where they
e began to diſcharge the functions of ſovereignty with deifying the two *Gordians*. When that ceremony was over, they appointed *Sabinus* governor of *Rome*, and *Pinarius Valens*, uncle by the father to *Maximus*, commander of the prætorian guards; and then, without loſs of time, began to levy what forces they could, and make the neceſſary preparations for taking the field againſt *Maximinus*, who, upon the news of their election, quickened his march, breathing nothing but ruin and deſtruction. As moſt of the provinces had eſpouſed the party of the ſenate, troops were ſent from all parts to reinforce the army of *Maximus*, who being charged with the conduct of the war, as the more able commander, ſet out from *Rome* ſoon after his election, leaving the prætorian guards, and part of the new-raiſed forces, to
f defend the city and awe the populace. After his departure, the ſenate diſpatched the moſt conſiderable men of their body into the different parts of *Italy*, with orders to fortify all the cities, and ſupply the inhabitants with arms; to remove all manner of proviſions into the fortified towns, and either to reap or deſtroy the corn in the fields; to mow the graſs, and lay waſte the whole country, through which *Maximinus* was to march with his numerous army. At the ſame time, they ſent circular letters into all the provinces, declaring ſuch, as ſhould lend him the leaſt aſſiſtance, traitors, rebels, and public enemies. *Maximus* had ſcarce left the city, when dread-

The people mutiny.

Young Gordian *declared* Cæſar.

Maximus *marches againſt* Maximinus.

ful

[q] Max. & Balb. vit. 166, 167. [r] Idem, p. 168, & ſeq. Herod. l. vii. p. 604. [s] Max. & Balb. vit. p. 145.

Dreadful diſturbances in Rome.

ful diſturbances aroſe there, occaſioned by the temerity of two ſenators, *Gallicanus* a
and *Mecænas*, who ſeeing two ſoldiers of the prætorian guards enter the hall, where the ſenate was aſſembled, quitting their places, ruſhed upon them unexpectedly, and diſpatched them with their daggers; for in thoſe diſtracted times moſt ſenators wore daggers under their robes. Hereupon the other ſoldiers of that corps, who were waiting at the door mixed with the populace, betook themſelves to flight, but were purſued by *Gallicanus*, who encouraged the mob to fall upon them as ſpies and partizans of the tyrant *Maximinus*. Some of them were wounded, but the reſt ſhut themſelves up in their camp, where they were attacked the ſame day by *Gallicanus* at the head of the multitude, (whom he had ſupplied with arms) and of all the gla- b
diators he could draw together. The guards ſuſtained the attack with their uſual reſolution, repulſed the aſſailants, and falling upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces. This ſlaughter ſerved only to inſpire the multitude with new rage; and the ſenate eſpouſing their quarrel, ordered the new-levied forces, which *Maximus* had left to maintain peace and tranquillity in the city, to march againſt the prætorian guards; which they did accordingly, and attacked the camp with great fury, but were, after repeated aſſaults, in which great numbers of them periſhed, obliged to give over the attempt and retire. The incenſed multitude, finding all their efforts thus baffled, bethought themſelves at laſt of cutting the conduits that conveyed water into the camp; which reduced the ſoldiery to ſuch deſpair, that, throwing the gates of the camp open, they ruſhed unexpectedly upon the multitude, c
ſword in hand, and drove them, after a long diſpute, in which much blood was ſhed on both ſides, into the city, where the combat began anew, the people diſcharging from the tops of their houſes ſhowers of ſtones and tiles upon the ſoldiery, who in revenge ſet fire to their ſhops and ſtore-houſes, which conſumed the greateſt part of the city, an incredible quantity of valuable effects, and many perſons of all ranks [t]. *Herodian* does not inform us how the tumult ended; but *Capitolinus* writes, that the temples were profaned, the private houſes pillaged, the ſtreets covered with dead bodies, *&c.* that the emperor *Balbinus*, attempting to appeaſe the tumult and part the combatants, was dangerouſly wounded on the head; but at length, having ſent for young *Gordian*, and ſhewed him to the people in his purple robes, the fury d
of both parties aſſwaged at once, hoſtilities ceaſed, the people retired to their houſes, and the ſoldiers to the camp. So great was the eſteem, reſpect, and veneration, both of the people and ſoldiery, for one ſprung from the *Gordians*, who had loſt their lives in the defence of the people of *Rome* [u].

A battle between the prætorian guards and the people.

Dreadful diſorders committed in the city.

Maximinus *purſues his march into* Italy.

The next year, when *Annius Pius*, or, as others call him, *Ulpius*, and *Pontianus* were conſuls, *Maximinus* early in the ſpring purſued his march towards *Italy*, having with him, we may ſay, all the forces of the empire. Being arrived at the foot of the *Alps* that part *Italy* from *Illyricum*, he found the city of *Hemona* or *Æmona* abandoned by its inhabitants; which inſpired him with hopes of certain victory; for he thence concluded, that no place or city would dare to withſtand him. *Herodian* c
calls *Æmona* the firſt city of *Italy*; but he ought rather to have ſtyled it the laſt of *Pannonia*; for in that province it is placed by all the ancient and modern geographers. *Sanſon* ſuppoſes it to have ſtood where the preſent city of *Laubach* ſtands, the capital of *Carniola*; others place it in the neighbourhood of *Igg*, in the ſame country. *Maximinus*, leaving *Æmona*, paſſed the mountains without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; which heightened his joy and confidence. But his men, who expected to be refreſhed, after paſſing the mountains, with plenty of all manner of proviſions in *Italy*, finding the country laid waſte far and wide, and themſelves deſtitute even of neceſſaries, began to mutiny. *Maximinus* puniſhed the ring-leaders of the tumult with great ſeverity, which only ſerved to exaſperate the reſt. However, he pur- f
ſued his march; and being informed, that the city of *Aquileia* had ſhut its gates againſt a party, which he had ſent to take poſſeſſion of the place, he marched thither in perſon with all his forces, not doubting, but the inhabitants would ſubmit upon the approach of ſo formidable an army. But *Criſpinus* and *Menophilus*, two conſulars of great reſolution and intrepidity, to whom the ſenate had committed the defence of the city, anſwered the tribune ſent by *Maximinus* to ſummon them to ſurrender, that they were determined to hold out to the laſt, and rather forfeit their lives, than betray their truſt, or yield to ſuch a cruel, bloody, and faithleſs tyrant.

His ſoldiers begin to mutiny.

Maximinus *ſummons the city of* Aquileia *to ſurrender.*

At

[t] Herod. l. vii. p. 607, 608. [u] Vit. Max. & Balb. p. 168, 169.

a At the ſame time, to animate the inhabitants, who began to waver, they gave out, that *Apollo*, the tutelar god of the place, had aſſured them of victory; which diſpelled all fear, ſo that every one began to prepare for a vigorous defence. In the mean while, *Maximinus* having ſpent ſome time in paſſing the river *Sontius*, now *Iſonzo*, about ſixteen miles from *Aquileia*, approached the city; and having cauſed all the vines and neighbouring groves, which were a great ornament to the place, to be cut down, he began to batter the walls with an incredible number of warlike engines, and to haraſs the beſieged with repeated aſſaults, which they ſuſtained with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expreſſed. Even the women and b children appeared on the ramparts, and bore their ſhare in the common danger; the women eſpecially ſignalized their zeal by yielding their hair to be employed in making ſtrings for the bows and other warlike machines. The ſenate, out of gratitude, after the death of *Maximinus*, cauſed a magnificent temple to be erected, which they conſecrated to *Venus calva*, or *Venus the bald:* on a medal of *Quintia Criſpilla*, wife to the emperor *Maximus*, is to be ſeen a temple with that legend and the figure of a bald woman [w]. The ſoldiers of *Maximinus*, in the beginning of the ſiege, ſhewed great ardour; which, however, began to abate, when they found the inhabitants firmly determined to undergo all labours and hardſhips, rather than ſubmit. *Maximinus*, highly provoked at their backwardneſs, and beſides enraged at the c bitter reproaches uttered by the inhabitants againſt him and his ſon, as often as they approached the walls, cauſed ſeveral of his officers to be publicly executed, aſcribeing the coolneſs of the ſoldiers to want of courage in them. This exaſperated the ſoldiers, already inclined to mutiny for want of proviſions, of which, and even of water, there was great ſcarcity in the camp. Beſides, a report was ſpread, that the whole empire was arming againſt *Maximinus*, and ready to fall upon thoſe who ſupported him in his tyranny. Hereupon the *Albanians*, that is, the ſoldiers belonging to the camp in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, took a ſudden reſolution to diſpatch the author of ſo many calamities; and, without farther deliberation, went ſtrait at noon-day to the tent of *Maximinus*, diſpatched both him and his ſon with many wounds, cut off their heads, and ſent them to *Rome*, and threw their bodies into the river. With d them were killed *Anolinus*, their captain of the guards, and all their chief miniſters and friends [x]. Such was the end of the reign, or rather of the tyranny, of the two *Maximins*, after it had laſted three years and a few days, the father being then in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the ſon in the twenty-firſt. The *Pannonians*, *Thracians*, and ſome other troops, heard the news of their death with regret, but did not attempt to revenge it. Thus the whole army preſented themſelves unarmed before the gates of *Aquileia*, acquainted the beſieged with the death of *Maximinus*, and deſired to be admitted into the city. It was not thought adviſeable to open the gates to them; but after they had adored the images of *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordian*, placed for that purpoſe on the ramparts, a great quantity of proviſions e was ſent to their camp; for they were almoſt famiſhed: and the next day they all took the uſual oaths to *Maximus* and *Balbinus* [y].

The inhabitants ſuſtain a ſiege with great reſolution.

The ſoldiers of Maximinus *mutiny, and murder him and his ſon.*

An expreſs was immediately diſpatched to *Rome* with theſe joyful tidings, who paſſing through *Ravenna*, found the emperor *Maximus* there buſy in aſſembling his forces, in order to march againſt the tyrant. But when he underſtood, that both the *Maximins* were killed, that their army had ſubmitted, and ſworn fidelity to him and his collegue, tranſported with joy, and laying aſide all military preparations, he repaired to the temples to return thanks to the gods for ſuch ſignal and unexpected ſucceſs. In the mean time, the expreſs purſuing his journey, and often changing f horſes, reached *Rome* the fourth day, diſtant from *Aquileia* about two hundred and eighty miles, which no one, ſays our hiſtorian, had ever done before. Upon his arrival, he found *Balbinus* and *Gordian* aſſiſting with the people at the public ſports in the theatre, where he delivered his letters to the two princes; which he had no ſooner done, than the whole multitude cried out with one voice, Maximinus *is killed*; and riſing up left the theatre, and crowded to the temples, whither *Balbinus* and *Gordian* followed. The ſenate immediately aſſembled; and, after decreeing ſeveral honours to the three princes, appointed ſacrifices to be offered in all the temples, and a day of public and ſolemn thankſgiving for their happy delivery. *Balbinus*, who uſed

His death occaſions great joy at Rome.

[w] Vide de Menestrier medailles des emper. & imperatr. p. 145. à Dijon, 1642: [x] Herod. l. viii. p. 614. [y] Herod. l. viii. p. 626, 627. Max. vit. p. 146.

uſed to tremple at the very name of *Maximinus*, offered an hecatomb, which was never done but upon ſome very extraordinary occaſion, and cauſed the ſame ſacrifice to be offered in all the cities of the empire [z]. Thoſe who brought the heads of the two *Maximins*, arrived at *Rome* ſoon after the courier; for they made what haſte they could. They were met every-where by crouds of the people, and received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. They entered *Rome* with the heads ſtuck upon two lances, that every one might ſee them; and no ſight was ever more pleaſing. They repaired again to the temples, offered new ſacrifices, and ſeemed no leſs tranſported with joy, than if they had been delivered from imminent death or captivity [a]. The two heads were abandoned to the rage of the populace, and, after many inſults, burnt in the field of *Mars*. The names of the *Maximins* were, by a decree of the ſenate, eraſed out of all inſcriptions, their ſtatues overturned, and their bodies ordered to be left unburied. The emperor *Maximus* haſtened from *Ravenna* to *Aquileia*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and acknowledged emperor by the army of *Maximinus*, among whom he diſtributed large ſums, and then ſent them back to their reſpective quarters, retaining with him only the prætorian guards, and a ſmall body of *Germans*, in whom chiefly he confided. During his ſtay at *Aquileia*, the ſenate, to do him honour, ſent a deputation to him, conſiſting of twenty of their body, who had been all conſuls, prætors, or quæſtors. With them he ſet out from *Aquileia*; and arriving at *Rome* with a numerous and ſplendid retinue, was there received at the gates by *Balbinus*, *Gordian*, the ſenate in a body, and all the people, and conducted in triumph to the palace [b]. The two emperors governed with great prudence and moderation, enacted excellent laws, adminiſtered juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, maintained the military diſcipline with due rigor, paid great reſpect and deference to the ſenate, and conducted themſelves in all things with ſuch wiſdom, equity, and moderation, that they were in a manner adored both by the ſenate and people [c]. But the happineſs and tranquillity, which they enjoyed under theſe excellent princes, were ſhort-lived. The *Carpi*, a people beyond the *Danube*, paſſing that river, ravaged the province of *Mœſia*. The *Goths*, provoked perhaps by the death of *Maximinus*, invaded the *Roman* territories on the ſide of *Scythia*; and the *Perſians*, who had continued quiet ſince the year 233, when *Alexander* made war upon them, threatened the eaſtern provinces. It was therefore agreed among the princes, that *Maximus* ſhould march againſt the *Perſians*, *Balbinus* againſt the *Goths* and the *Carpi*, and *Gordian* remain in the mean time at *Rome*. But while great preparations were making for the intended expeditions, the prætorian guards, diſſatisfied to ſee princes, who had been created by the ſenate, ſo much applauded, and provoked at the bitter invectives which were daily uttered againſt *Maximinus*, and reflected no ſmall diſhonour upon them, who had raiſed him to the empire, began to mutiny, and complain with one another, that the right of naming the emperors, which had hitherto proved ſo advantagious to them, was ſnatched out of their hands, and transferred to the ſenate. Beſides, they grew jealous of the *Germans*, whom *Maximus* had brought to *Rome* with him, with a deſign, as they imagined, to diſcharge the prætorian guards, as *Septimius Severus* had formerly done, and to take the *Germans* in their room. Being thus prejudiced againſt the two emperors, they reſolved to diſpatch them, and reſume their pretended authority, by ſetting up another in their room. Having taken this reſolution, they only waited for an opportunity of putting it in execution, which ſoon offered; for the *Capitoline* games being celebrated a few days after, and moſt of the emperors guards and domeſtics reſorting thither, the diſcontented and mutinous ſoldiery marched ſtrait to the palace, where the two princes were left almoſt alone. *Maximus*, informed of their arrival before they had entered the palace, was for calling the *Germans* to his aſſiſtance, but was therein oppoſed by *Balbinus*. For theſe two princes were not, for all their great qualities, free from private jealouſies. *Balbinus* was piqued at the extraordinary honours which the ſenate had heaped upon his collegue, as if the death of *Maximinus*, and bleſſings thence accruing, had been chiefly owing to him; and beſides, looked upon him as one greatly inferior to himſelf in birth and nobility. On the other hand, *Maximus*, knowing himſelf to be by far the better ſoldier and abler commander, tacitly claimed on that ſcore the chief authority. Theſe mutual jealouſies, though prudently

Maximinus *turns to* Rome.

The wiſe adminiſtration of the two emperors.

The Carpi, Goths, *and* Perſians, *threaten the* Romans *with war.*

The prætorian guards mutiny

Jealouſies between the emperors.

[z] Max. vit. p. 169, &c. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170.
[a] Max. vit. p. 169. Herod. p. 617.
[b] Herod. l. viii. p. 620.
[c] Max. & Balb. vit. p. 167, 171.

a prudently concealed, and rather gueſſed at by others, than ſeen, bred ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and occaſioned in the end the ruin of both. For *Balbinus*, not giving credit to what he was told of the deſigns of the prætorian guards, but rather ſuſpecting that his collegue intended to employ the *Germans* againſt him, would not ſuffer *Maximus*, to whom they were greatly attached, to ſend for them. This occaſioned a warm diſpute, and gave time to the prætorian guards to break into the palace, and diſperſe ſuch of the emperor's friends and domeſtics as offered to oppoſe them. When they came to the apartment where the two princes were, they ruſhed upon them with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, tore in pieces their imperial robes, dragged them out of the palace with a deſign to carry them to their camp, b wounded and inſulted them in a moſt dangerous manner. But, while they were hurrying them through the city to the camp, being informed, that the *Germans* had taken arms, and were advancing to reſcue the princes out of their hands, they killed them both, and leaving their bodies in the ſtreet, retired to the camp, carrying with them young *Gordian*, whom they proclaimed emperor, giving out, to appeaſe the populace, that they had killed thoſe whom the people had at firſt rejected, and ſet up in their room the perſon whom they had demanded. The *Germans*, informed that the emperors were killed, retired, without committing any hoſtilities, to their quarters without the city. Thus *Gordian* remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the empire [d]. *Maximus* and *Balbinus* had reigned about one year and two months.

They are both killed.

Gordian *proclaimed emperor.*

c Of the deſcent and birth of *Gordian* we have ſpoken above. He was, according to *Herodian*, the ſon of *Junius Balbus*, by the ſiſter of *Gordian* the younger, from whom he borrowed the name of *M. Antonius Gordianus*, as he is ſtyled in all the ancient inſcriptions [e]. He was about thirteen years old when he came to the empire, and conſequently muſt have been born in the year 225. the fourth of *Alexander*'s reign. He was a youth of a gay temper, comely aſpect, and exceeding ſweet diſpoſition, which gained him the love of all who approached him. *Capitolinus* tells us, that he was beloved by perſons of all ranks, more than any prince had ever been before him. The ſenate uſed to ſtyle him their ſon, the ſoldiers their child, and the people their darling. He was addicted to ſtudy and learning, and well d inſtructed in moſt branches of polite literature. He had all the neceſſary qualifications for forming an excellent prince; but as he wanted experience, and ſuch a mother to direct and adviſe him as *Mamæa*, in the beginning of his reign, he fell into the hands of one *Maurus* and ſome other crafty freed-men and eunuchs, who, playing booty, and abuſing the confidence he repoſed in them, perſuaded him to do many things, which he ever after regretted. They ſoon drove all good men from the court, raiſed to the firſt employments perſons altogether unworthy of them, plundered the exchequer, and did all the miſchief which wicked and avaricious miniſters are capable of doing [f]. In the beginning of the year, the young prince entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, to which he had been named in the reign of *Maximus* and *Balbus*, e and took for his collegue *Aviola*. This year he entertained the people with magnificent ſports, in order to make them forget their paſt heats and animoſities. The following year, when *Sabinus* was conſul, the ſecond time, with *Venuſtus*, *Sabinianus* revolted in *Africa*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; but the governor of *Mauritania* reduced the rebels to ſuch ſtraits, that they delivered up *Sabinianus* to him, acknowledged their fault, and ſubmitted. All the partizans of *Sabinianus* were pardoned [g]; but what was his fate, we are no-where told. The next year, the emperor took upon him his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Pompeianus Civica* for his collegue. The young prince married this year *Furia Sabina Tranquillina*, the daughter of *Miſitheus*, who was immediately honoured with the title of *Auguſta*; but whether f he had any children by her, hiſtory does not inform us. The emperor choſe *Miſitheus* for his father-in-law, purely on account of his great wiſdom, integrity, and learning; and appointed him captain of the guards, that he might have a perſon of his extraordinary talents with whom to adviſe, not daring to truſt to his own judgement. *Miſitheus* had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of that important employment, than he acquainted the emperor with the miſdemeanour of *Maurus*, and baſe practices of the other freed-men and eunuchs, who were thereupon all diſcharged and baniſhed the court. From a letter of *Miſitheus* to the emperor, quoted by *Capitolinus*, it appears,

His excellent qualifications.

Is deceived and impoſed upon by his miniſters.

Miſitheus, *captain of the guards, and father-in-law to the emperor.*

[d] Herod. p. 621. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170. [e] Herod. l. vii. p. 605. Occo. Goltz. Onuph. &c. [f] Herod. l. viii. p. 621. Gord. vit. p. 160---164. [g] Gord. vit. p. 161. Zos. l. i. p. 640.

appears, that the young prince had been ſtrangely miſled, and groſly impoſed upon a
by that infamous crew (T); and from the emperor's anſwer to it, that he was ſenſible
of his former miſconduct, and deſirous to correct his faults; to know the truth,
and to employ only ſuch perſons as would ſpeak it without flattery or diſguiſe (U).
He reſpected *Miſitheus* as his father, gave him that title, ordered him to call him
his ſon, and returned thanks to the ſenate for diſtinguiſhing his father-in-law with
the titles of *father of princes*, and *guardian of the republic* [a]; titles which he well de-
ſerved, being one of the few miniſters who are ſaid to have had nothing in view,
but the glory of their prince and the welfare of the ſtate [b]. This year, happened
a dreadful earthquake, which overturned a great many cities, and deſtroyed an infi-
nite number of people [c]. The following year, when *C. Vettius Aufidius Atticus* and b
C. Aſinius Prætextatus were conſuls, *Rome* was alarmed with news from the eaſt, where
Sapor, *king of* Perſia, *over-runs the* Roman *dominions in the eaſt.*
the *Perſians*, under the conduct of *Sapor*, ſon and ſucceſſor to *Artaxerxes*, the reſtorer
of the *Perſian* monarchy, had entered the *Roman* dominions at the head of a mighty
army, reduced all *Meſopotamia*, with the cities of *Niſibis* and *Carrhæ*; and entering
Syria, committed moſt dreadful ravages in that province, putting all to fire and
ſword. *Capitolinus* writes, that he had made himſelf maſter of *Antioch* itſelf, and
threatened to over-run the other provinces, moſt of the *Romans* who defended them,
having, through fear, liſted themſelves in his army. *Gordian* reſolved to march
in perſon againſt ſo formidable an enemy; and accordingly having cauſed the
temple of *Janus* to be opened, according to the ancient cuſtom, which had been c
long omitted, and perhaps was never after practiſed, he ſet out from *Rome* this year
242. the fourth of his reign, with a numerous and well diſciplined army; and
taking his rout through *Mæſia*, defeated in that province the *Goths* and *Samaritans*,
who diſputed his paſſage, and obliged them to abandon their conqueſts, and return
to their reſpective countries [d]. However, he was overcome in a tumultuary engage-
ment by the *Alani*, in the celebrated plains of *Philippi* in *Macedon*, or, as others will
have it, of *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* [e]. But the barbarians neglected, it ſeems, to
improve their victory, and withdrew; for *Gordian* purſued his march unmoleſted
through *Thrace*, and paſſing the *Helleſpont*, arrived ſafe in *Aſia*. To this paſſage per-
haps alludes the ſhip, which is to be ſeen on ſome of his medals bearing no date [f]. d
From the *Helleſpont* he marched through *Aſia* into *Syria*, where he gained ſignal ad-
vantages over the enemy, of which hiſtorians give us but a confuſed account. How-
He is defeated by Gordian, *and obliged to retire.*
ever, they all agree, that he overcame the *Perſians* in ſeveral battles; that he re-
covered the cities of *Niſibis* and *Carrhæ*, and obliged the mighty *Sapor*, with his
powerful and numerous army, to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire with
ſhame

[a] Gord. vit. p. 161. [b] Idem, p. 163. [c] Idem, p. 162. [d] Idem, p. 163. [e] Idem, p. 165. [f] Birag. p. 339.

(T) This letter was conceived in the following terms: "It is with the greateſt pleaſure I congratulate "you upon the alteration of times. Every thing was "formerly bought and ſold by the eunuchs, and ſuch "as pretended to be your friends, but were in reality "your greateſt enemies. I am glad that this blot is "removed from your reign; the more, becauſe you "are glad of it yourſelf; which will convince the "world, that the diſorders hitherto complained of "ought not to be imputed to you. All poſts in the "army have been diſpoſed of to perſons no-ways "qualified for them; others have been denied the re-"wards due to their ſervices; innocent perſons have "been condemned, and ſuch as were guilty ſaved; "the public revenues miſapplied, the exchequer plun-"dered, &c. But theſe, and many other diſorders, will "no longer be imputed to you, but to thoſe who en-"tered into cabals to deceive you; to remove from "the court all perſons of virtue, honour, and integri-"ty, and to introduce in their room men as wicked "as themſelves, that they might make you a pro-"perty to their evil deſigns. But now your eyes are "opened, you have begun to reform the ſtate, and "many diſorders have been already redreſſed. I rec-"kon it my greateſt happineſs to be father-in-law to "ſo good a prince; a prince who, without truſting to "others, examines into every thing himſelf, and has "baniſhed from his court thoſe, who, conſulting "not his honour, but their own intereſt, led him "aſtray (34)."

(U) The emperor returned to his father-in-law the following anſwer: "If the immortal gods had "not protected the *Roman* empire, I had been de-"luded, and, together with the empire, utterly "ruined by ſlaves and eunuchs. I am now fully "convinced, that *Felix* ought not to have been "truſted with the command of the guards, nor *Se-*"*rapammo* with that of the fourth legion. But not "to mention all my errors, I own, that I have "done many things amiſs, and now return thanks "to the gods for having by your means diſcovered "many things to me, which have been hitherto "maliciouſly concealed from me. *Maurus* entering "into a confederacy with *Gaudianus*, *Reverendus*, "and *Montanus*, who confirmed whatever he ſaid, "impoſed upon me; ſo that, whatever they ap-"proved or condemned, I accepted or rejected, "relying intirely upon their integrity. Unhappy "therefore is that prince, who has not ſuch about "him, as will tell him the truth without diſguiſe. "For as he cannot immediately know what paſſes "among his people, he muſt underſtand it by the "relation of others, and take his meaſures accord-"ing to their information (35)."

(34) *Gord. vit. p.* 161. (35) *Idem ibid.*

a ſhame and diſgrace into his own country, whither he purſued him as far as *Cteſiphon*[g]. Theſe ſucceſſes were chiefly owing to the wiſe counſels and directions of the brave *Miſitheus*, as the emperor himſelf with great modeſty acknowledged, in a letter which he wrote to the ſenate upon his arrival at *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*. In that letter he firſt acquaints the ſenate with the advantages he had gained over the barbarians in *Macedon* and *Thrace*; then coming to his victories over the *Perſians*, he tells them, that he had delivered the *Antiochians* from the *Perſian* yoke, recovered *Carrhæ* and other cities, and was arrived at *Niſibis*, whence he deſigned to proceed to *Cteſiphon*, provided the gods, adds he, continue their protection to us, and preſerve *Miſitheus*, my father, and captain of the guards, by whoſe wiſe conduct we have atchieved
b theſe, and hope to atchieve ſtill greater things. It is incumbent upon you, conſcript fathers, to appoint public proceſſions, to recommend us to the gods, and to return thanks to *Miſitheus*. Upon the receipt of this letter, the ſenate decreed a triumph to the emperor, and a triumphal chariot to *Miſitheus*, with a pompous inſcription, ſtyling him *the father of princes, captain of the guards*, and *the guardian of the republic*[h]. This inſcription, which was placed on the baſis of his triumphal ſtatue, is ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome* almoſt intire. But the happineſs which the whole empire enjoyed under the government of *Gordian*, and the wiſe adminiſtration of *Miſitheus*, was ſhort-lived. The latter died the following year, in the conſulſhip of *Arrianus* and *Papus*, and by his laſt will left the *Roman* people his heirs. We are told, that
c *Miſitheus* being ill of a flux, the phyſicians preſcribed him a remedy to ſtop it, which, by the contrivance of *Julius Philippus*, of whom hereafter, was exchanged, and another adminiſtered in its room, which, as it had a quite contrary effect, put an end to his life. Upon his death, *Philip* was appointed captain of the guards, and commander in chief under the emperor of all the forces of the eaſt; for of him *Gordian* did not entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion[i]. The following year, when *Peregrinus* and *Æmilianus* were conſuls, the emperor entered the *Perſian* dominions, in order to purſue the war, which he had ſo ſucceſsfully begun. *Plotinus*, the celebrated philoſopher, liſted himſelf in his army, hoping by that means to have an opportunity of conferring with the *Perſian* and *Indian* philoſophers[k]. The philoſopher
d was then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, which, according to the chronology of *Porphyrius*, the author of his life, anſwers the preſent year, the 243d of the chriſtian æra and ſixth of *Gordian*'s reign.

Gordian *is decreed a triumph, and* Miſitheus *a triumphal ſtatue.*

Miſitheus *dies*

Philip no ſooner ſaw himſelf raiſed to the important poſt of captain of the guards, than he began to aſpire at the ſovereignty itſelf. As the ſoldiers were greatly attached to the young prince, in order to leſſen their affection to him, he ſometimes led them into places where no proviſions could be found; at other times ſent in his name the veſſels, which attended the army, loaded with corn, another way, hoping that the troops, diſtreſſed for want of neceſſaries, would, notwithſtanding their attachment to *Gordian*, begin to mutiny; which they did accordingly, the moſt turbulent among
e them, whom *Philip* had gained, whiſpering about in the mean time, that *Gordian*, a youth only nineteen years old, was not fit to command ſuch powerful forces; that they wanted ſuch a general as *Philip*, whom long experience had taught how to govern an empire, how to command an army[l]. *Gordian*, however, advanced againſt *Sapor*, and meeting him in *Meſopotamia*, gave him a total overthrow on the banks of the *Aboras*, or *Aburas*, and obliged him to take ſhelter in the heart of his own dominions[m]. But while the young conqueror was purſuing the advantages of his victory, *Philip*, who had already gained the chief officers of his army, led the troops through barren and deſert countries, where, through want of proviſions, which they aſcribed to want of experience in *Gordian*, they openly mutinied, and demanded,
f that *Philip* might reign in conjunction with *Gordian*, as his guardian and governor. The virtuous young emperor, unwilling to ſhed *Roman* blood, granted them their requeſt, and took *Philip* for his partner in the empire, who, ſeeing himſelf upon the level with his ſovereign, ſoon began to uſurp an authority over him, and to diſpoſe of all employments, as if he had been ſole emperor. This *Gordian* could not bear, and therefore attempted to depoſe him; but *Philip*'s party prevailing, he was himſelf depoſed, and in the end murdered by the uſurper. *Capitolinus* writes, that *Gordian*, finding himſelf reduced to a private life, offered to ſerve under *Philip* as captain

Julius Philippus, *captain of the guards, in his room.*

He induces the ſoldiers to mutiny.

Gordian *depoſed.*

[g] Gord. vit. p. 162. Aur. Vict. Eutrop. [h] Idem, p. 160. [i] Idem, p. 162. Zos. l. i. p. 641. [k] Porphyr. vit. Plot. p. 2. [l] Gord. vit. p. 163. Zos. l. i. p. 641. [m] Ammian. l. xxiii.

tain of the guards, and even condeſcended to beg his life; at which demand, *Philip* began to relent; but afterwards, conſidering how dear the young prince was to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, and not doubting, but they would uſe their utmoſt efforts to reinſtate him in the ſovereignty, he commanded him to be ſlain [n]. Other writers take no notice of theſe particulars, which, if true, betray great meanneſs and want of courage in *Gordian*; but only tell us, that *Philip* cauſed him to be murdered, and reigned in his room. His death happened, according to the moſt probable opinion, founded on the authority of the code [o], about the beginning of *March*, after he had lived nineteen years, and reigned five years and eight months. He was killed on the furtheſt borders of *Perſia*, in the place where his tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in the year 363. beyond the *Euphrates* and the *Aboras*, between the cities of *Cercuſa*, which ſtood near the codflux of thoſe two rivers, and that of *Dura*, which ſtands very near the latter, and is about twenty miles diſtance from the former river. The place was called *Zantha* or *Zaïthe* [p]. There the ſolders erected to the memory of the deceaſed emperor a ſtately tomb with the following epitaph in the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Perſian*, *Hebrew*, and *Egyptian* tongues, that it might be read by all nations; *To the deified* Gordian, *who conquered the* Perſians, Goths, *and* Sarmatians, *ſuppreſſed the civil diſcords, ſubdued the* Germans, *but could not overcome the* Philips. The laſt words allude, according to *Capitolinus*, to his having been overcome by the *Alani* in the plains of *Philippi*, and his being killed by *Philip* [q]. But we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that this epitaph was put up during the life and reign of the emperor *Philip*. The ſame writer adds, that *Licinius*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Philip*, cauſed this epitaph to be taken down. *Victor* the younger writes, that the body of *Gordian* was interred in that tomb; but *Eutropius* and *Feſtus* aſſure us, that it was conveyed to *Rome*, where the deceaſed prince was with the uſual ceremonies ranked among the gods. The ſenate granted this extraordinary privilege to the *Gordian* family, that they might for ever be exempted from taking upon them, unleſs it were by their own choice, guardianſhips, embaſſies, or any other public duty whatever [r]. All thoſe who had imbrued their hands in the blood of this excellent prince, periſhed ſoon after [s]. *Capitolinus* writes, that they diſpatched themſelves with the ſame ſwords which they had employed againſt him [t] (W). *Philip*

And ſlain.

His tomb and epitaph.

[n] Gord. vit. p. 163-165. [o] Cod. Juſt. l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 7. p. 813, &c. [p] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 244---246. Zos. l. iii. p. 716. Noris epiſt. p. 287. [q] Gord. vit. p. 165. [r] Gord. vit. p. 164. [s] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 246. [t] Gord. vit. p. 165.

(W) The writers who flouriſhed under *Gordian* were, *Cenſorinus*, who wrote, or rather finiſhed, his famous book, intitled *de die natali*, in the firſt year of that prince's reign, the ſecond of the 254th olympiad, the 991ſt of *Rome*, when the *Capitoline* games were celebrated the thirty-ninth time (36). All theſe particulars give great light to chronology. He wrote the above-mentioned book, deſigning it as a preſent to one of his friends, by name *Q. Cerellius*, againſt his birth-day. Thence he takes occaſion to treat of the birth of man, and to make many learned obſervations on days, months, and years. This work was known to, and greatly eſteemed by, *Apollinaris Sidonius* and *Caſſiodorus*, of whom the latter quotes a book, written by *Cenſorinus*, on *accents*; but of that work only ſome fragments have reached our times, quoted by *Priſcian*, who ſtyles *Cenſorinus* a very learned grammarian (37). He is, by the beſt critics, looked upon as the moſt exact writer of his time (38). *Cenſorinus* himſelf quotes, as a work of his own, a book intitled *indigitamentorum*, in which he took particular notice of all the gods, who, in the opinion of the pagans, contributed to the life of man (39). *Herodian* wrote, in eight books, the hiſtory of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to that of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. He aſſures us, that he wrote nothing but what he himſelf had ſeen; ſo that he muſt have died very old; for his work comprehends the ſpace of ſixty-eight or ſeventy years (40). All we know of his life is, that he was at *Rome* in the latter end of the reign of *Commodus* (41), and had ſeveral employments under the ſucceeding emperors (42). As for his hiſtory, *Photius* commends his ſtyle as noble and ſublime, and at the ſame time clear, and free from all affectation (43). *Capitolinus*, who in many places only tranſlates and copies him, beſtows great encomiums upon his writings, but at the ſame time cenſures him, and with a great deal of reaſon, as too favourable to *Maximinus*, and highly prejudiced againſt *Alexander* (44). *Voſſius* and others approve of this cenſure (45); whence, in our hiſtory of the reigns of theſe two princes, we have preferred the authority of *Capitolinus* to his. He omits the dates, and many other things, which would have cleared up great difficulties in hiſtory and chronology, and ſeems to have been quite unacquainted with geography, as appears from the account he gives us of the rout, which he ſuppoſes the emperor *Alexander*'s forces to have taken, when that prince marched againſt the *Perſians*. Under *Gordian* likewiſe flouriſhed *Arrian*, a *Greek* hiſtorian, quoted by *Capitolinus* in his hiſtory of the reigns of *Maximinus* and *Gordian*;

(36) *Cenſor. de die natal. c.* 8. *p.* 131, 132, *&c.* 21. *p.* 155, 156. (37) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 3. (38) *Vide append. ad Cyprian. diſſert. c.* 9. (39) *Cenſor. c.* 3. *p.* 17. (40) *Herod. l.* i. *p.* 465. *& l.* ii. *p.* 514. (41) *Idem, l.* i. *p.* 484. (42) *Idem ibid. p.* 465. (43) *Phot. c.* 99. *p.* 276. (44) *Maximin. vit. p.* 143. *Alex. vit. p.* 134. (45) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. p.* 239.

Birth and extraction of Philip.

a *Philip* was by birth an *Arabian*, being born in *Boſtra*, a city of *Arabia Petræa*. He was of a very mean deſcent; for his father is ſaid to have been a famous captain of robbers in that country [w]. In the ancient inſcriptions he is ſtyled *M. Julius Philippus*, and his wife *Marcia Otacilla Severa*. He had a ſon, named likewiſe *Philip*, born in the year 237. and conſequently ſeven years old when his father came to the empire. The emperor himſelf was at that time, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria* [x], about forty; but *Aurelius Victor* ſuppoſes him to have been much older.

Whether the firſt chriſtian emperor.

Whether or no *Philip* was the firſt chriſtian emperor, has been the ſubject of great diſputes among the learned. The affirmative ſeems to us by far the moſt probable, being maintained by the following writers, *viz*, *Jerom*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Dionyſius* of *Ale-*
b *xandria*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Cedrenus*, *Ruſinus*, the chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Syncellus*, *Oroſius*, *Jornandes*, the anonymous writer publiſhed by *Valeſius*, with *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the learned cardinal *Bona*, *Abulfaragius*, *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, and *Huetius*. The arguments which ſome modern critics have alledged in favour of the oppoſite opinion, are not of weight enough with us to bear down the authority of ſo many eminent writers; nay, moſt of them have but little or no force in themſelves, and only prove, that *Philip* was guilty of ſeveral actions highly diſcountenanced by the chriſtian religion; ſuch as his murdering his ſovereign; his ſtyling him a god; his aſſiſting at the public ſhews, which were always attended with idolatrous ceremonies, and his being deified after his death. But in all times there have been chriſtians,
c whoſe lives were a diſgrace to their profeſſion; and in that number ſome rank the preſent emperor, tho' there are not wanting writers of no ſmall account, who, bating the murder of *Gordian*, for which, they ſay, he atoned by ſubmitting to a public penance, think he did nothing inconſiſtent with the principles of the religion which he profeſſed: and truly we are no-where told, that he demanded of the ſenate the apotheoſis of *Gordian*. He uſed indeed, as we read in *Capitolinus*, to honour that prince, when he mentioned his name, with the title of *divus*, *the deified Gordian*; but that title was given even by *Conſtantine* after his converſion, and by other chriſtian emperors, to the princes who had reigned before them, as appears from their reſcripts. *Philip* is ſaid by *Victor* the younger to have been preſent at the public ſhews that were
d exhibited on occaſion of the thouſandth year of *Rome*; but that he aſſiſted at the religious, or rather idolatrous, ceremonies, which uſually preceded the ſports, we find no-where recorded. His being deified after his death was no crime in him, but a kind of compliment paid by the ſenate to moſt emperors: the ſame honour was conferred upon *Mamæa* the mother of *Alexander*; and yet no one pretends to infer from thence, that ſhe was not a chriſtian. But to proceed to the hiſtory of this prince's reign: Upon the death of *Gordian*, *Philip* was acknowledged emperor by the whole army, on the fourteenth of *March* of the year 244. The new prince no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power, than he declared his ſon *Cæſar*, and took him, tho' but ſeven years old, for his partner in the empire. He then wrote to the
e ſenate, acquainting them with the death of *Gordian*, which he falſely aſcribed to a natural diſtemper, and with his own election [y]. Some authors write, that the ſenate believing, or pretending to believe him, confirmed without heſitation the choice of the

He takes his ſon for his partner in the empire.

[w] Gord. vit. p. 163. Zonar. p. 229. Vict. epit. [x] Chron. Alexand. p. 630. [y] Gord. vit. p. 164.

Gordian (46); and *Ælius Junius-Cordus*, often quoted by the *Auguſtine* hiſtorians (47). He wrote the lives of the emperors, from *Trajan* to the two *Gordians*; but filled his hiſtory, according to *Capitolinus*, with many impertinent and trifling accounts, telling his readers how many ſuits of cloaths each emperor had, what number of courtiers and domeſtics, &c. (48). *Voſſius* places him among the *Latin* hiſtorians, with *Ælius Sabinus*, who wrote the life of *Maximinus*, *Vulcanius Terentianus*, author of the lives of the three *Gordians*, in whoſe times they lived, and *Curius Fortunatianus*, who wrote the hiſtory of the reign of the two *Maximins* (49). Some pretend, that the hiſtory of *Fortunatianus* is ſtill extant, and lodged in the emperor's library; nay, that it was formerly printed in *Italy*. To this *Fortunatianus*, *Voſſius* aſcribes the three books on rhetoric, which have reached our times, under the name of *Curius Fortunatianus Conſultus*, and are deſervedly eſteemed by the learned (50). In the reign of the emperor *Conſtantine* were ſtill extant ſome books of epigrams by *Fabilius* a *Greek* grammarian, and one of the preceptors of *Maximinus* the younger, and various poems written by *Toxotius*, a ſenator of the family of *Antoninus Pius*. He married *Junia Fadilla*, formerly betrothed to young *Maximinus*, and died ſoon after he had diſcharged the office of prætor (51).

(46) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* iv. *p.* 17. *Maximin. vit. p.* 150. *Macrin. vit. p.* 93. (48) *Gord. vit. p.* 152, 160. *vit. p.* 150. *Gord. vit. p.* 160. (50) *Voſſ. ibid.* (47) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 3. *p.* 179. (49) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 3. *Max.* (51) *Maximin. vit. p.* 148.

the ſoldiery; while others pretend, that the ſenate did not acknowledge *Philip*, till a
M. Marcius and *L. Aurelius Severus Hoſtilianus*, two ſenators of great diſtinction,
whom they ſucceſſively created emperors, were ſnatched away by ſudden deaths [z];
He concludes a peace with the Perſians.
Philip, deſirous to return to *Rome*, immediately concluded a peace with the *Perſians*,
and led back his army into *Syria*. *Zonaras* writes, that he yielded to *Sapor Meſopo-*
tamia and *Armenia*; but ſoon after broke the treaty, and recovered, to the great
ſatisfaction of the *Romans*, both countries [a]. Be that as it will, he arrived at *Antioch*
before *Eaſter*, which, according to *Euſebius* [b], was celebrated this year on the four-
teenth of *April*, and went with the empreſs to aſſiſt at the prayers and ſacred ceremo-
nies that were performed by the primitive chriſtians the night preceding that great
feſtival. But *Babylas*, who was then biſhop of *Antioch*, and afterwards ſuffered mar- b
tyrdom under *Decius*, appriſed of his coming, went out to meet him; reproached
him with the murder of his ſovereign; declared him unworthy of being admitted into
the congregation of the faithful; and ſtopping him with his hand, proteſted, that
he would by no means ſuffer him to enter the ſacred place, unleſs he made a public
He ſubmits to be ranked in the church among the penitents.
confeſſion of his ſins, and ranked himſelf among the penitents. The emperor with-
great humility ſubmitted to both, and was thereupon by the holy biſhop admitted
into the church. This St. *Chryſoſtom* [c] and ſeveral other writers relate as a thing
altogether certain; but *Euſebius* ſpeaks of it as what in his time was *ſaid to have hap-*
pened [d]. It was probably on this occaſion, that *Origen* wrote both to *Philip* and to
his wife *Severa*, which St. *Jerom* miſtakes for his mother, commending their piety, c
and putting them in mind of their duty [e]. Both theſe letters were ſtill extant in St.
Jerom's time [f]; that is, about the end of the fourth century. From *Syria* the em-
peror ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received with the uſual demonſtrations of joy
He gains the affections of the people at Rome.
by the ſenate and people, whoſe affections, tho' they at firſt ſeemed averſe to him,
he ſoon gained by his mild adminiſtration and obliging behaviour [g]. He appointed
his brother *Priſcus* commander in chief of the troops in *Syria*, and *Severianus*, his
father-in-law, of the forces in *Mœſia* and *Macedon*, perſons but ill qualified for thoſe
important poſts [h]. As the works of *Trebellius Pollio* and others, who wrote the lives
of *Philip* and his ſucceſſors to *Valerian*, have not reached our times, we cannot help
borrowing many things of *Zoſimus*; but we think it incumbent upon us to acquaint d
our readers, that he was a profeſſed and implacable enemy to the chriſtian religion,
and therefore omits no opportunity of blackening the character of *Philip*, and crying
up his ſucceſſor *Decius*, by whom the church was moſt cruelly perſecuted.

The following year, the emperor entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having *Titianus*
for his collegue; and ſoon after, leaving the city, marched againſt the *Carpi*, who,
paſſing the *Danube*, had invaded *Mœſia*, and laid waſte great part of that province.
Defeats the Carpi.
The emperor defeated them in two battles, and obliged them to repaſs the *Danube*, and
ſue for peace; which he readily granted, and returned to *Rome* [i]. The next year, when
Præſens and *Albinus* were conſuls, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in the provinces,
which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity, except the burning by e
accidental fire of the theatre of *Pompey*, and another ſtately building called *Centum*
Columnæ, or the *Hundred Pillars*. In the beginning of the following year, the empe-
ror entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having his ſon for his collegue, whom he
honoured with the title of *Auguſtus*, and inveſted with the tribunitial power [k]. Both
princes retained the faſces all this and the following year, to celebrate with the greater
The thouſandth year of Rome.
pomp and magnificence the thouſandth year of *Rome*, begun on the twenty-firſt of
April of the year 247. of the chriſtian æra and fifth of *Philip*'s reign, according to the
computation of *Varro*, which was then, and is ſtill, followed by moſt hiſtorians and
chronologers. Extraordinary rejoicings were made at *Rome*, ſhews of all kinds exhi-
bited for ten days together, and an incredible number of wild beaſts, reſerved by *Gor-* f
dian for his triumph over the *Perſians*, killed, and diſtributed among the people [l]. *Oro-*
ſius'writes, that the pious emperor turned this extraordinary ſolemnity to the honour
of Chriſt and his church [m]. We wiſh he had informed us in what manner. This year
Unnatural luſt ſuppreſſed at Rome.
the emperor publiſhed an edict truly worthy of a chriſtian prince, forbidding under
the ſevereſt penalties all manner of unnatural luſt, and thoſe infamous practices which
had

[z] Zonar. p. 229. Onuph. p. 260. Cedren. p. 257. [a] Zonar. ibid. [b] Euseb. l. vi. c. 34. [c] Chrysos. de S. Babyla, contra Gentil. tom. 1. p. 656, 657. Paris. ann. 1636. [d] Euseb. l. vi. c. 34. [e] Idem. ibid. c. 36. Vincent. Lirin. c. 23. Rufin. c. 26. [f] Hier. vit. illuſt. vir. c. 54. p. 285. [g] Aur. Vict. Zos. l. i. p. 646. [h] Idem, p. 642, 643. [i] Idem, p. 641. [k] Onuph. p. 260. Goltz. p. 107. [l] Pagi, p. 247. Spanh. l. iii. p. 147. [m] Oros. l. vii. c. 10.

a had long prevailed in *Rome*, being countenanced by the wicked, and tolerated by the good, princes [n]. The following year, when *M. Æmilianus* was, the second time, conſul with *Julius Aquilinus*, the eaſtern provinces, no longer able to pay the taxes with which they were loaded, nor bear with the haughty conduct of *Priſcus* their governor, (we follow *Zoſimus* for want of a better guide) openly revolted, and proclaimed one *Papianus*, or *Jotopianus*, emperor; but he was ſoon killed, and with his death put an end to the diſturbances on that ſide [o]. At the ſame time, the provinces of *Mæſia* and *Pannonia* revolted, continues *Zoſimus*, and ſet up one *P. Carvilius Marinus*, who was but a centurion. Hereupon *Philip*, in great conſternation, beſought the ſenate either to enable him to quaſh the rebellion, or to depoſe him, if they were b diſſatisfied with his conduct. This unexpected ſpeech ſurpriſed the ſenate; but *Decius*, while the other ſenators continued ſilent, addreſſing the emperor, told him, that he had no reaſon to fear *Marinus*, whoſe preſumption, as he was unequal to any great undertaking, would ſoon prove his ruin. What *Decius* had foretold, happened a few days after, when *Marinus* was killed by thoſe very perſons who had raiſed him to the empire. Hereupon *Philip*, recalling his father-in-law *Severianus*, obliged *Decius*, much againſt his will, to accept of the government of *Mæſia* and *Pannonia* in his room. He no ſooner appeared there, than the ſoldiers proclaimed him emperor, and forced him to accept the ſovereignty, by threatening to put him to death, if he declined it. Fear therefore getting the better of his fidelity, he ſuffered himſelf c to be arrayed with the imperial purple, and the ſoldiers to ſwear allegiance to him [p]. *Zonaras* tells us, that he immediately wrote to *Philip*, aſſuring him, that he deſigned to reſign the ſovereignty as ſoon as he reached *Rome* [q]. But *Philip*, without relying upon ſuch promiſes, marched with all poſſible expedition againſt the uſurper, hoping to ſurpriſe him. His ſon he left at *Rome*, with a detachment of the prætorian guards, to keep the city in awe. *Decius*, having timely notice of his march and approach, received him with his troops in battle array. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which great numbers of *Philip*'s men were cut in pieces, and the reſt obliged to retire to *Verona*, where he himſelf was killed by the army [r], whether by his own, or by that of *Decius*, we are not told. The news of his death no ſooner reached *Rome*, than the d prætorian guards diſpatched his ſon, who was then in their camp. Such was the end of the emperor *Philip*, after he had reigned five years and ſome months; for he was proclaimed emperor on the fourteenth of *March* of the year 244. and killed after the ſeventeenth of *June* of the year 249. as appears from the dates of his laws [s]. Both he and his ſon were, according to *Eutropius*, ranked among the gods; which, however injurious to the memory and religion of *Philip*, ſhews, that his adminiſtration was not diſpleaſing to the ſenate, though he had ſucceeded *Gordian*, a prince ſo much and ſo univerſally beloved. *Euſebius* and *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, who was raiſed to that ſee in his reign, tell us, that under him the chriſtian religion was publicly preached; that it flouriſhed and increaſed more than it had done under any other prince [t]; *And* e *no wonder*, adds the former writer, without explaining himſelf any further; but meaning, as to us ſeems plain from the context, that he profeſſed it himſelf [u]. *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* writes, that, in the reign of *Philip*, all the inhabitants of the city and territory of *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus* being converted to chriſtianity, the idols were every-where overturned with their altars and temples, and churches erected in their room to the honour of the true God [w]. Of *Philip* the ſon authors obſerve, that he was of ſuch a grave, or rather melancholy, temper, that no one could, by any contrivance, ever make him laugh or ſmile; and add, that his father one day breaking out into a loud laughter, he could not help turning away his face, and expreſſing his diſpleaſure with a more grave and reſerved look than uſual [x]. Both he and his mother *Marcia Otacilia* f *Severa* profeſſed, according to St. *Jerom* [y] and the chronicle of *Alexandria* [z], the chriſtian religion; nay, *Petrus de Natalibus* reckons the two *Philips* among the martyrs of the church [a]; upon the authority of *Oroſius*, who writes, that *Decius* put them to death, either becauſe they were chriſtians, or that he might, when they were removed, perſecute the chriſtian religion [b]. But the authority of *Oroſius*, who lived many

Several rebellions.

Decius *declared emperor by the troops in* Illyricum.

Philip *overcome and killed.*

The chriſtian religion flouriſhed under him.

[n] Alex. vit. p. 121. Aur. Vict. [o] Zos. l. i. p. 642. [p] Idem ibid. & p. 643. [q] Zonar. p. 229. [r] Zos. l. i. p. 643. Aur. Vict. Zonar p. 229. [s] Cod. Juſt. l. ix. tit. 32. leg. 6. p. 489. & l. viii. tit. 56. leg. 1. p. 804, &c. [t] Euseb. l. vi. c. 36. p. 232. [u] Idem, c. 41. p. 238. [w] Greg. Nyss. vit. Greg. Thaumat. tom. 3. p. 563. [x] Vict. epit. [y] Hier. chron. [z] Chron. Alexand. p. 630. [a] Pet. de Natal. catalog. ſanct. c. 92. p. 218. [b] Oros. l. vii. c. 21.

many ages after, is of no great weight with us, unleſs confirmed by that of more ancient writers. *Euſebius* ſays, that *Decius* perſecuted the church out of hatred to *Philip* [c]; but we cannot from thence conclude, that he put *Philip* to death on account of his religion. Of the authors who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (X).

The birth and accent of Decius.

Upon the death of *Philip* and his ſon, *Decius* was acknowledged emperor, firſt by the ſoldiery, and ſoon after by the ſenate and people, who wanted both ſtrength and courage to diſpute the election of the new prince. He was a native of *Bubalia*, or *Budalia*, a borough in the territory of *Sirmium* in *Lower Pannonia*, and, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria* [d], raiſed to the empire in the fifty-ſeventh, but, according to *Victor* the younger, only in the forty-ſeventh, year of his age. He had by his wife *Herennia Etruſcilla* four ſons, *viz. Decius*, *Hoſtilianus*, *Etruſcus*, and *Trajan*. The name of *Meſſius* was common to them all; whence we may conclude, that it was the name of the family. The emperor is ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions *Caius Meſſius Quintus Trajanus Decius*. He was, according to *Zoſimus* his panegyriſt, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and endowed with every good quality [e]. *Victor* the younger ſtyles him *the beſt of princes*, and *Vopiſcus* equals him to the moſt renowned commanders of antiquity [f]. He was no ſooner inveſted with the ſovereignty, than he declared his eldeſt ſon *Cæſar* and *prince of the youth*. The ſame title he ſoon after beſtowed upon his three other ſons [g]. In the very beginning of his reign, he raiſed the moſt dreadful and bloody perſecution that had ever oppreſſed the church, prompted thereunto by his hatred to the deceaſed emperor, and his zeal for the cauſe of declining paganiſm, which he ſaw fatally undermined by the wonderful progreſs of chriſtianity. Concluding therefore, that the one could not be ſupported but by the utter ruin of the other, he enacted moſt cruel edicts againſt all who profeſſed the chriſtian religion; purſuant to which, the chriſtians were in all places driven from their habitations, ſtripped of their eſtates, dragged to execution like public malefactors, and racked with the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent. The laws of nature and humanity were trod under foot; friend betrayed his friend, brother his brother, and children their parents; every one thinking it meritorious to betray a chriſtian and procure his death. It is eaſier, ſays *Nicephorus*, ſpeaking of this perſecution, to count the ſand on the ſea-ſhore, than the martyrs who ſuffered under *Decius*. The tyrant vented his rage chiefly upon the biſhops, of whom many were ſeized, inhumanly racked and executed, and among the reſt *Fabian* biſhop of *Rome*, *Babylas* biſhop of *Antioch*, and *Alexander* biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Great numbers of chriſtians betook themſelves to barren mountains, rocks, and deſerts, chuſing rather

His character

His cruel perſecution of the church.

[c] Euseb. l. vi. c. 39. [d] Chron. Alexand. p. 632. [e] Zos. l. i. p. 641. [f] Aurel. Vict. p. 223. [g] Goltz. p. 109. Onuph. p. 261. Occo. p. 454.

(X) Under *Philip* flouriſhed *Nicagoras*, a celebrated ſophiſt of *Athens*. He was the ſon of one *Mneſeus*, an orator, and wrote the lives of illuſtrious men (52). *Philoſtratus* reckons him and *Apſinas* among the great men of his time, with whom he was intimately acquainted (53). *Minucianus*, the ſon of *Neagoras*, publiſhed a book of rhetoric, on which *Porphyrius* wrote comments 54), and a ſmall treatiſe on ſyllogiſms, which has reached our times (55). *Apſinas* flouriſhed at the ſame time, and is greatly commended by *Philoſtratus*, on account of his exactneſs in writing and extraordinary memory (56). He was a native of *Phœnicia*; but ſpent great part of his life at *Athens*; and is thence by *Suidas* called an *Athenian* (57). *Onaſimus*, the *Athenian* ſophiſt, whom we muſt diſtinguiſh from another of the ſame name and profeſſion, born in *Cyprus* or *Sparta*, was the ſon of *Apſinas*, and father to another *Apſinas*, who ſeems to have flouriſhed under *Conſtantine* (58). *Suidas* mentions a third ſophiſt of this name, who flouriſhed under *Maximian*; but was a native of *Gadara* on the confines of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, and attained to the rank and title of conſular (59). *Major*, an *Arabian* ſophiſt, flouriſhed likewiſe under *Philip*, and publiſhed thirteen books of rhetoric (60), none of which have reached us. *Syncellus* mentions one *Theopompus* a philoſopher, who became very famous at *Cheronea* in *Bœotia* (61); but of him no notice is taken either by *Suidas*, or any other writer. *Aſinius Quadratus* wrote the *Roman* hiſtory in the *Ionic* dialect, from the foundation of the city to the reign of *Alexander*, ſays *Suidas* (62); but he muſt have brought it down to the fifth year of *Philip*'s reign, which was the thouſandth of *Rome*; for his book was intituled the χιλιας, or *the thouſand years* (63). This work is quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer, by the *Auguſtine* writers, by *Zoſimus*, and by *Xiphilin*; but has been long ſince loſt. He likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of the *Parthians*, often quoted by the ancients, and that of *Germany*. Of the former *Stephanus* cites the ninth book; and *Agathias* ſpeaking of the latter, tells us, that he was a native of *Italy*, and wrote with great exactneſs (64).

(52) *Suid. p.* 223. (53) *Philoſ. ſoph.* lix. *p.* 629. (54) *Suid. p.* 573. (55) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 6. *p.* 51. *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 14. (56) *Philoſ. p.* 623. (57) *Suid. p.* 523. (58) *Idem ibid.* (59) *Idem ibid.* (60) *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* x. *c.* 3. *p.* 464. (61) *Syncel. p.* 362. (62) *Suid. p.* 1484. (63) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 239. (64) *Agath. l.* i. *p.* 17.

a rather to live amongſt wild beaſts, than men who had diveſted themſelves of all reaſon and humanity. Among theſe was the celebrated hermit *Paul*, who, withdrawing into the deſerts of *Egypt*, led there a ſolitary life for the ſpace of ninety years at leaſt, and became the father and founder of the order of anchorets [h]. This perſecution did not rage, at leaſt with its firſt violence, above a year, as appears from the epiſtles of St. *Cyprian* [i], the emperor and magiſtrates being, by the invaſion of ſeveral barbarous nations, diverted from ſearching after the chriſtians; for about the end of the firſt year of *Decius*'s reign, when he was conſul, for the ſecond time, with *Vicius Gratus*, the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths*, having paſſed the *Danube*, under the conduct of their king *Cniva*, inveſted with ſeventy thouſand men the city of
b *Euſterium* in *Lower Mœſia*; but meeting there with a vigorous oppoſition from *Gallus*, who was afterwards emperor, they raiſed the ſiege of *Euſterium*, and ſat down before *Nicopolis*, another city in the ſame province. Againſt them *Decius* diſpatched his eldeſt ſon, at the head of a numerous and well diſciplined army; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut thirty thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire beyond mount *Hæmus*, which parted *Mœſia* from *Thrace*. However, they ſoon recruited their army, and entering *Thrace*, laid ſiege to *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*. Young *Decius* haſtened to the relief of the place; but while his troops were refreſhing themſelves, after a long march, in the neighbourhood of *Berea*, a city of the ſame province, *Cniva*, coming unawares upon them, cut the whole army in
c pieces, and obliged the young prince to ſave himſelf by flight into *Mœſia*. *Cniva* then returned before *Philippopolis*; and having made himſelf maſter of the place, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thouſand ſouls, ſays *Ammianus* [k], without diſtinction of ſex or age, to the ſword, ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waſte great part of *Macedon* [l], where *L. Priſcus*, probably brother to the late emperor, commanded at that time; but he, inſtead of oppoſing, joined the enemy, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Hereupon *Decius*, who had ſtaid at *Rome* to conſecrate the walls of the city, which he had ordered to be built, or rather repaired, immediately ſet out for *Pannonia*; where, in the beginning of the following year, he took upon him his third conſulſhip, and honoured with that dignity his eldeſt ſon,
d ſtyled in the inſcriptions of this year *Q. Herennius Decius Cæſar*; whence it is manifeſt, that the emperor had not yet conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus* [m]. *Decius* overcame the *Goths*, ſays *Zoſimus*, in ſeveral engagements, obliged them to quit the booty they had taken, and drove them out of the *Roman* dominions [n]. What that author writes is confirmed by ſeveral medals, mentioning his conqueſts in *Dacia*, and victories over the *Carpi*, who had probably joined the *Goths* [o]. *Priſcus* was declared by the ſenate a public enemy, and ſlain; but where, or in what manner, hiſtory does not inform us. From *Thrace* the emperor wrote to the ſenate, acquaint-
e ing them, that he deſigned to re-eſtabliſh the office of cenſor, an ancient magiſtracy of great authority, and leaving to them the choice of a perſon fit for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt. This employment, famous in the times of the republic, had been aboliſhed by the emperors, who diſcharged the functions annexed to it, without aſſuming the title; for, ſince *Domitian*'s time, the title of *cenſor* had been quite laid aſide, and neglected by moſt of the princes who reigned before him [p]. The laſt private perſons who diſcharged that office, were *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Munatius Plancus*, in the year of *Rome* 732. the tenth of *Auguſtus*'s reign, and twenty-ſecond before the birth of Chriſt. The ſenate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, aſſembled in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and there, inſtead of waiting till their votes were aſked, cried out with one voice, as ſoon as the letter was read, *Let* Valerian *be cenſor*; *let him cenſure and correct the faults of others, who*
f *has no faults of his own.* Of *Valerian*, who was raiſed to the empire two years after, we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. He was then in *Thrace* with *Decius*; who, upon his receiving the decree of the ſenate, cauſed it to be publicly read; exhorted *Valerian* not to decline an office, to which he had been named by the republic with ſuch extraordinary marks of eſteem and diſtinction; and explained to him the nature and importance of his new employment, with the authority and power annexed to it, which, he ſaid, extended over all perſons civil and military, of what rank and condition

Young Decius *gains great advantages over the* Goths.

But his army is in the end intirely cut off.

The Goths *are overcome by the emperor*

The office of cenſor re-eſtabliſhed.

Valerian *choſen cenſor.*

[h] Hier. vit. Paul. 237. Euseb. l. iii. c. 39. Lact. perſec. c. 4. Greg. Nyss. vit. Thaum. p. 567. Cyp. diſ. xi. c. 53. Optat. l. iii. p. 71. Hilar. in Conſ. p. 113. Cyp. epiſt. 52. [i] Cyp. epiſt. 35, &c. [k] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 446. [l] Zos. l. i. p. 644. Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637. [m] Spanh. p. 234. [n] Zos. p. 643. [o] Occo. p. 450. [p] Dio, l. liii. p. 598.

condition ſoever, except the governor of *Rome*, the conſuls for the time being, the pontiff ſtyled *rex ſacrorum*, and the ſuperior of the veſtal virgins, ſo long as, mindful of her vow, ſhe preſerved herſelf undefiled. *Valerian*, ſays the author of his life, earneſtly beſought the emperor not to lay a burden upon him, to which he was in every reſpect unequal [q]; but does not tell us whether he was in the end prevailed upon to ſubmit to it. Soon after the emperor marched againſt the *Goths*, overcame them, and reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they offered to ſet at liberty all the priſoners they had taken, and relinquiſh their booty, provided he would ſuffer them to retire unmoleſted. But the emperor, bent upon cutting off at once the whole nation, and delivering *Rome* from ſo troubleſome an enemy, without hearkening to their propoſals, ſent *Trebonianus Gallus* with a ſtrong detachment, to cut off their retreat; and purſuing them cloſe with the reſt of the army, came up with them before they reached the *Danube*, and engaged them a ſecond time. The *Goths*, knowing that all lay at ſtake, fought like men in deſpair. Young *Decius* ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner, and is ſaid to have killed many of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end mortally wounded with an arrow, he fell from his horſe in the ſight of the whole army. The emperor, ſeeing him fall, cried out to his ſoldiers, without betraying the leaſt concern, *We have loſt but one man*; *let not, fellow-ſoldiers, ſo ſmall a loſs diſcourage you.* Having uttered theſe words, he ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy; but, inſtead of revenging the death of his ſon, he was himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, overpowered, and killed. Thus *Zoſimus* [r] and *Jornandes* [s]. But *Aurelius Victor* and *Zonaras* tell us, that *Gallus*, who kept a private correſpondence with the *Goths*, adviſed them to encamp behind a moraſs, in which the emperor, while he attempted to paſs it, purſuant to the treacherous counſel of the ſame *Gallus*, periſhed with his ſon and the greateſt number of the army, partly ſuffocated in the mud, and partly deſtroyed by the ſhowers of arrows, which the barbarians diſcharged upon them, while they could neither advance nor retire [t]. The ſame writers add, that the bodies of the two princes could never be found. *Euſebius* [u] and the chronicle of *Alexandria* [w] only ſay, that the two *Decii* were killed by the treachery of one of their own officers. *Lactantius* writes, that *Decius* having engaged the *Carpi*, was by them ſurrounded, cut in pieces with great part of his army, and left unburied a prey to the ravens and wild beaſts. Thus, concludes that writer, an enemy to God, and a perſecutor of his church, deſerved to periſh [x]. St. *Jerom* likewiſe [y], St *Cyprian* [z]. and *Conſtantine the Great* [a], aſcribe the unhappy end of *Decius* to divine vengeance. With him periſhed, according to *Euſebius*, three of his ſons, *viz. Decius*, *Etruſcus*, and *Trajan* [b]. He had reigned two years and ſome months, and was, after his death, ranked among the gods with the uſual ceremonies.

Decius gains new advantages over the Goths.

Young Decius is killed.

And likewiſe the emperor.

The Roman army cut in pieces.

The *Goths*, after the death of *Decius*, purſued their victory, and made a dreadful havock of the diſheartened army. Such of the *Romans* as eſcaped the general ſlaughter, fled to the legions commanded by *Gallus*; who, by pretending a great concern for the unfortunate end of *Decius* and the defeat of his army, and feigning to march againſt the barbarians, gained the hear,s of the ſoldiery, and was by them, with loud ſhouts of joy, proclaimed emperor. He immediately declared his ſon *Voluſianus*, *Cæſar*; married him to *Herennia Etruſcilla*, the daughter of the deceaſed prince; and, to remove all ſuſpicion of his being any-ways acceſſory to the misfortunes which had befallen him and his army, he adopted *Hoſtilianus*, his only ſurviving ſon; conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus*; inveſted him with the tribunitial power; and named him conſul for the enſuing year [d]. *Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus*, as he is ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions, was, according to *Victor* the younger, a native of the iſland of *Meninx* on the coaſt of *Africa*, called afterwards *Garba*, and at preſent *Gerbi* and *Zerbi*. Of his family no mention is made by the writers who have reached us; and all we know of his employments is, that he commanded the troops on the frontiers of *Mœſia* in 250. and in the preſent year 251. He was, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, fifty-ſeven; but, according to *Victor* the younger, only forty-five, when raiſed to the empire. *Hoſtilia Severa*, honoured on ſome medals with

Gallus proclaimed emperor.

[q] Valer. vit. p. 173, 174. [r] Zos. l. i. p. 643. [s] Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637. [t] Zonar. p. 231. Aur. Vict. in Dec. [u] Euseb. chron. p. 236. [w] Chron. Alexand. p 251. [x] Lactant. perſecut. c. 4. p. 4, 5. [y] Hier. in Zach. xiv. p. 285. [z] Cypr. epiſt. de lapſ. p. 238. [a] Constant. orat. apud eum. Euseb. oper. c. 24. p. 600. [b] Euseb. l. vii. c. 1. p. 250. [c] Goltz. p. 108. [d] Zos. l. i. p. 644. Goltz. p. 111. Zonar. p. 644.

a with the title of *Auguſta* [e], is ſuppoſed to have been his wife. His ſon is ſtyled in ſome inſcriptions *C. Vibius Voluſianus*, and in others *Annius Gallus Trebonianus* [f]. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than, inſtead of revenging the death of *Decius* and the overthrow of his army, he concluded a diſhonourable peace with the *Goths*; ſuffered them to retire unmoleſted with all their booty and priſoners, among whom were many *Romans* of great diſtinction; and even engaged to pay them yearly a conſiderable ſum, provided they continued quiet in their own country [g]. After this ignominious peace, he returned to *Rome*; and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having his ſon for his collegue.

He concludes a diſhonourable peace with the Goths.

b He began his reign with reviving all the edicts which had been publiſhed by his predeceſſor againſt the chriſtians, and which he cauſed to be put in execution with the utmoſt rigor. At the ſame time, a dreadful plague, breaking out in *Ethiopia* on the confines of *Egypt*, ſpread in a ſhort time over all the provinces of the empire, and ſwept away incredible numbers of people, eſpecially at *Rome*, where it raged with great violence. Some authors write, that it carried off among the reſt *Hoſtilianus*, the ſon of *Decius*, ſoon after he had been honoured with the title of *Auguſtus* [h]; but *Zoſimus* aſſures us, that *Gallus* cauſed him to be put to death, and then gave out, that he was dead of the plague [i]. The ſame year was remarkable for a general drought, a great famine, and wars kindled in moſt parts of the empire

He perſecutes the chriſtians.

c *M. Aufidius Perpenna Licinianus* took upon him the title of *Auguſtus*; but this revolt was ſoon quaſhed [k]; in what manner we are no-where told. The *Goths*, the *Borani*, the *Carpi*, the *Burgundi*, or *Burgundiones*, a people dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, broke into *Mœſia* and *Pannonia*; the *Scythians* over-ran *Aſia*; and the *Perſians* entering *Syria*, laid waſte that province, and even made themſelves maſters of *Antioch* [l]. *Æmilianus*, who commanded in *Mœſia*, overcame the barbarians in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit the *Roman* dominions. Elated with this ſucceſs, and deſpiſing *Gallus*, who was wallowing in pleaſures at *Rome*, while his generals were expoſing their lives in defence of the empire, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was ſaluted by the troops under his command, whoſe affections he had gained, with the titles of *Auguſtus* and *father of his country*. This

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor in Mœſia.

d rouzed *Gallus* from his lethargy, who immediately ordered *Valerian* to march with the *Gauliſh* and *German* legions againſt this new rival. But *Æmilianus*, without giveing him time to aſſemble his troops, marched ſtrait to *Italy*, and, by long marches, arrived in a ſhort time at *Interamna*, now *Terni*, about thirty-two miles from *Rome*. There he was met by *Gallus* and his ſon, at the head of a conſiderable army; but the troops of the latter, deſpiſing their leaders, ſlew them in the ſight of *Æmilianus*'s army, and proclaimed him emperor. Such was the end of the emperor *Gallus*, after he had reigned a year and ſix months [m]. Mention is made on ſome medals of the apotheoſis of *Voluſianus* [n]; whence we may conclude, that *Gallus* was likewiſe deified.

Gallus *is ſlain by his own men.*

No ſooner was the news of their death brought to *Rome*, than the ſenate confirmed

e the election of the ſoldiery, and honoured the new prince with the uſual titles. *Æmilius Æmilianus*, as *Aurelius Victor* calls him, or *C. Julius Æmilianus*, as he is ſtyled on the ancient coins, was by nation a *Moor*, and of a very mean deſcent. He had ſerved from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and raiſed himſelf to the firſt employments in the ſtate; for he had been conſul before he came to the empire [o]. In the letter which he wrote to the ſenate after the death of *Gallus*, he promiſed to drive the *Goths* out of *Thrace*, and the *Perſians* out of *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*; to comport himſelf in every thing as the lieutenant of the republic; and to leave the exerciſe of the ſovereign power to the ſenate [p]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that he governed with great moderation wherein he diſagrees with *Zonaras*, who tells us, that he acted more

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor.

f like a ſoldier than a prince, and did many things highly unbecoming an emperor [q]. Be that as it will, the troops, which *Valerian* was leading to the aſſiſtance of *Gallus*, hearing in *Rhætia* that he was dead, refuſed to ſubmit to the new prince, and proclaimed their own general emperor; who thereupon quickening his march, paſſed the mountains, and entered *Italy* at the head of a numerous and well diſciplined army. *Æmilianus*'s army no ſooner underſtood, that *Valerian*, of whom they entertained a mighty opinion, had been proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command,

[e] Golitz. p. 110. Occo. p. 457. [f] Golitz. ibid. Spon. hiſt. de Genev. p. 371. [g] Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 19. p. 631. Zos. p. 644. [h] Vict. epit. [i] Zos. p. 644. [k] Vict. epit. Occo. p. 454. [l] Zos. ibid. Zonar. p. 232. [m] Zos. p. 645. Zonar. p. 242. Syncel. p. 376. [n] Birag. p. 362. [o] Idem, p. 364. [p] Zonar. p. 233. [q] Idem ibid.

He is killed by his own men, and Valerian *proclaimed emperor in his room.*

mand, than they fell upon their own leader, and diſpatched him, to avoid, ſays *Zonaras*, a civil war, and the ſhedding of the blood of their fellow citizens [r]. *Æmilianus* was killed at *Spoletum*, now *Spoleti*, or at a bridge in that neighbourhood; which *Victor* the younger pretends to have been thence called *The bloody bridge*. He died in the forty-ſixth year of his age, after a ſhort reign of three, or, at moſt, of four, months [s]. *Euſebius* does not even rank him among the emperors [t], and is therein followed by the chronicle of *Alexandria*, and that of *Nicephorus*, in which *Valerian* is placed immediately after *Gallus*. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Æmilianus* died a natural death [u]. In his reign *C. Virius Paulinus* was governor of *Rome* and *comes domeſticorum* [w]. This is the firſt time we find the latter employment, which in the fourth century became very famous, mentioned in hiſtory. *Pancirollus* takes the words *domeſtici* and *protectores* to be ſynonymous terms. The province of the latter was to guard the prince's perſon, and, under the chriſtian emperors, to carry the great ſtandard with the croſs. They were ſuperior in rank to the prætorian guards, and diſtinguiſhed with particular badges peculiar to them. This corps conſiſted of three thouſand five hundred men before *Juſtinian*'s time, who is ſaid to have increaſed them to the number of five thouſand five hundred. They were divided into ſeveral bands of horſe and foot, called *ſcholæ*, and commanded by ſome perſon of great diſtinction, ſtyled *comes domeſticorum* [x]. From ſeveral inſcriptions of this time, we learn, that the word *comes* was already a title of dignity; ſo that the title of *comes*, or *count*, does not, as ſome imagine, owe its original intirely to *Conſtantine*.

His deſcent, employments, and character.

Æmilianus being killed, according to the moſt probable opinion, in the month of *Auguſt* of the year 253. the ſenate, with great joy, confirmed the election of *Valerian*, and conferred upon his ſon *Gallienus* the title of *Cæſar*. *Valerian* was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, had commanded armies, and diſcharged with great reputation the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military. He was adored by perſons of all ranks, on account of his integrity, prudence, modeſty, and extraordinary accompliſhments; for he was well verſed in all the branches of learning, and had ever lived free from the vices, which generally prevailed in thoſe diſſolute times; a friend to virtue, an enemy to all wickedneſs and tyranny, a great admirer of the cuſtoms of the primitive *Romans*, and no-ways inferior to thoſe among them, who were moſt cried up for their love of virtue, and averſion to vice; inſomuch, that if every perſon in the empire had been allowed the liberty of naming to the ſovereignty whom he pleaſed, no one, ſays the hiſtorian, would have thought of chuſing any but *Valerian* [y]. Thus he was univerſally judged worthy of the empire before he attained it; but was afterwards found no-ways equal to ſuch a mighty charge; whence moſt writers aſcribe to his want of activity, prudence, and reſolution, the many calamities which befel the empire in his and his ſon's reign [z]. Before his acceſſion to the empire, he was prince of the ſenate, which gave him a right to vote before all the conſulars. Afterwards he commanded the third legion, and was by degrees raiſed to the firſt poſts in the army. He attended *Decius* in his wars with the *Goths*, and was, while he continued with him in *Thrace*, named by the ſenate to the cenſorſhip, in the manner we have related above. In the ancient inſcriptions he is ſtyled *P. Licinius Valerianus*; to theſe names *Victor* the younger adds that of *Colobius*; and *Onuphrius* quotes an inſcription, in which he is named *P. Aurelius Licinius Valerius Valerianus* [a]. He married two wives, and had by the firſt, whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory, *Gallienus*, who ſucceeded him in the empire. By his ſecond wife, named by ſome writers *Mariniana* [b], he had *Valerian*, who was twice conſul, *viz.* in 258, and 263, and honoured, either by his father, or by his brother *Gallienus*, with the title of *Cæſar* [c]. He had other ſons; for *Gallienus* is ſaid to have married his brothers ſons, and to have ſtyled himſelf *the brother of many princes* [d].

He gains the affections of all.

Valerian began his reign with great applauſe, and behaved himſelf ſo as to gain the affections both of the ſenate and people, paying the utmoſt reſpect to the former, and eaſing the latter of the heavy taxes, with which they had been loaded by his predeceſſors. He enacted many excellent laws, and by that means ſuppreſſed moſt of the diſorders, which in thoſe unhappy

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Hier. chron. Eutrop. Aur. Vict. [t] Euseb. l. vii. c. 10. p. 255. [u] Aur. Vict. in Æmil. [w] Onuph. in faſt. p. 262. [x] Pancir. in not. imp. Rom. c. 89. [y] Valer. vit. p. 173. [z] Vict. epit. Eutrop. Zos. l. i. p. 640. [a] Onuph. ubi ſupra. [b] Birag. p. 369. [c] Val. vit. p. 175. Goltz. p. 114. [d] Idem ibid.

a unhappy times prevailed, not only at *Rome*, but all over the empire. Authors obſerve, that he employed only men of merit, and that moſt of thoſe whom he preferred to the command of his armies, were afterwards raiſed to the empire [k]. In the beginning of the following year 254. he entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having his ſon *Gallienus* for his collegue. *Zoſimus* writes, that this very year, the firſt of his reign, he took *Gallienus* for his partner in the empire, being prompted thereunto by the danger to which the empire, invaded on all ſides by the barbarians, was then expoſed [l]; for the *Germans* and the *Franks* committed great devaſtations in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*; the *Goths* and the *Carpi* invaded the provinces of *Mœſia*, *Thrace*, and *Macedon*; and the *Perſians*, paſſing the *Euphrates*, over-ran

The empire invaded on all ſides by the barbarians.

b *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*. *Aurelian*, at that time tribune of a legion quartered in *Mentz*, fell upon the *Franks*, while they were ravaging the neighbouring country, killed ſeven hundred of them, took three hundred priſoners, whom he ſold for ſlaves, and obliged the reſt to quit their booty, and retire [m]. The country of the *Franks*, now for the firſt time mentioned in hiſtory, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the weſt by the ocean and the river *Rhone*; and on the ſouth by the *Weſer*: according to which deſcription, they poſſeſſed the modern countries of *Weſtphalia*, *Heſſe*, and ſome adjacent ſtates [n]. They were a motley multitude, conſiſting of various *German* nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*; who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of *Franks*, the word *frank* ſignifying

c in their language, as it ſtill does in ours, *free* [o]. Among them we find the following nations mentioned, *viz.* the *Actarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Friſii*, *Chauci*, *Amſivarii*, and *Catti* [p]. The *Franks* are ſometimes called *Sicambri*, becauſe they inhabited the country formerly poſſeſſed by that nation, which was intirely cut off by *Auguſtus*, as we have related in the foregoing volume. The following year, *Valerian* being conſul the third time, and *Gallienus* the ſecond, a great victory was gained in *Germany* by the latter, who thereupon aſſumed the title of *Germanicus Maximus*, as appears from ſeveral medals of this year [q]; but what nation he overcame, whether the *Franks* or the *Alemanni*, who inhabited the countries lying between the *Rhine*, the *Maine*, and the *Danube*, hiſtory does not inform us. The next conſuls were

The Germans *defeated by* Gallienus.

d *Maximus* and *Glabrio*, during whoſe adminiſtration, *Gallienus*, with a body only of ten thouſand men, defeated, if *Zonaras* is to be credited, three hundred thouſand *Alemanni* in the neighbourhood of *Milan*; overcame the *Heruli*, a *Gothic* nation, and with great ſucceſs made war upon the *Franks* [r]. We wiſh that writer had given us a more diſtinct account of theſe mighty exploits. In *Gaul*, *Poſthumius*, a commander of great proweſs and experience, gained great advantages over ſeveral *German* nations, who had invaded that province [s]. The following year, *Valerian* being conſul the fourth time, and *Gallienus* the third, a violent perſecution broke out againſt

The chriſtians perſecuted.

e the chriſtians, *Macrianus*, a celebrated magician of *Egypt*, having ſeduced the emperor, who had been hitherto a great patron of the chriſtian religion, by perſuading him, that the affairs of the empire would never proſper, till the pagan rites were reſtored, and the religion of the chriſtians, ſo odious to the gods, utterly aboliſhed. This perſecution, commonly reckoned the eighth, raged throughout the whole empire with no leſs fury than that under *Decius* had done. Perſons of all ranks, ſays *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were dragged to the tribunals, hurried to execution, and racked with the moſt exquiſite torments, which the implacable hatred of their enemies could invent. This perſecution laſted three years; that is, from the preſent year 257. to the year 260. when *Valerian* was taken priſoner by the *Perſians*. The ſame year, *Aurelian* being ſent to ſucceed *Ulpius Crinitus* in the command of the troops in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, drove the *Goths* out of

The Goths *defeated by* Aurelian, *and the* Sarmatians *by* Probus.

f thoſe provinces, took an incredible number of them priſoners, and purſuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waſte their country, and returned to *Mœſia* loaded with booty [t]. At the ſame time, *Probus*, paſſing the *Danube*, made war with great ſucceſs upon the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi*, and reſcued out of the hands of the latter *Valerius Flaccus*, a youth of a noble deſcent, and nearly related to the emperor, who rewarded *Probus* with a civic crown; which, in the times of the republic, was given to ſuch as

[k] Aur. vit. p. 211. TREBEL. POLLIO. hiſt. trigint. tyrann. c. 9. p. 189. Prob. vit. p. 234. [l] Zos. l. i. p. 646. [m] Vit. Aur. p. 211. [n] ADRIAN. VOLES. rer. Francicar. BUCH. p. 209. [o] BUCH. ibid. [p] Vide ADRIAN. VALES. not. Gall. p. 201. & BUCH. p. 210. [q] BIRAG. p. 367, & 371. [r] ZONAR. vit. Gallien. p. 235. [s] TREBEL. POL. in vit. trigint. tyrann. p. 184. [t] Aurel. vit. p. 213.

as had ſaved the life of a citizen [u]. About the latter end of this year, the emperor, a leaving *Rome*, ſet out for the eaſt, to make head againſt the *Perſians*, who had invaded *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, and committed dreadful ravages in thoſe provinces. He reached *Byzantium* in the beginning of the following year, when *Memmius Tuſcus* and *Baſſus* were conſuls; and there held a council, at which aſſiſted all the chief officers of the empire, to deliberate about the meaſures to be taken with reſpect to the *Perſian* war; for *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, had already ſeized all *Armenia*, made himſelf maſter of *Niſibis* and *Carrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*; and thence advancing into *Syria* at the head of a mighty army, had ravaged that province, and taken *Antioch* itſelf. His guide in this expedition was one *Cyriades*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but abandoned from his youth to all manner of wickedneſs; inſomuch, that, b not able to bear the reproaches and wholſome admonitions of his father, he fled from home, and retired into *Perſia*, carrying thither with him a great quantity of gold and ſilver, which he had purloined. There he entered into the ſervice of the *Perſian* king, ſtirred him up to make war upon the *Romans*, and ſerved him as a guide, being well acquainted with the countries, in his marches through *Meſopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Syria*. *Sapor*, after he had taken and plundered *Antioch*, returned into *Perſia*, to diſcharge his army of the immenſe booty, with which they were incumbered, and left *Cyriades* governor of the conquered countries, who thereupon aſſumed the title of *Cæſar*, and ſoon after that of *Auguſtus*, and was acknowledged as emperor by moſt of the eaſtern provinces [w]. At the ſame time, the *Borani*, a *Scythian* nation, c croſſing the *Euxine* ſea, ſurpriſed and plundered the cities of *Pytus* in *Boſporus*, and *Trapezus* in *Pontus*; and thence advancing to the neighbourhood of *Byzantium*, croſſed over into *Aſia*, and ſurpriſed the cities of *Chalcedon*, *Nicea*, *Apamea*, *Pruſa*, and ſeveral other places, which they plundered, and then returned with an immenſe booty into their own country, before *Valerian* could come up with them [x]. The following year, when *Secularis* and *Baſſus* were conſuls, *Valerian* marched from *Cappadocia*, whither he had purſued the *Scythians*, into *Syria*, recovered *Antioch*, and thence advanced into *Meſopotamia*, where he met *Sapor*, engaged him, but, by the treachery of *Macrianus*, who perſuaded him to engage in a diſadvantagious poſt, loſt the flower of his troops in the engagement, and was himſelf taken priſoner [y]. d Thus *Zonaras*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and *Agathias*; but *Zoſimus* writes, that *Valerian* having, after the battle in which he was defeated, been prevailed upon to confer in perſon with *Sapor*, was by that treacherous prince ſeized and carried into *Perſia*. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken priſoner, carried in triumph by *Sapor* into *Perſia*, and there inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner by that haughty conqueror; who, after having ſhewn him loaded with chains in all the chief cities of his empire, treated him with greater indignities than the meaneſt ſlave, making him his foot-ſtool whenever he mounted on horſeback [z]. He was taken in the year 260. the ſeventieth of his age, and ſixth of his reign, and was ſtill alive in the year 263. nay, the chronicle of *Alexandria* tells us, that he did not die till the e year 269. After his death, his body was flayed by *Sapor's* orders, and preſerved in ſalt, and his ſkin dreſſed, dyed red, and expoſed in a temple; where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, it was ſhewn to all foreign princes and embaſſadors, as a laſting monument of the power of the *Perſian* monarch. *Agathias* writes, that *Valerian* was flayed alive [a]; but is therein contradicted by all the ancient hiſtorians. We are told, that nothing grieved the unhappy *Valerian* in his deplorable condition ſo much, as to ſee himſelf intirely neglected by his ſon *Gallienus*, who was ſo far from preſſing the *Perſian* king to ſet him at liberty, or offering to ranſom him, that, on the contrary, he expreſſed no ſmall joy when news was brought him of his f captivity, tho' moſt foreign princes, nay, even thoſe who had aſſiſted *Sapor* in his wars againſt the *Romans*, did all that lay in their power to prevail upon him to grant the *Roman* emperor his liberty; but the haughty *Perſian* was too much elated with his ſucceſs, to be terrified with the menaces of his enemies, or to hearken to the intreaties of his friends.

The Perſians *over-run ſeveral provinces.*

The Scythians *commit great deſolations in* Aſia.

Valerian *defeated by the* Perſians, *and taken priſoner.*

CHAP.

[u] Prob. vit. p. 234, 235. [w] Vit. trigint. tyran. p. 185. [x] Zos. l. i. p. 648. [y] Zonar. p. 234. Vict. epit. Eutrop. feſt. Agath. l. iv. p. 153. [z] Euseb. orat. Conſt. c. 24. Lact. perſecut. c. 5. Oros. l. vii. c. 22. Vit. Valer. p. 175. [a] Agath. l. iv. p. 233.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the captivity of* Valerian, *to the reſignation of* Dioclefian.

a THE news of the defeat of the *Roman* army by the *Perſians*, and the captivity of *Valerian*, no ſooner reached the barbarous nations at war with *Rome*, than they flew to arms; and, pouring on all ſides incredible multitudes into the *Roman* territories, threatened the empire and *Rome* itſelf with utter deſtruction. The *Goths* and *Scythians* ravaged anew *Pontus* and *Aſia*, committing every-where dreadful devaſtations: the *Germans*, that is, the *Alemanni* and the *Franks*, having over-run *Rhætia*, entered *Italy* itſelf, and advanced as far as *Ravenna*, putting all to fire and ſword: the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* ſeized on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*; and other barbarous nations, invading *Spain*, made themſelves maſters of *Tarraco* and other important places in that province [b]. *Gallienus*, who was then in *Gaul*, hearing that
b the *Alemanni* and *Franks* had entered *Italy*, and were advancing towards *Rome*, flew to the defence of the capital, and obliged the enemy to retire. Whether they were overcome in battle, as ſome authors write, or marched back upon the news of his approach, as we read in others, is uncertain. The barbarians, who had invaded *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, were driven back by *Regillianus*, who commanded there, and is ſaid to have gained ſeveral victories over them in one day [c]. While *Regillianus* was employed againſt the barbarians, whom he had purſued into *Mœſia*, *Ingenuus* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in *Pannonia*, and was acknowledged by the inhabitants both of that province and of *Mœſia*; for he was a man of great valour and experience in war, and univerſally beloved both by the people and ſol-
c diery. *Gallienus* no ſooner heard of his revolt, than he marched from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, where he then was, into *Illyricum*, engaged *Ingenuus*, and put him to flight. Some authors write, that *Ingenuus* was killed after the battle by his own ſoldiers, while others tell us, that he put an end to his own life, to avoid by that means falling into the hands of ſo cruel an enemy as *Gallienus*, who uſed his victory with a barbarity hardly to be equalled, commanding his ſoldiers to put all the inhabitants of *Mœſia* they could meet with to the ſword, whether they had taken up arms in favour of the uſurper, or no; as appears from the following letter, which he wrote to *Verianus Celer*, one of his officers: "I ſhall not be ſatisfied with
d "your putting to death ſuch only as have borne arms againſt me, and might have "fallen in the field: you muſt in every city deſtroy all the males, old and young: "ſpare none who have wiſhed ill to me, none who have ſpoken ill of me, the "ſon of *Valerian*, the father and brother of princes. *Ingenuus* emperor! tear, kill, "cut in pieces without mercy: you underſtand me; do then as you know I would "do, who have written to you with my own hand [d]." Purſuant to theſe cruel orders, a moſt dreadful havock was made of that unhappy people, and in ſeveral cities not one male child left alive. The troops, who had formerly ſerved under *Ingenuus*, and the inhabitants of *Mœſia*, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, provoked by theſe cruelties, proclaimed *Q. Nonius Regillianus* emperor. He was a *Dacian* by
e nation, deſcended, as was ſaid, from the celebrated king *Decebalus*, whom *Trajan* had conquered, and had by ſeveral gallant actions gained great reputation in the *Roman* armies. *Claudius*, who was afterwards emperor, wrote the following letter to him, congratulating him upon the victory he had gained over the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* in *Mœſia*: "Happy is the republic in having at this time ſuch a com-
"mander as you; happy *Gallienus*, tho' no one dares ſpeak truth to him, nor blame
"or commend men according to their deſerts. *Bonitus* and *Celſus*, two of the prince's
"life-guard-men, have given me an account of your gallant behaviour in the neigh-
"bourhood of *Scupi*, where you gained ſeveral victories over the barbarians in one
"day. In ancient times you would have been thought worthy of a triumph; but
"at

The empire invaded on all ſides by the barbarians.

Ingenuus *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.*

But is defeated and killed.

The cruelty of Gallienus.

Regillianus *emperor.*

[b] Zos. l. 1. c. 650. [c] Trig. tyrann. vit. p. 188. [d] Idem ibid. c. 8.

" at preſent I would have you to conquer with more caution, mindful of a certain a
" perſon, to whom your victories may give umbrage, *&c.*" After he was proclaimed emperor, he gained very conſiderable advantages over the *Sarmatians*, but was ſoon murdered by his own ſoldiers and the people of *Illyricum*, who had raiſed him to the empire, but, not long after his aſſumption, began to dread the effects of *Gallienus*'s cruelty. The *Roxolani*, who ſerved under him, revolted the firſt; and their example was ſoon followed by the reſt of the army and the people of *Illyricum* [e]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that he was overcome in battle by *Gallienus*. The ſame year, *M. Caſſius Labienus Poſthumius* revolted in *Gaul*. He was meanly born, but endowed with extraordinary parts, and reckoned one of the beſt commanders in the whole empire. *Valerian*, when he ſet out for the eaſt, committed to his care b
both his ſon *Gallienus* and the troops that were left in the weſtern provinces, declaring, that he loved and eſteemed *Poſthumius* above all officers of his army. When he appointed him governor of *Gaul* and commander of the troops on the *Rhine*, he wrote on that occaſion a letter to the inhabitants of *Gaul*, in which he expreſſed his eſteem for *Poſthumius* in the following terms: " You will, I hope, be convinced, that
" I have particular regard for you, ſince I have ſet over you ſuch a man as *Poſthu-*
" *mius*. He is one whom I eſteem above the reſt, and think the moſt worthy of all
" to repreſent the prince. If I am deceived in the opinion I entertain of him, I will
" not pretend to know any man [f]." When *Gallienus*, upon the news of his father's captivity and the invaſion of the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, ſet out for *Italy*, he left his c
eldeſt ſon *Saloninus*, named alſo *Valerian*, then an infant, at *Cologn*, under the tuition, ſome ſay, of *Poſthumius*, and others of *Sylvanus*, ordering all things to be tranſacted in his name. Soon after the emperor's departure, *Poſthumius* having defeated ſome *German* nations who had invaded *Gaul*, *Sylvanus* obliged him to ſend all the booty to him and the young prince; which provoked the ſoldiery to ſuch a degree, that they revolted, and proclaimed *Poſthumius* emperor, who marching without loſs of time to *Cologn*, beſieged the place, and reduced the inhabitants to ſuch ſtreights, that they were forced to deliver up to him both *Sylvanus* and *Saloninus*, whom he cauſed to be immediately put to death. Thus *Zoſimus* [g]: but *Trebellius Pollio* aſcribes the revolt and the death of the young prince to the *Gauls*, who, hating *Gallienus*, and not able d
to brook the government of a child, ſtirred up the ſoldiers to murder him, and proclaim *Poſthumius* emperor [h], who was with great joy acknowledged, not only in *Gaul*, but in *Spain* and *Britain* [i]. He reigned ſeven years, during which time he drove all the *Germans* out of *Gaul*, and even built ſeveral forts in their country, reſtored peace and tranquillity to that afflicted province, and governed with ſuch equity and moderation, that he was univerſally adored, and honoured with the titles of *The reſtorer of Gaul*, *The defender of the empire*; for had he not repulſed the *Germans*, they would, in thoſe diſtracted times, have over-run with great eaſe the whole empire [k]. On ſeveral of his medals mention is made of his victories over the *Germans*, that is, according to *Adrianus Valeſius* [l], over the *Franks*; and on ſome he is ſtyled *Germanicus Maximus* [m]. He had by his wife *Junia Donata*, perhaps the daughter of *Junius Donatus*, who was governor of *Rome* in the year 257. and this year conſul, at leaſt one ſon, ſtyled on the ancient coins *C. Junius Coſſius Poſthumius*. The emperor *Valerian* appointed him tribune of a band or company of *Vocontii*, that is, of *Dauphinois*. His father afterwards created him *Cæſar*, took him for his partner in the empire, and honoured him with the title of *Auguſtus* [n]. He was thought to have equalled in eloquence *Quintilian*, whom he ſtudied to imitate; whence his declamations were inſerted among thoſe of that excellent writer [o]; and the nineteen declamations, which paſs under the name of *Quintilian*, but ſeem not altogether worthy of him, are by ſome modern critics aſcribed to young *Poſthumius* [p]. *Gallienus*, though f
greatly concerned for the death of his ſon, whom he immediately cauſed to be ranked among the gods [q], did not march in perſon againſt the uſurper till ſome years after.

He is murdered by his own men.

Poſthumius *revolts to* Gaul.

The ſon of Gallienus *murdered.*

Poſthumius *acknowledged by* Gaul, Spain *and* Britain.

He delivers Gaul *from the* Germans.

DURING theſe diſturbances in the weſt, *Sapor* king of *Perſia*, elated with his late ſucceſs, over-ran moſt of the eaſtern provinces, laid waſte *Meſopotamia*, and entering *Syria*, took *Antioch* the third, or at leaſt the ſecond, time, and levelled with

The Perſians *over-run and plunder all the eaſtern provinces.*

[e] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 9. p. 189. [f] Idem, c. 2. p. 185. [g] Zos. p. 651. [h] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. [i] Claud. vit. p. 204. SPANH. l. ix. p. 845. [k] Trig. tyrann. vit. ibid. BIRAG. p. 393. [l] VAL. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 6. [m] BIRAG. p. 394. GOLTZ. p. 116. [n] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. [o] Idem ibid. p. 186. [p] Vide Voss. rhet. c. 15. p. 192. [q] BIRAG. p. 382.

a with the ground all the public buildings of that ſtately metropolis. From *Syria*, he led his army into *Cilicia*, took and plundered the city of *Tarſus*, the capital of that province; and advancing from thence into *Cappadocia*, made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea*, and cut all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thouſand, in pieces, for having oppoſed him under the conduct of one *Demoſthenes*, a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, who, after the city was taken, opened himſelf a way, ſword in hand, through the midſt of the enemy, and made his eſcape [r]. Thus the *Perſian* over-ran all the provinces of the eaſt, committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages. *Agathias* tells us, that he filled up deep valleys with dead bodies, and took
b pride in paſſing over them on horſe-back from one hill to another [s]. To the captives, whom he was pleaſed to ſpare, he allowed only what food was barely ſufficient to keep them alive, and ordered them to be driven once a day in herds to water like ſo many cattle [t]. In the mean time, the *Roman* troops, who had diſperſed upon the captivity of *Valerian*, rallying, choſe for their leader *Calliſtus*, or rather *Baliſta*, who had been captain of the guards to *Valerian*, and was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity, and experience in war. He, without loſs of time, tranſported his forces in boats into *Cilicia*, and obliged the *Perſians* to raiſe the ſiege of *Pompeiopolis*, a maritime city of that province, whence it was upon the point of ſubmitting. From *Cilicia* he flew with great celerity into *Lycaonia*, and there made a dreadful havock of
c the *Perſians*, whom he found buſied in plundering the open places, and no-ways upon their guard. He took from them all their booty and captives, made a great many priſoners, and among the reſt the wives of *Sapor*. From *Lycaonia* he retired with his booty and captives, before the *Perſians* could draw together their diſperſed forces; and embarking his army on the veſſels and boats he had aſſembled, landed ſome of his men at *Sebaſte*, and others at *Corycus*, two cities on the coaſt of *Cilicia*, and in both places ſurpriſed and cut in pieces above three thouſand *Perſians* [u]. *Baliſta* was well ſeconded in his attempts by *Odenatus*, whoſe name is famous in the hiſtory of theſe times on account of the many victories he gained over the *Perſians*, and his ſaving the *Roman* empire in the eaſt. All authors agree, that he was a native of
d *Palmyra*, a city of *Phœnicia*, about one day's journey from the *Euphrates*; but ſome writers call him a citizen and decurion, while others ſtyle him prince of that place. *Procopius* gives him the title of prince of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and were allies of the *Romans* [w]. *Zoſimus* tells us, that his army had been long before diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of honour by the *Roman* emperors, and that he had troops of his own [x]. As *Palmyra* was at this time a *Roman* colony [y], *Odenatus* was prince, not of that city, but probably of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in that neighbourhood. As he had been accuſtomed from his infancy to the manly exerciſes of hunting, he bore with great chearfulneſs and alacrity the toils of a military life [z]. Of his wife *Zenobia*, we ſhall have occaſion to
e ſpeak hereafter. *Odenatus* was ſcarce known till the captivity of *Valerian*, when, dreading the power of that mighty conqueror, as he lived in amity with the *Romans*, he wrote to him a moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive letter, proteſting, that he had never borne arms againſt the *Perſians*, and at the ſame time ſent him ſeveral camels loaded with rich preſents. But *Sapor*, highly provoked at the arrogance of ſuch an inſignificant perſon, as he expreſſed himſelf, in preſuming to write to him, tore his letter, ordered his preſents to be thrown into the river, and, with a threatening voice, told his embaſſadors, that he would teach their maſter the reſpect a man of his mean condition owed to his lord and ſovereign; that he would exterminate and utterly deſtroy him, his whole family, and country; adding, that if he came and threw himſelf
f proſtrate at his feet, with his hands tied behind his back, he might perhaps by that ſubmiſſion atone in ſome degree for his temerity and preſumption. *Odenatus*, reſenting, as it became a man of his ſpirit, this vile treatment, ſwore he would purſue the *Perſians* to the laſt with fire and ſword, and either bring down the pride of their mighty monarch, or periſh in the attempt [a]. With this view, he immediately declared for the *Romans*; and joining *Baliſta* with all his forces, bore a great, if not the chief, ſhare, in the above-mentioned exploits; for to him *Trebellius Pollio* aſcribes the taking of *Sapor*'s wives [b]. The *Perſian*, greatly concerned for that loſs, and apprehending

Baliſta *cuts many of them in pieces.*

Odenatus *of* Palmyra.

How treated by Sapor.

He ſides with the Romans.

[r] Zonar. p. 234. [s] Agath. l. iv. p. 134. [t] Zonar. p. 234. [u] Zonar. p. 382. Syncell. p. 235. [w] Procop. p. 97. [x] Zos. p. 651. [y] Noris. de epoch. Syromaced. p. 103. [z] Trig. tyrann. c. 14. [a] Petr. Patr. in excerpt. de legat. p. 29. [b] Trig. tyr. c. 14. p. 192.

apprehending it might be attended with others ſtill greater, (for *Odenatus* and *Baliſta* purſued him cloſe) reſolved to retire; and accordingly bent his march towards the *Euphrates*. But as he was marching through the province of *Euphrateſiana*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Palmyra*, *Odenatus*, falling upon his rear, made a dreadful havock of them, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the *Euphrates* with great hurry and confuſion. Many periſhed in the river; and *Sapor* was glad to compound with the *Roman* garriſon in *Edeſſa*, which city he had never been able to reduce, for the liberty of returning into his own country, by yielding to them all the *Syrian* money he had amaſſed in the plunder of ſo many cities [c]. *Zonaras* writes, that *Odenatus* found among the *Perſian* captives, and likewiſe among the dead, many women attired and armed like men [d]. After theſe victories, *Odenatus* aſſumed the title of king of *Palmyra*, which he likewiſe gave to his eldeſt ſon *Herod*, as he did that of queen to his wife *Zenobia*. *Gallienus*, to reward his eminent ſervices, appointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces in the eaſt; which truſt he diſcharged with great fidelity, and was attended with better ſucceſs than any of the *Roman* generals. For the following year 261. when *Gallienus* was conſul, the fourth time, with *Petronius Voluſianus*, *Odenatus*, not ſatisfied with having driven *Sapor* out of the *Roman* dominions, entered *Meſopotamia*, and there recovered the cities of *Niſibis* and *Charræ*. From *Meſopotamia* he advanced into the very heart of the *Perſian* dominions, being extremely deſirous of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of *Valerian*. *Sapor* met him at the head of a mighty army; whereupon an engagement enſuing, the *Perſians* were utterly defeated, and *Sapor* with his children obliged to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Perſian* dominions. Thither *Odenatus* purſued them, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place, after having deſtroyed with fire and ſword the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. The *Perſian* lords, alarmed at the danger that threatened their prince and country, armed all their vaſſals, and flew from the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom to *Cteſiphon*. Many battles were fought under the walls of that metropolis, which ſerved only to increaſe the number of *Odenatus*'s victories; many *Perſians* of great diſtinction were taken priſoners, and ſent by the conqueror to *Gallienus*: *Sapor* on one ſide, and the brave *Odenatus* on the other, exerted their utmoſt efforts, the latter to deliver *Valerian*, and the former to avoid the like doom, which now threatened him [e]. But here *Trebellius Pollio*, after having raiſed our expectation, drops at once both *Odenatus* and the ſiege of *Cteſiphon*; and, giving himſelf no farther trouble about either, leaves us quite in the dark as to to the iſſue of ſo glorious and important an undertaking. The reader may thence jude of his abilities in the capacity of an hiſtorian. All we know for certain is, that *Sapor* was not taken, nor *Valerian* reſcued from his cruel bondage. Some writers ſeem to inſinuate, that the revolt of *Macrianus*, which, according to moſt hiſtorians, happened this year, obliged *Odenatus* to raiſe the ſiege of *Cteſiphon*. *Macrianus* was of a mean deſcent; but had, by his courage and experience in war, raiſed himſelf from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier to the higheſt poſts in the army. He was exceeding rich, and had married a lady of great diſtinction, by whom he had two ſons *Macrianus* and *Quietus*, who had been raiſed to the rank of tribunes by *Valerian*, and were eſteemed two of the beſt officers of the whole army [f]. The father is ſtyled by *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, the chief of the *Egyptian* magicians [g]; whence we conclude him to have been by nation an *Egyptian*, and greatly addicted to the ſtudy of magic. As the abominable myſteries of that art were abhorred and deſervedly cried down by the chriſtians, *Macrianus* thence became their implacable enemy, and inſpired *Valerian*, with whom he bore great ſway, with an irreconcileable hatred to them, which occaſioned the eighth perſecution, as we have hinted above [h]. Some authors write, that abuſing the confidence *Valerian* repoſed in him, he betrayed that prince to the *Perſians* [i]; but others clear him from that imputation. Be that as it will, about a year after the captivity of the unhappy emperor, he revolted from his ſon; and having gained over *Baliſta*, was by his means acknowledged emperor by moſt of the troops who had ſerved under *Valerian*, but deſpiſed *Gallienus*. He immediately took his two ſons for his partners in the empire, and appointed *Baliſta* his captain of the guards. *Trebellius Pollio*, of all writers the leaſt exact, to ſay no more, does not inform us in what country *Macrianus*

And gains great advantages over the Perſians.

Odenatus *aſſumes the title of king of* Palmyra.

Defeats Sapor *and beſieges* Cteſiphon.

The riſe of Macrianus

He is proclaimed emperor.

[c] Petr. Patr. ibid. p. 25. [d] Zonar. p. 235. [e] Vit. Gall. p. 179. Zos. p. 651. [f] Gall. vit. p. 175 Trig. tyrann. c. 13. [g] Euseb. l. vii. c. 10. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Trig. tyrann. p. 174.

a *anus* was created emperor, nor where, or how long he reigned; and as to the other hiſtorians, *Zonaras* is the only one among them that takes any notice at all of him. That writer tells us, that the inhabitants of *Aſia* received him with extraordinary marks of joy [k]. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* gives us room to think, that he was acknowledged in *Egypt*; and that his and his ſons reign ended before the ninth year of *Gallienus*, that is, before the *Auguſt* of the year 262 [l]. During his uſurpation happened, in all likelihood, at *Alexandria* the diſturbances deſcribed by that writer, who was biſhop of the place. Fury and diſcord, ſays he, raged there to ſuch a degree, that it was more eaſy to paſs from the eaſt to the moſt remote provinces of the weſt, than from one place of *Alexandria* to another: the inhabitants had no intercourſe b but by letters, which with great difficulty were conveyed from one friend to another: it was more dangerous to croſs the ſtreet, than the moſt tempeſtuous ſeas, the moſt dry and inhoſpitable deſert: the port reſembled the ſhore of the red-ſea, ſtrewn with the carcaſſes of the drowned *Egyptians*; the ſea was dyed with blood, and the *Nile* choaked up with dead bodies [m]. The war was attended with a general famine, and the famine by a dreadful plague, which daily ſwept off great numbers of people, inſomuch, that there were then in *Alexandria* fewer inhabitants from the age of fourteen to that of eighty, than there uſed to be from forty to ſeventy [n]. Of ſuch perſons a regiſter, it ſeems, was kept; and a certain quantity of corn diſtributed among them.

Egypt *ſubmits to him.*

Great diſturbances at Alexandria.

c *Macrianus* no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereignty, than he marched with all the forces he could aſſemble into the eaſt, ſays *Pollio*, that is, as we conjecture, from *Egypt* into *Syria*. He engaged ſeveral times and defeated the *Perſians*; but looked upon *P. Valerius Valens* as a far more formidable enemy. *Valens* had been ſent by *Gallienus* into *Achaia*, or *Greece*, with the title of proconſul; but hearing there, that *Macrianus* had been proclaimed emperor, he aſſumed the ſame title. Hereupon *Macrianus* immediately detached *Piſo*, with a competent force, to ſuppreſs this new uſurper. But *Piſo*, finding him upon his guard, and ready to receive him, retired into *Theſſaly*, and there aſſumed the title of emperor, with the ſurname of *Theſſalicus*, as appears from his medals [o]. But he did not long enjoy that empty d and ſeducing title, being ſoon after murdered by ſome ſoldiers ſent by *Valens* for that purpoſe. *Valens* himſelf was ſlain a few days after by his own men; and his death, as well as that of his rival, was known at *Rome* before the twenty-fifth of *June* [p]. *Piſo*, who was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious families of *Rome*, was univerſally lamented there on account of the merits of his anceſtors, as well as his own. He had been highly eſteemed by the emperors, nay, and by *Valens* himſelf, who upon hearing the news of his death, *What account*, ſaid he, *ſhall I give to the gods, the infernal judges, of the death of* Piſo? *The* Roman *empire has not a perſon equal to* Piſo. Upon the news of his death, it was moved in the ſenate, that divine honours might be decreed to him as to a lawful prince; nay, e ſome writers tell us, that he was actually ranked among the gods with this remarkable elogium, *That there never was a better man, nor a man of more firmneſs and conſtancy*. However that be, he was decreed a ſtatue with a triumphal chariot: the ſtatue was ſtill to be ſeen in the time of *Conſtantine*; but the chariot had been taken down, to make room for the famous baths of *Dioclefian*, and was never after ſet up again [q]. About the ſame time that *Macrianus* uſurped the empire in the eaſt, *Manius Acilius Aureolus* was forced by the army, which he commanded in *Illyricum*, to take upon him the ſovereignty; for the ſoldiers every-where abhorred *Gallienus*, and would only obey emperors ſet up by themſelves. *Aureolus* from *Illyricum* marched into *Italy*, and made himſelf maſter of *Milan* [r]. *Gallienus*, after various unſucceſsful f attempts to ſuppreſs him, was in the end obliged to come to an accommodation with him, and accept of his aſſiſtance againſt *Poſthumius*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. He was, according to *Zonaras*, a native of *Dacia*, of a mean deſcent, and in his youth a ſhepherd; but liſting himſelf afterwards in the army, he was ſoon raiſed from the rank of a common ſoldier to the command of a body of horſe. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner under *Gallienus*, in the battle againſt *Ingenuus*; for ſome author aſcribe to him the whole glory of that victory [s]. This year 261.

Valens *proclaimed emperor in* Achaia, *and* Piſo *in* Theſſaly; *but they are both killed.*

The character of Piſo.

Aureolus *made emperor in* Illyricum.

[k] Zonar. p. 236. [l] Euseb. l. vii. c. 23. [m] Idem ibid. c. 21. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Birag. p. 388. [p] Trig. tyrann. p. 194, 195. [q] Trig. tyr. vit. c. 20. p. 194. [r] Idem, c. 10. p. 189. Vict. epit. [s] Zonar. p. 235.

Bithynia *plundered by the* Scythians.

261. the *Scythians* breaking anew into *Bithynia*, laid waſte the whole country a ſecond time, levelled with the ground ſeveral cities, plundered *Nicomedia*, and returned unmoleſted into their own country, with a great booty and many captives [i]. At the ſame time, that no part of the empire might be exempt from ſome ſignal calamity, the iſland of *Sicily*, leſs expoſed than other countries to the ravages of the barbarians, was miſerably haraſſed by a band of robbers, who, roving up and down, committed dreadful devaſtations, and kindled a kind of ſervile war, which was not ſuppreſſed without much difficulty and bloodſhed [k]. The following year, *Gallienus* being conſul, the fifth time, with *Fauſtianus*, the empire was in many places afflicted by other calamities, beſides the wars and commotions we have mentioned. The ſun was overcaſt with thick clouds, and a great darkneſs continued for ſeveral days together, attended with a violent earthquake and dreadful claps of thunder, not in the air, but in the bowels of the earth, which opened in many places, and ſwallowed up great numbers of people, with their habitations. The ſea, ſwelling beyond meaſure, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities; the plague raged with great violence in *Greece*, *Egypt*, and eſpecially at *Rome*, where it ſwept off for ſome time five thouſand perſons a day. The books of the *Sibyls* were conſulted, public proceſſions ordained, ſacrifices offered to *Jupiter the author of health*, &c. But all to no purpoſe; nay, to their other calamities were added the incurſions of the *Goths* in great ſwarms into *Greece*, and of the *Scythians* into *Aſia*. The former having made themſelves maſters of *Thrace*, over-ran all *Macedon*, and laid ſiege to *Theſſalonica*, the capital of that province, which threw all *Greece* into the utmoſt conſternation: troops were diſpatched to guard the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, ſo famous in hiſtory; the *Athenians* rebuilt their walls, which had lain in ruins ever ſince the time of *Sylla*; the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* ſhut up the iſthmus from ſea to ſea; new levies were made; the troops quartered in that province drawn together, &c. But, in the mean time, *Macrianus* arriving in *Greece* on his march into *Italy*, fell upon the barbarians while they were attempting to enter *Achaia*, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into their own country, whither they carried, however, great part of their booty [l]. At the ſame time, the *Scythians*, that is, another party of *Goths*, croſſing the *Helleſpont* under the conduct of one *Raſpa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Aſia*, burnt ſeveral cities there, and plundered the celebrated temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, ſo much reſpected by the pagans, and ſo famous for its rich ornaments and immenſe wealth [m]. Thus was the deſtruction of the moſt illuſtrious monuments of paganiſm begun by the *Goths*, who were themſelves pagans; and we ſhall ſee them in the two following centuries complete what they now begin. In this irruption they ruined the city of *Chalcedon*, deſtroyed the poor remains of ancient *Troy* and the famous *Ilium*; and, repaſſing the *Helleſpont*, laid waſte all *Thrace*, and returned to their own country with an immenſe booty [n].

The empire affected with a plague, famine, earthquakes, &c.

New irruptions of the Scythians.

Who plunder the temple of Diana *at* Epheſus.

IN the mean time, *Macrianus* having ſettled the affairs of *Syria*, left there his younger ſon *Quietus*, with *Baliſta*, to guard that province againſt the *Perſians*; and ſet out for *Italy*, with his eldeſt ſon *Macrianus*, at the head of forty-five thouſand men, to try his fortune againſt *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, and *Gallienus* at *Rome*. He was met by the forces of the former either in *Illyricum*, or on the borders of *Thrace*; whereupon a battle enſued, in which *Macrianus* and his ſon being killed, their whole army ſubmitted to *Aureolus*, and were incorporated in his troops [o]. The news of their defeat and death was no ſooner heard in the eaſt, than moſt cities there revolted from *Quietus*, who thereupon ſhut himſelf up with *Baliſta* in the city of *Emeſa*, whither *Aureolus*, to complete his victory, ſent ruffians to diſpatch him. But before their arrival, *Odenatus* had beſieged the place; which ſo terrified the inhabitants and the gariſon, that they killed *Quietus*, threw his head over the walls, and then ſubmitted to *Odenatus*. *Macrianus* and his children being thus cut off, *Gallienus* was acknowledged anew in *Egypt* and *Syria*; for *Odenatus*, though maſter of almoſt all the eaſtern provinces, acted, or at leaſt pretended to act, in his name [p]. He had no ſooner withdrawn his troops from before *Emeſa*, than *Baliſta*, whom he had ſpared on account of his adviſing the inhabitants to murder *Quietus*, aſſumed the title of emperor, and put ſuch numbers of the citizens of *Emeſa* to the ſword, no doubt

Macrianus *and his eldeſt ſon defeated and killed by* Aureolus.

Baliſta *aſſumes the title of emperor.*

[i] Gall. vit. p. 177. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem, p. 177, 178. JORNAND. rer. Goth. c. 20. [n] JORNAND. ibid. [o] ZONAR. p. 236. Trig tyran. c. 10. Gall. vit. p. 176. [p] Gall. vit. p. 179. Trig. tyran. c. 14.

a doubt for refuſing to acknowledge him, that the unhappy city was almoſt turned into a deſert [d]. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him hereafter; for he ſeems to have reigned at *Emeſa* three years. About the ſame time, *Æmilianus*, ſtyled on the ancient medals *Tiberius Ceſtius Alexander Æmilianus* [e], commander of the legions in *Egypt*, took upon him the title of emperor, hoping, by thus openly revolting from *Gallienus*, who was no leſs abhorred in *Egypt* than in the other provinces, to appeaſe the populace of *Alexandria*, who had riſen upon a very trifling occaſion, and inveſted the houſe where *Æmilianus* lodged, threatening him with preſent death. He no ſooner proclaimed himſelf emperor, in oppoſition to *Gallienus*, than the rage of the incenſed multitude aſſwaged, and the whole city of *Alexandria*, with loud b acclamations, acknowledged him for their ſovereign. He immediately ſeized all the corn in the public granaries, and by that means occaſioned a famine in ſeveral provinces. He viſited in perſon the moſt diſtant parts of *Egypt*, redreſſed many grievances, repulſed with great vigor the neighbouring barbarians, which procured him the name of *Alexander*, and was preparing for an expedition into *India*, when the troops ſent againſt him by *Gallienus* arrived in *Egypt* [f], as we ſhall relate hereafter. This year, *Gallienus*, agreeing with *Aureolus*, marched into *Gaul* with him and *Claudius*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, to make war upon *Poſthumius*, who had reigned three years undiſturbed. As *Poſthumius* was greatly beloved, and vigorouſly ſupported by the *Gauls*, the war laſted ſome years. *Gallienus* was defeated in the firſt general engagement of this year, and *Poſthumias* in the ſecond, after c having loſt the flower of his troops. But *Aureolus*, who was ſent to purſue him, having ſuffered him to eſcape when he might have eaſily taken him, he levied new forces, and began the war with freſh vigor [g]. *Gallienus*, however, quitting *Gaul* the following year, when *Albinus* and *Dexter* were conſuls, returned to *Rome*, and from thence haſtened into the eaſt, where he wreaked his rage on the city of *Byzantium*; but upon what provocation, *Trebellius Pollio*, who deſcribes the miſerable condition to which that place was reduced, has not thought proper to acquaint us. All we know is, that *Gallienus*, as ſoon as he appeared before it, loſt all hopes of ever being able to maſter it; but being nevertheleſs admitted, the day after his arrival, within the gates, upon terms, without any regard to the agreement, he cauſed the d gariſon, and all the inhabitants, to be put to the ſword. Not one perſon, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, was left alive in the place [h]. *Vorburgius* aſcribes this ſlaughter to the ſoldiers of *Gallienus*; and pretends, that the emperor left *Gaul*, and haſtened into the eaſt, on purpoſe to revenge the ſlaughter of the *Byzantines*, and puniſh the cruelty of the ſoldiers [i]. From *Byzantium*, *Gallienus* returned to *Rome*, where he celebrated the tenth year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, and a kind of triumph, in which were led mock-captives, dreſſed like *Goth*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, and *Perſians*. During this ſhew, ſome perſons of humour, mixing with thoſe who perſonated the *Perſians*, viewed with great attention their faces, examined their dreſs, and ſeemed to betray great ſurprize. Being in the end aſked, what they wanted? e *We are looking*, ſaid they, *for the emperor's father*; which ſo incenſed *Gallienus*, that he commanded them immediately to be burnt alive [k]. This year, a new tyrant ſtarted up, by name *P. Sempronius Saturninus*. He was a man of great parts, and renowned for his victories over the barbarians. Hiſtory does not inform us where or how long he reigned; but only tells us, that he performed great things while he was emperor, and was, on account of his ſeverity, put to death by the ſame ſoldiers who had raiſed him to the empire. When he was firſt proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, he told them, that they *had loſt a good captain, and made a bad prince* [l]. Towards the end of the year, *Theodotus*, a native of *Egypt*, f diſpatched by *Gallienus* againſt *Æmilianus*, who reigned in that country, overcame him in a pitched battle, took him priſoner, and ſent him to *Rome*; where he was, by the emperor's orders, ſtrangled in priſon, according to the ancient cuſtom of putting captive princes to death. The emperor, to reward *Theodotus*, deſigned to make *Egypt* a proconſular province, and honour him with that proconſulſhip; but was diverted from it by the prieſts alledging a prediction, which had prevailed even in *Cicero*'s time, *viz.* that *Egypt* would recover its ancient liberty, when the faſces appeared there [m]. The faſces were carried, as is well known, before the proconſuls.

And likewiſe Æmilianus.

Gallienus *makes war upon* Poſthumius *in* Gaul.

The Byzantines *ſlaughtered by* Gallienus.

Saturninus *aſſumes the title of emperor, and is murdered by his ſoldiers.*

Æmilianus *defeated, taken, and ſtrangled.*

At

[d] Gall. vit. p. 176. [e] Goltz. 115. [f] Trig. tyr. c. 21. [g] Gall. vit. p. 178. Zon. p. 236. [h] Gall. vit. p. 178, 179. [i] Vorb. hiſt. Rom. Germanic. p. 539. [k] Gall. vit. p. 179. [l] Trig. vit. c. 22. p. 196. [m] Idem ibid. c. 21. p. 195.

Bruchium *beſieged and taken.*

At this time, happened, as we conjecture, the ſiege of *Bruchium*, deſcribed by *Euſebius*; *Æmilianus* himſelf, or his partizans, having probably taken ſhelter there after the battle. *Bruchium*, or, as *Euſebius* ſtyles it, *Pyruchium*, was a quarter of the city of *Alexandria* near the ſea, on the ſide of the *Pharos*, and, as it were, the citadel of that metropolis. There ſtood the royal palace, the place where the *Egyptian* ſenate or council met, the public granaries, the muſeum, and the celebrated library of the *Egyptian* kings, containing once ſeven hundred thouſand volumes, of which four hundred thouſand were burnt in *Julius Cæſar*'s time. The *Roman* army, under the command of *Theodotus*, having taken the reſt of the city, laid ſiege to this quarter, and in the end reduced it by famine [n]. This year the *Scythians* made a new irruption into *Aſia*, but were with great ſlaughter driven back into their own country by the *Roman* forces quartered in that province [o].

Gallienus *declares* Odenatus *his partner in the empire.*

The next conſuls were *Gallienus*, the ſixth time, and *Saturninus*. This year *Gallienus*, by the advice of his brother *Valerian* and his kinſman *Lucillus*, to reward the brave *Odenatus* for the many victories he had gained over the *Perſians*, took him for his partner in the empire, honoured him with the titles of *Cæſar*, *Auguſtus*, and emperor, and all the badges of ſovereignty, and cauſed money to be coined with his name, on which he was repreſented leading the *Perſians* captive. The title of *Auguſta* was given to his wife, and that of *Cæſar* to his children [p]. This action of *Gallienus* was highly applauded by the ſenate, by the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire; for to his valor was intirely owing the preſervation of the eaſtern provinces, over-run and ſorely haraſſed by the *Perſians*. This year, 264. *Baliſta*, who had held ſome provinces in the eaſt ever ſince the death of *Macrinus* and his children, was at laſt killed, according to the moſt probable opinion, by a ſoldier ſent by *Odenatus* for that purpoſe [q]. *Gallienus*, in the ſpring of this year, left *Rome*, and marched a ſecond time in perſon againſt *Poſthumius*, who ſtill reigned in *Gaul*. At his approach, *Poſthumius* withdrew into a ſtrong hold, which the emperor immediately inveſted, but ſoon after raiſed the ſiege, having received a wound in the back with an arrow while he was viewing the walls [r]. On ſeveral medals of this year, notice is taken of a victory gained by *Gallienus* in *Gaul*, and he is ſtyled the reſtorer of that province [s]. However, *Poſthumius* ſtill maintained himſelf in poſſeſſion of great part of that country; and this year being hard preſſed by *Gallienus*, he choſe for his collegue *M. Aurelius Piauvonius Victorinus*, as he is ſtyled on the ancient coins, of whom we read the following character in *Julius Aterianus*, a writer of thoſe times: No one, in my opinion, ought to be preferred to *Victorinus*, who reigned ſome time in *Gaul*; he equalled *Trajan* in bravery, *Antoninus* in clemency, *Nerva* in gravity, *Veſpaſian* in managing the public money, and *Pertinax* and *Severus* in his care of the military diſcipline: but his unbridled luſt drowned all his good qualities, and caſt ſuch a blemiſh upon his reputation, that no one dares to record the virtues of a man, whom all own to have deſerved the doom which in the end overtook him [t]. Of this doom we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. The next year, *Valerian*, the emperor's brother, and *Lucillus*, his kinſman, being conſuls, the *Iſaurians*, revolting in *Aſia Minor*, choſe for their leader *C. Annius Trebellianus*, who took upon him the title of *Auguſtus*, cauſed money to be coined with his name, and reigned ſome time in *Iſauria* and *Cilicia*; but was in the end drawn by *Cauſiſoleus*, the brother of *Theodotus*, from among the rocks and mountains, where he had taken refuge, into a plain, and there defeated and killed. The *Iſaurians* ranked him after his death among the gods; and, refuſing to ſubmit to *Gallienus*, whoſe cruelty they dreaded, maintained themſelves a free people in the very heart of the *Roman* empire, at leaſt till the time of the emperor *Conſtantine*, and committed dreadful ravages in *Aſia Minor* and *Syria* [u]. While *Gaul*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, were held either by a domeſtic or foreign enemy, *Africa* too had its tyrant, *viz. T. Cornelius Celſus*, ſet up by *Vibius Paſſienus*, proconſul of *Africa*, and *Fabius Pomponianus*, who commanded on the frontiers of *Libya*. He was but a tribune, and led at that time a retired life in the country. A lady, by name *Galliena*, nearly related to the emperor, bore a great ſhare in this revolt. *Celſus* was a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to which he was raiſed; but he held it a ſhort time, being killed the ſeventh day after his election. The inhabitants of *Sicca*, who had continued faithful to *Gallienus*,

Baliſta *murdered.*

Gallienus *goes into* Gaul.

Poſthumius *takes* Victorinus *for his partner.*

The Iſaurians *revolt.*

Celſus *made emperor in* Africa, *and ſoon after murdered.*

[n] Euseb. l. vii. c. 31. p. 285. [o] Gall. vit. p. 178. [p] Gall. vit. p. 179. Goltz. p. 115. [q] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193. [r] Gall. vit. p. 177. [s] Birag. p. 376. 377. [t] Trig. tyrann. c. 5. p. 186, 187. [u] Idem, c. 25. p. 198.

a *lienus*, threw his body to the dogs, and crucified him in effigie, which, as our hiſtorian obſerves, had never been practiſed before [o]. Among the other misfortunes of this unhappy reign, we may reckon the loſs of all the conqueſts of *Trajan*, that is, of the whole province of *Dacia*, ſeized by the *Goths* and other northern nations; and the dreadful ravages committed by the *Franks* in *Spain*. *Victor* is of opinion, that they entered that province on the ſide of *Gaul* [p]; but *Adrianus Valeſius* proves, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Conſtantine*, that they conveyed themſelves thither by ſea [q]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that they entered *Spain*, ravaged the country far and wide, and took by ſtorm, plundered, and almoſt utterly deſtroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which, for the ſpace of a hundred and fifty years,
b bore the marks of what it ſuffered at this time [r]. Some of the *Franks* from *Spain* croſſed over into *Africa* [s]; but what was the iſſue of that raſh undertaking, we are no-where told.

Spain *plundered by the* Franks.

THE following year, *Gallienus* being conſul, the ſeventh time, with *Sabinillus*, the brave *Odenatus*, entering the *Perſian* territories, put all there to fire and ſword, overcame *Sapor* in ſeveral battles, beſieged a ſecond time, and, according to *Syncellus*, made himſelf maſter of, *Cteſiphon*. But, in the mean time, the *Goths* entering *Aſia* by the *Euxine* ſea, over-ran *Lydia*, *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Troas*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, laying waſte the country, plundering the towns, and carrying off an immenſe booty and an incredible number of captives [t]. The next year, *Paternus* and *Arce-*
c *ſilaus* being conſuls, *Odenatus*, leaving *Cteſiphon*, haſtened back to the relief of *Aſia*; but the *Goths*, not thinking it adviſeable to wait his arrival, reimbarqued at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, and returned home, loaded with booty. Many of them, however, were drowned, being overtaken in the *Euxine* ſea by the *Roman* fleet. All authors agree, that *Odenatus* was killed about this time, but differ both as to the place and manner of his death. According to *Syncellus*, he was killed at *Heraclea* [u]; according to *Zoſimus*, at *Emeſa* [w]. *Trebellius Pollio* writes, that he was murdered by one *Mæonius*, his couſin, who was proclaimed emperor in his room, but ſoon after put to death. *Syncellus* aſcribes his death to another *Odenatus*, who was himſelf murdered by the guards [x]. Some writers ſuppoſe *Zenobia* herſelf to have aſſiſted the conſpirators under-
d hand, being provoked againſt her huſband for preferring his eldeſt ſon *Herod*, by a former wife, to the children he had by her [y]. It is certain, that *Herod* was killed with his father, who, according to ſome writers, had taken him for his partner. Such was the end of *Odenatus*, deſervedly ranked by hiſtorians among the greateſt princes that ever reigned in the eaſt. God, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, was angry with the *Romans*, ſince he took *Valerian* from them, and did not long preſerve *Odenatus* [z]. He had begun, as appears from ſome medals [a], the fourth year of his reign. He left behind him three ſons by *Zenobia*, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vabalath*, or, as he is ſtyled on ſome medals, *Hermias Vhaballat* [b]. As they were very young at the time of their father's death, *Zenobia* governed in their name with the title of *queen of the*
c *eaſt*, arrayed them with purple robes and other enſigns of the imperial dignity; and in that attire preſented them, after the death of their father, to the armies, and the aſſemblies of the people [c]. It is uncertain, whether they were put to death by *Aurelian*, or died before [d]. From their medals it appears, that *Herennianus* reigned at leaſt two years, *Timolaus* three, and *Vhaballat* ſeven [e]. *Zenobia* did not, it ſeems, tread in the footſteps of her huſband, and keep up, as he had done, a good underſtanding with *Gallienus*. For we find, that *Heraclianus*, whom the emperor, upon the news of the death of *Odenatus*, had ſent into the eaſt to make war upon the *Perſians*, was this very year defeated by *Zenobia*, and obliged to return to *Rome*. Towards the end of the year, one *L. Ælianus* aſſumed the title of emperor at *Mentz*;
f but was ſoon overcome by *Poſthumius*, who reduced the rebellious city, but would not give it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who, thereupon mutinied, and, tranſported with rage, murdered their brave leader, with young *Poſthumius* his ſon. *Trebellius Pollio* aſcribes his death to *Lollianus*, who had revolted from him and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. *Lollianus*, ſtyled on the ancient coins *Spurius Servilius Lollianus* [f], was meanly born, but had raiſed himſelf in the army by

Odenatus *gains great advantages over the* Perſians.

He is murdered.

His wife Zenobia *governs in the name of her children.*

Poſthumius *murdered in* Gaul, *and* Lollianus *declared emperor.*

[o] Idem, c. 28. p. 198. [p] AUR. VICT. in Gall. [q] VAL. rer. Francic. l. i. p. 3, 4. [r] OROS. l. vii. p. 223. HIER. chron. EUTROP. VICT. [s] VICT. & VAL. p. 5. [t] Gall. vit. p. 179. [u] SYNCELL. p. 382. [w] Zos. p. 651. Trig. tyr. c. 14, 16. [x] SYNCELL. p. 382. [y] Trig. tyrann. c. 16. p. 193. [z] Idem, c. 14. p. 192. [a] GOLTZ. p. 115. [b] Idem, p. 116. BIRAG. p. 386. [c] Trig. tyrann. c. 26. p. 192. [d] Idem ibid. [e] GOLTZ. p. 116. [f] Idem, p. 117.

by his gallant conduct. He reigned in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*, while *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumius* had taken for his partner, held the rest. But he did not long enjoy the sovereignty, being murdered on account of his severity of his own soldiers, stirred up by *Victorinus*, who, upon his death, became sole master of all *Gaul*, but was soon after mortally wounded at *Cologn*, by one whose wife he had debauched. Before he died, he named his son *L. Aurelius Victorinus* his successor, though then an infant. But the *Gauls*, not able to brook the government of a child, murdered him, and set up in his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, originally an armourer, but a man of great valour and extraordinary strength. He was killed the third day of his reign by a soldier, who had formerly worked under him. The assassin ran him through with his sword, telling him, that it was of his own making [g]. Upon his death, the troops in *Gaul* proclaimed *P. Pivesus* or *Pesuvius Tetricus* emperor. He was a *Roman* senator, had been consul, and was at this time governor of *Aquitaine*. He was acknowledged in *Spain* and *Britain*, as well as in *Gaul*, and held those provinces with the title of emperor till the fourth year of *Aurelian*'s reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince [h], as we shall relate hereafter. He immediately conferred the title of *Cæsar* upon his son *C. Pacuvius Pivesus Tetricus*, who was then but an infant. All these usurpers in *Gaul*, *viz. Posthumius*, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Marius*, and *Tetricus*, were set up by *Victorina*, or *Victoria*, the mother of *Victorinus*, who had a great interest in *Gaul*, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to *Gallienus*. She was honoured, probably by her son *Victorinus*, with the titles of *Augusta*, and *The mother of the armies*. As she was a woman of masculine courage, and possessed of immense wealth, which she liberally distributed among the soldiers, she gave the empire of *Gaul* to whom she pleased, and bore under all the usurpers, who were but her creatures, an absolute sway. She died during the usurpation of *Tetricus*; but whether a natural or violent death, is uncertain; for some writers seem to insinuate, that she was privately dispatched by his orders [i].

Victorinus and his son murdered.

Marius declared emperor and murdered; and Tetricus *raised to the empire in his room.*

The irruptions of the Goths. *And the* Heruli.

The same year, the *Scythians*, that is the *Goths*, ravaged anew the provinces of *Asia*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, and thence carried back with them an immense booty; while the *Heruli*, passing from the *Palus Mæotis* into the *Euxine* sea with five hundred vessels, landed at *Byzantium* and *Chrysopolis*, now *Scutari*, under the conduct of one *Naulobat*. At the latter place they were attacked and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was himself killed in the engagement. Notwithstanding their defeat, instead of returning to their own country, they crossed the *Bosporus*; and steering their course towards *Cyzicus*, surprised and plundered that great and wealthy city, with part of *Asia*, and the islands of *Lemnos* and *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. Then they sailed towards *Greece*; and landing there, besieged and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, and laid waste all *Achaia*; but were in the end attacked and defeated with great slaughter by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the historian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devastations in *Bœotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace* [k]. *Gallienus*, who was just then returned from *Gaul*, where he had been making war upon *Lollianus*, leaving *Aureolus* at *Milan*, hastened into *Illyricum*; and coming unexpectedly upon the barbarians there, gave them a total overthrow. *Naulobat*, their leader, was obliged to yield himself to the emperor's mercy, who treated him with great humanity; and, to gain the affections of the barbarians, even honoured him either with the consulship, or the consular ornaments [l]. *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, St. *Jerom*, *Orosius*, and *Trebellius Pollio*, speak of a great victory gained by *Gallienus* in *Illyricum* over the *Goths*, meaning no doubt the *Heruli*; for all the northern nations are by some writers styled *Goths*, by other *Scythians*. After this victory, *Gallienus* hastened back to *Italy*, leaving *Marcianus* in *Illyricum*, to pursue the war with the *Heruli*; which he did with no less courage than success, cutting off great numbers of them, and obliging the rest to quit their booty, and abandon the *Roman* dominions [m]. The revolt of *Aureolus* was what obliged *Gallienus* to return in great haste to *Italy*. For *Aureolus*, not satisfied with the power which he already enjoyed, took advantage of *Gallienus*'s absence to march with all the troops under his command towards *Rome*, with a design to depose *Gallienus*, and cause himself to be proclaimed sole emperor; for some

Who are defeated by Gallienus.

[g] Trig. tyrann. c. 7. p. 187. [h] Idem ibid, c. 23. p 196. [i] Idem, c. 30. p. 200. [k] Gall. vit. p. 184. Syncell. p. 382. Zos. p. 651. [l] Gall. vit. p. 181. Syncell. ibid. [m] Claud. vit. p. 208. Gall. vit. ibid.

War between Aureolus *and* Gallienus.

a ſome writers tell us, that *Gallienus* had already taken him for his partner in the empire; while others ſtyle him only the emperor's general. *Gallienus*, hearing of his march, and ſuſpecting his deſign, left *Illyricum*, and reaching *Italy* in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Milan*; which city *Gallienus* immediately inveſted. This happened in the beginning of the year 268, the fifteenth of *Gallienus*'s reign, when *Paternus* was conſul, the ſecond time, with *Marinianus* [n]. All authors agree, that *Gallienus* was killed during this ſiege, but differ both as to the manner and authors of his death. The moſt probable opinion is, that *Marcianus*, who was returned from *Illyricum*, *Heraclianus*, and *Cecrops*, a native of *Mauritania* and commander of

Gallienus murdered.

b the *Dalmatian* cavalry, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conſpired againſt him, and alarming the camp in the dead of the night, as if *Aureolus* were ſallying out with all his forces, killed him in the dark, with his ſon *Gallienus*, and his two brothers, *Valerian* and *Egnatius*. The ſoldiers, hearing the emperor was dead, and ſuſpecting he had been murdered, began to mutiny; but *Marcianus* diſtributing large ſums among them, twenty pieces of gold a man, (for *Gallienus* always carried immenſe treaſures with him) the mutiny was appeaſed, and the whole army declared *Gallienus* a tyrant, and took the uſual oaths to *Claudius*, whom the conſpirators propoſed to them as the beſt qualified man in the whole empire to ſuſtain the name and dignity of a *Roman* emperor [o]. Such was the end of *Gallienus*, in the

c thirty-fifth year of his age, according to the moſt probable opinion, after he had reigned fifteen years, ſeven before, and eight after the captivity of his father *Valerian*. The ſenate declared him a public enemy, ordered moſt of his friends, miniſters, and relations to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, and cauſed his name to be erazed out of all public inſcriptions. He was one of the moſt wicked princes mentioned in hiſtory, and is ſaid to have equalled *Nero* in cruelty, and *Heliogabalus* in lewdneſs. He paſſed his whole time in the company of the moſt infamous proſtitutes in *Rome*, and, laying aſide all care and thought of the public, ſuffered the *Roman* dominions to be over-run by the barbarians, and the empire to be rent in pieces by the many uſurpers who ſtarted up in his time, ſhewing no more concern for

And moſt of his miniſters and friends condemned by the ſenate.

d the loſs of a province, to uſe the expreſſion of *Trebellius Pollio*, than for that of an old garment. He exerted his cruelty chiefly againſt the ſoldiers, of whom he is ſaid to have ſometimes ordered three or four thouſand to be put to death in one day. He excluded all ſenators from military employments, and would not even ſuffer any of that illuſtrious body to appear in the camp, or among the ſoldiers. Notwithſtanding all his vices, he was a great encourager of learning, being himſelf well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, eſpecially in oratory and poetry. His hiſtorian tells us, that on occaſion of the marriage of his brother's ſon, he made an extemporary epithalamium, which far excelled thoſe that were written at the ſame time, after many days ſtudy, by the beſt *Greek* and *Latin* poets then in *Rome* [p]. After his death,

Gallienus *generally abhorred, but deified*

e *Claudius* cauſed him, though univerſally abhorred both by the ſenate and people, to be deified with the uſual ceremonies. His body was in all likelihood conveyed by *Claudius*'s orders to *Rome*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſpeaks of his tomb on the *Appian* way, about nine miles from the city [q]. Of the few writers who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (Y).

As

[n] Gall. vit. p. 181. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem, p. 180. [q] Ammian. p. 472.

(Y) *Palfurius Sura* wrote the hiſtory of the reign of *Gallienus* (65); and this is all we know of him. *Cæleſtinus* and *Mæonius Aſtyanax*, quoted by ſome of the *Auguſtine* writers, are equally unknown. They all flouriſhed under *Gallienus*; for of the tranſactions of his reign they ſpeak as of things happening in their time (66). *Voſſius* ranks them among the *Latin* hiſtorians (67). *Suidas* mentions one *Ephorus* of *Cumæ*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Calenus*, or rather, as others read, *Gallienus*, in twenty-ſeven books (68). *Voſſius* places him among the *Greek* hiſtorians, and takes him to have been a native of *Cumæ* in *Aſia* (69). He wrote other hiſtories; but none of them have reached us (70). *Trebellius Pollio* quotes a paſſage out of one *Julius Aterianus*, much to the credit and reputation of *Victorinus*, who uſurped the empire in *Gaul* (71). The ſame writer quotes another paſſage out of one *Gallus Antipater*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Aureolus*, and probably of the other tyrants: but he ſeems to have entertained a very bad opinion of him; for he calls him *a ſlave to honours*, and *the diſgrace of hiſtorians*, though the paſſage he quotes, does not, in our opinion, deſerve ſuch a ſevere cenſure (72). Under *Gallienus* flouriſhed likewiſe *Lupercus* of *Berytus*, a celebrated grammarian, who wrote ſeveral grammatical pieces, and was in many things preferred to *Herodian* (73).

(65) *Gall. vit. p.* 183. (66) *Valer. vit. p.* 175, *Trigint. tyram. c.* 11. *p.* 190. (67) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p.* 182. (68) *Suid. p.* 1111. (69) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 240. (70) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 7. *p.* 37. (71) *Trigint. tyrann. c.* 5. *p.* 187. (72) *Claud. vit. p.* 203. (73) *Suid. p.* 58. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 240.

As ſoon as the tumult occaſioned by the death of *Gallienus* was appeaſed, the a
Claudius *proclaimed emperor.* ſoldiers, with loud acclamations, proclaimed *Claudius* emperor. The news of what had happened at *Milan* reaching *Rome* on the twenty-fourth of *March*, the ſenate immediately aſſembled; and the letter which *Claudius* wrote to them being publicly read, they unanimouſly confirmed the election of the army, proclaimed *Claudius* emperor, and heaped upon him all the honours which had ever been conferred upon any prince, repeating forty times, *That they had always wiſhed to have* Claudius, *or ſuch a perſon as* Claudius, *for emperor*[r]. He was a native of *Illyricum*, born, accord-
His extraction and preferments. ing to ſome, in *Dardania*, according to others, in *Dalmatia*. Of his father and anceſtors, *Trebellius Pollio* owns, that he knows but very little, though, after his acceſſion to the empire, ſome flattering genealogiſts pretended to derive his pedigree b
from *Dardanus* and the *Trojans*[s]. On moſt medals he is ſtyled *M. Aurelius Claudius*[t]. He had no children, but two brothers, *Quintillus*, who ſucceeded him, and *Criſpus*, the father of *Claudia*, who married *Eutropius*, and had by him *Conſtantius*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*. The name of *Conſtantine* was, it ſeems, peculiar to the family of *Claudius*; for one of his ſiſters was called *Conſtantina*, a name hitherto never mentioned in hiſtory. The preſent emperor is by all writers, even by *Zoſimus*, an avowed enemy to *Conſtantine*, cried up as one of the beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. He was highly eſteemed by the emperor *Valerian*, who firſt gave him the command of the fifth legion, and afterwards, at the requeſt of the ſenate, ap- c
pointed him general of all the troops in *Illyricum*, which comprehended *Thrace*, *Mœſia*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia*, and *Dacia*. The ſame emperor deſigned to raiſe him to the conſulſhip, and give him the command of the prætorian guards. *Gallienus* ſtood in great awe of him; and being informed, that *Claudius* diſapproved of his conduct, he did all that lay in his gower to attach him to his intereſt, ſent him rich preſents, and wrote to one *Venuſtus*, his particular friend, charging him by all means to gain *Claudius*, and remove from him all jealouſies and ſuſpicions[u]. In his letter he ſtyled *Claudius his friend and kinſman*. *Claudius* attended him in his wars againſt *Poſthumius* in *Gaul*, and the *Heruli* in *Illyricum*, and was ſent by him, after the revolt of *Aureolus*, to defend the city of *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*. But, in the mean time, *Gallienus* being killed, he was, though, according to ſome writers, not privy to the conſpi- d
racy, proclaimed emperor[w]. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate,
Aureolus *defeated and killed.* than he attacked *Aureolus*, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Milan*, utterly defeated the troops under his command, and took the uſurper himſelf priſoner. He deſigned to grant him his life; but the ſoldiers killed him without his orders. The emperor raiſed a monument to his memory, cauſed his body to be honourably interred, and ordered a bridge to be built over the *Adda*, at the place where he had been killed; which, from his name, he called *Pons Aureoli*, *The bridge of* Aureolus; whence the preſent village of *Pontirolo*, on the *Adda*, between *Milan* and *Bergamo*, in all likelihood, took its name[x]. After the death of *Aureolus*, the troops that had ſerved under him acknowledged *Claudius*, who, without loſs of time, led them and the reſt of his e
army againſt the *Germans*, who had broken into *Italy*, and were advanced as far as
The Germans *defeated by* Claudius. the lake *Benacus*, now *Lago di Garda*, near *Verona*. There the emperor defeated them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, obliged thoſe who outlived the general ſlaughter to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight into their own country, and returning to *Rome*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, paſſed the remaining part of the year in ſettling affairs there; which he did with great prudence and juſtice, redreſſing all grievances, and ſuppreſſing the many abuſes and diſorders which had prevailed in the late reign.

In the beginning of the following year, he entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, f
He marches againſt the Goths, *and other northern nations.* having *Paternus* for his collegue, and ſoon after ſet out from *Rome*, to make head againſt the *Goths* and other northern nations, who, to the number of three hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, beſides women, ſervants, and children, and invaded the *Roman* dominions, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages, laying waſte whole provinces, burning cities, and putting all to fire and ſword. The emperor came up with them, as they were retiring, loaded with booty, through *Upper Mœſia*. As he was upon the point of engaging them, he wrote with his own hand the following letter to the ſenate: "I am, conſcript fathers, in ſight of the "enemy,

r Claud. vit. p. 203. s Idem, p. 206. t Goltz. p. 117. Birag. p. 402. u Claud. vit. p. 207. w Idem, p. 203. x Trigint. tyran. c. 10. p. 190.

a "enemy, and ready to engage them: they are three hundred and twenty thouſand "ſtrong. If I overcome them, you will not, I hope, be ungrateful. If I ſhould "not be attended with ſucceſs, you will remember that I fight after the reign of "*Gallienus*. The whole empire is quite ſpent and exhauſted, partly by him, and "partly by the many tyrants, who, during his reign, uſurped the ſovereignty, and "laid waſte our provinces. We want even ſhields, ſwords, and ſpears. The pro-"vinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, the main ſtrength of the empire, are in the hands of "*Tetricus*. Our archers, to our great ſhame, are with-held from us by *Zenobia*. "Whatever therefore we perform ſucceſsfully in our preſent circumſtances, muſt be "accounted great." But, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, *Claudius* advanced *And gains a memorable victory over them.*
b boldly againſt the barbarians, and, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, gained one of the greateſt victories mentioned in hiſtory; for no fewer than three hundred thouſand of the enemy were killed or taken priſoners. The emperor himſelf gave the following account of this memorable victory in a letter, which he wrote after the battle, to *Junius Brocchus*, governor of *Illyricum*: "We have utterly defeated an "army of three hundred and twenty thouſand *Goths*, and deſtroyed their fleet, "conſiſting of two thouſand ſail. The fields and ſhores are covered with ſwords, "ſhields, and dead bodies. We have taken ſuch numbers of captives, that, not "to mention the men, two or three women will fall to the ſhare of each ſoldier in "our victorious army[x]."

c Among the priſoners were many princes and perſons of great diſtinction. All the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, who were employed to till the ground, and every city could ſhew you, ſays *Pollio*, glorious monuments of the fortune and courage of the brave and invincible *Claudius*[y]. For this victory the emperor took the ſurname of *Gothicus*[z]. While *Claudius* was thus employed againſt the barbarians, *Zenobia*, having overcome *Probus*, who commanded ſome troops in *Egypt*, reduced that province, and, after a long ſiege, took and utterly deſtroyed *Bruchium*, the citadel of *Alexandria*. *Probus*, finding he could not by any other means eſcape falling into the hands of the victorious queen, diſpatched himſelf with his own ſword[a]. The following year, when *Antiochianus* and *Orphitus* were conſuls, the emperor, having nothing to fear from the barbarians, Zenobia *reduces* Egypt.

d reſolved to march againſt *Zenobia*, who held all the provinces in the eaſt; but was prevented by a violent plague which broke out in his army, and made a dreadful havock of his men. The emperor himſelf was in the end ſeized and carried off by the raging diſtemper at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, after he had reigned, according to the moſt probable opinion, two years and one month[b]. *The death of* Claudius.
In him centered, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, the moderation of *Auguſtus*, the valour of *Trajan*, the piety of *Antoninus*, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him[c]. He may be truly ſaid to have re-eſtabliſhed, during his ſhort, but glorious reign, the tottering empire, and to have reſtored it to its former luſtre.

e The ſenate not only beſtowed divine honours upon him after his death, but hung up in the place where they aſſembled a ſhield of gold, on which was engraved his image. This ſhield was ſtill to be ſeen in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*. The people erected to him at their own expence two ſtatues, one of gold ten foot high, which they placed by that of *Jupiter* in the capitol, and another of ſilver in the forum, weighing fifteen hundred pounds, and repreſenting the emperor in his triumphal robes[d]. *Claudius*, and not *Gallienus*, as *Spanhemius* pretends[e], was the laſt emperor, who aſſumed on his medals the titles of *high pontiff* and *tribune of the people*[f]. *Extraordinary honours conferred on him by the ſenate and people of* Rome.
Upon the death of *Claudius*, the ſenate and people of *Rome* proclaimed his brother *Quintillus* emperor, who was then at *Aquileia*, in which city he was murdered by his ſoldiers, after a ſhort reign of ſeventeen days, for attempting to reſtore with too

f much ſeverity the diſcipline of the primitive times. Thus *Trebellius Pollio*[g]. But *Zoſimus*[h] and *Zonaras*[i] tells us, that *Quintillus*, hearing *Aurelian* had been acknowledged emperor by the army in *Pannonia*, and finding his own troops ready to revolt, by the advice of his friends, cauſed his veins to be opened, and by that means put an end to his life and reign. Moſt writers ſpeak of him as one in every reſpect equal to his brother. Upon his death, the ſenate readily confirmed the election of *Aurelian*, and honoured him with the title of *Auguſtus*. He was, according to moſt writers, *His brother* Quintillus *proclaimed emperor; but dies ſoon after.* Aurelian *raiſed to the empire.*

[x] Claud. vit. p. 204. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Goltz. p. 118. [a] Zos. p. 654, 655. [b] Idem, p. 654. Euseb. chron. p. 138. Gruter. p. 276. [c] Claud. vit. p. 203. [d] Idem, p. 208. [e] Spanh. l. viii. p. 699. [f] Vide Birag. p. 402. Noris. de Licinii nummo, c. 3. p. 49. [g] Claud. vit. p. 206. [h] Zos. p. 654. [i] Zonar. p. 239.

His extraction and preferments.

writers, a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, of a mean deſcent, but univerſally admired on account of his extraordinary ſtrength and courage. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner under the emperors *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, and *Claudius*, in their wars with the barbarians, of whom he is ſaid to have killed with his own hand forty-eight in one engagement, and in ſeveral others nine hundred and fifty; whence ſongs were made upon his exploits, and ſung publicly by the youth on feſtival days. As there there were two *Aurelians* at the ſame time in the army, and both tribunes, the ſoldiers uſed to diſtinguiſh the preſent *Aurelian* with the ſurname of *Manu ad ferrum*, that is, *Hand to the ſword*; ſo ready was he on all occaſions to draw his ſword, and encounter the enemy [k]. He was a moſt ſtrict obſerver of the military diſcipline, and uſed to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity the leaſt neglect of duty, and the leaſt injury offered by his ſoldiers to any of the inhabitants of the provinces, through which he marched. He was, when proclaimed emperor, commander in chief of the cavalry, to which poſt he had raiſed himſelf from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier [l]. From *Sirmium*, where he was ſaluted emperor by the whole army, after the death of *Claudius*, he haſtened to *Rome*, and was received there, both by the ſenate and people, with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; but, before he could ſettle affairs in the metropolis of the empire, he was obliged to return in great haſte to *Pannonia*, the *Goths*, notwithſtanding their late moſt dreadful overthrow, having anew broken into that province. *Aurelian* engaged them, and the battle laſted without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, till night, when the enemy repaſſed the *Danube*, and the next day ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which *Aurelian* readily granted them, being informed, that the *Alemanni*, the *Juthongæ*, whoſe country bordered upon *Rhætia*, and the *Marcomanni*, threatened to invade *Italy* itſelf, and were committing dreadful ravages and devaſtations in ſeveral parts. Againſt them therefore *Aurelian* led the flower of his army, and meeting them in *Vindelicia*, which comprehended all the preſent *Bavaria* and great part of *Suevia*, he put them to flight, and cut off great numbers of them, as they attempted to paſs the *Danube*. Hereupon they ſent embaſſadors to the emperor, offering to renew their ancient alliance with *Rome*, provided they were allowed to return unmoleſted into their own country; for *Aurelian* had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the *Danube*. The emperor, elated with his victory, would hearken to no terms; which threw the enemy into the utmoſt deſpair. After various conſultations and debates among themſelves, they reſolved at length to enter *Italy*, ſince they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the paſſes unguarded, (for *Aurelian* apprehended no attempt of that nature) they advanced before the emperor came up with them, as far as *Placentia*. There *Aurelian* attacked them; but, after having loſt moſt of his troops, was put to flight and utterly defeated. The barbarians, puffed up with ſo ſignal a victory, purſued their march, not doubting, but they ſhould be able to take *Rome* itſelf, as the *Gauls* had formerly done. But, in the mean time, *Aurelian*, having rallied his diſperſed troops, and reinforced them with the legions quartered in *Illyricum*, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as eſcaped from this firſt battle, were ſlain in two others, one of which was fought near *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinium*. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man [m]. To this day is to be ſeen at *Peſaro*, a city about five miles from *Fano*, a monument erected by the inhabitants in memory of the victory gained there by *Aurelian* over the *Germans* [n]. While the emperor was preparing to return to *Rome*, news was brought him, that the *Vandals* had paſſed the *Danube*, under the conduct of two of their kings and ſeveral other princes. This obliged him to haſten to the defence of the threatened provinces, The *Vandals* retired upon his approach; the emperor, however, purſued and overtook them before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him as hoſtages the ſons of their two kings, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. He incorporated two thouſand of their beſt men in his army. and ordered the reſt to be ſupplied with proviſions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube* [o]. *Aurelian*, having thus happily ended the wars with the *Goths*, *Germans*, and *Vandals*, returned

Concludes a peace with the Goths.

He defeats ſeveral German *nations;*

Who nevertheleſs enter Italy, *and put the emperor to flight:*

But are in the end all cut off.

The Vandals *defeated.*

[k] Aurel. vit. p. 210, 211. [l] Idem, p. 211. [m] Idem, p. 215, 216. Dexipp. legat. p. 7—11.
[n] Gruter. p. 276. [o] Dexipp. legat. p. 12.

a returned to *Rome*, and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his first conſulſhip, having for his collegue, *Numerius Ceionius Virius Baſſus*. As ſeveral diſturbances had happened in *Rome* during his abſence, he puniſhed the authors of them with great ſeverity, and ſuch too as were accuſed of having blamed his conduct in the *German* war. *Trebellius Pollio* tells us, that, tho' he was in other reſpects an excellent prince, he often ſuffered his paſſion to get the better of his reaſon, and puniſhed with exceſſive rigor faults, which an humane prince would have overlooked. He put ſeveral ſenators to death, upon the depoſition of a ſingle witneſs; and often gave ear to the accuſations of perſons, who deſerved no credit; which much leſſened the reputation he had gained by his exploits in the field, and eſtranged b from him the minds both of the ſenate and people [p]. The emperor *Julian* charges him with having put many perſons to death unjuſtly [q]; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that he was glad of any pretence to condemn the rich, being in great want of money to carry on the war and pay his troops [r]. This year, with the conſent and approbation of the ſenate, he undertook the repairing the walls of the city, which he likewiſe extended; ſo that they were near fifty miles in compaſs [s]. This great work was not accompliſhed till the latter end of the reign of *Probus* [t].

Aurelian eſtranges the minds of the ſenate and people with his ſeverity.

THE following year, when *Quietus* and *Voldumianus* were conſuls, *Aurelian*, having ſettled affairs in *Pannonia*, *Italy*, and at *Rome*, left the city anew, and ſet out for the eaſt, to make war upon the celebrated *Zenobia*, who, to the great diſgrace of c the empire, had held for ſeveral years moſt of the eaſtern provinces. This queen, one of the moſt illuſtrious women mentioned in hiſtory, is ſtyled on ſeveral medals *Septimia Zenobia* [u]; whence ſome writers conclude her to have been allied to the family of the emperor *Septimius Severus*. She pretended to derive her pedigree from the *Cleopatras* and *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, and her family was reckoned one of the moſt conſpicuous in the eaſt. She was well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, underſtood thoroughly the *Egyptian*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages, and in the knowledge of hiſtory excelled moſt men of her time. She is even ſaid to have compiled an abridgment of the *Egyptian* and *Oriental* hiſtorians, which was in great requeſt among the learned [w]. St. *Athanaſius* writes, that ſhe profeſſed the *Jewiſh* religion [x], and is therein followed by *Abulfarajius* [y]. She married the celebrated *Odenatus*, d prince of *Palmyra*, and afterwards partner in the empire with *Gallienus*. She had great ſhare in the many ſignal victories gained by her huſband over the *Perſians*, and is ſaid to have been no leſs courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs. Upon his death, ſhe arrayed her three ſons, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vhaballat*, in purple, cauſed them to be acknowledged by all the eaſtern provinces as joint emperors of *Rome*, and obliged them to conform to the *Roman* cuſtoms, and uſe not the *Greek*, which was ſpoken by other eaſtern princes, but the *Latin* tongue. As they were under age, ſhe governed in their name, with the title of *queen of the eaſt*, for the ſpace of five, or, as others will have it, ſix, e years, diſcharging each duty of an excellent prince and experienced commander, with all the prudence and intrepidity of a man. She ſhewed great wiſdom in her counſels, was ſteady in her reſolutions, kind and generous to perſons of merit, but inexorable when ſeverity was judged neceſſary. She lived with all the grandeur of a queen, imitating the pomp and magnificence of the *Perſian* monarch, and cauſing all thoſe who approached her to fall proſtrate before her, after the manner of the *Perſian* court. She often appeared at the head of her troops, armed with a helmet and arrayed with the imperial robes, harangued them, and marched with them ſeveral miles on foot, uſing a horſe, and ſometimes a chariot, when the marches were long, but ſeldom a litter. In imitation of the *Roman* emperors, ſhe gave magf nificent entertainments, not ſcrupling on theſe occaſions to drink plentifully with the officers of her army, and the *Perſian* and *Armenian* embaſſadors, though otherwiſe very ſober and temperate [z]. In the reign of *Gallienus*, ſhe defeated *Heraclianus*, as we have related above, and, by his overthrow, remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of all *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, to which ſhe added *Egypt*, while *Claudius* was taken up with the *Gothic* war. Not ſatisfied with theſe acquiſitions, in the reign of *Aurelian*, ſhe ſeized on great part of *Aſia*, and attempted to reduce *Bithynia* [a]. *Aurelian*, deſirous to

He marches againſt Zenobia.

Her extraction, conduct, and adminiſtration.

Her exploits.

[p] Aurel. vit. p. 116. [q] JULIAN. Cæs. p. 16. [r] AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 431. [s] AUR. VICT. epit. Aurel. vit. p. 216. [t] Zos. p. 655. [u] BIRAG. p. 385. SPANH. p. 937. [w] Aur. vit. p. 219. [x] ATHAN. ſolit. p. 857. [y] ABUL. p. 81. [z] Trigint. tyran. c. 29. p. 198. [a] Zos. p. 655.

to put an end to her uſurpation, ordered all his forces to aſſemble in *Illyricum*, and ſetting out from *Rome* early in the ſpring of this year 272. bent his march through *Thrace*, where he engaged and put to flight ſeveral barbarous nations, who had made irruptions into that province. He even paſſed the *Danube*, and in an engagement with *Caunabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, ſlew him and five thouſand of his men [a]. Having thus defeated the *Goths*, he purſued his march to *Byzantium*, and, croſſing the *Boſporus*, entered *Bithynia*, which was held by *Zenobia*, according to *Vopiſcus*, but immediately ſubmitted. From *Bithynia* he advanced into *Cappadocia*, where the inhabitants of *Tyana* ſhut their gates againſt him; which ſo incenſed *Aurelian*, that he ſwore he would not leave a dog alive in the place. His ſoldiers attacked it with great fury; but were in their repeated aſſaults repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the inhabitants, till one of them, by name *Heraclammon*, betrayed his country and fellow-citizens to the enemy. We are told by *Vopiſcus*, that the ghoſt of the famous *Apollonius Tyaneus*, appearing to *Aurelian*, warned him not to deſtroy the place of his nativity; and that the emperor, moved by this apparition, would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to offer the leaſt injury to the inhabitants, anſwering them, when they put him in mind of his vow not to leave a dog alive in the place, that they might kill, if they pleaſed, all the dogs, provided they ſpared the inhabitants. This anſwer was received with great applauſe by the ſoldiers themſelves, who were no leſs pleaſed, ſays *Vopiſcus*, with the humour of their general, than if he had abandoned to them all the riches of that opulent city [b]. *Heraclammon*, who betrayed the place, was the only perſon whom the emperor ſuffered to be put to death. Concerning him he wrote the following letter to *Mallius Chilo*, who was, it ſeems, the emperor's particular friend: "I have taken *Tyana*, and ſuffered the perſon, by whoſe favour, and, as "it were, good offices, I took it, to be cut in pieces by my ſoldiers. I have ſpared "the reſt; but could not endure ſuch a traitor. Would he ever have been faithful "to me, who betrayed his own country? He was rich, I own it; but his eſtate I "have given to his children, that no one might accuſe me, as if I had put him to "death for the ſake of his wealth [c]. From *Tyana Aurelian* led his army ſtrait to *Antioch*, defeated the troops of *Zenobia* in the neighbourhood of that city, and entered, as it were, in triumph the metropolis of *Syria*. This victory, however, coſt him dear; for the *Palmyrenians* (ſo the troops of *Zenobia* are ſtyled by hiſtorians) fought with incredible bravery, and the *Romans* owed the victory rather to art than valour; for obſerving the enemy's cavalry heavily armed, they betook themſelves to flight; and facing about unexpectedly, when they were quite ſpent with the long purſuit, put them eaſily in diſorder, and gained a complete victory [d]. From *Antioch Aurelian* purſued his march to *Emeſa*, whither *Zenobia* had retired with her army, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand men. Under her commanded one *Zabas*, or *Zabdas*, a man of great courage and experience, who had ſignalized himſelf in the *Perſian* wars in the time of *Odenatus*. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with various ſucceſs, both armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Roman* horſe were put to flight at the firſt onſet; but their infantry attacking the enemy both in the front and flanks, left naked and expoſed by the departure of their cavalry, who were purſuing the *Romans*, obliged them, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, to give ground, and ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of *Emeſa*; which place, however, they abandoned at the approach of the victorious army, and withdrew with *Zenobia* to *Palmyra*, whither *Aurelian* purſued them cloſe, though ſtrangely haraſſed in his march by the *Syrian* robbers, who cut off great numbers of his men. He immediately inveſted the place, hoping to carry it by repeated aſſaults; but all his efforts proving unſucceſsful, he began to batter it with an incredible number of warlike machines. The beſieged, animated by the example of their queen, not only repulſed the aggreſſors with ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones, but rallied them from the walls, without ſparing the emperor himſelf. *Aurelian* owned in one of his letters, that he had never engaged a more brave and reſolute enemy; and mentioning *Zenobia*, ſays, that ſhe did not behave like a timorous woman, but fought with all the boldneſs of a man in deſpair. "It is "incredible, adds he, what thick ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones ſhe diſcharges "upon us; ſhe haraſſes us night and day with fire from her engines, &c. However, "I hope the gods, who have never yet failed to ſecond our endeavours, will not on "this occaſion abandon the cauſe of the *Roman* people." The emperor, at length quite tired

Aurelian *defeats the* Goths, *and kills one of their kings.*

Takes Tyana *in* Cappadocia.

Suffers the perſon who betrayed it to be put to death

Zenobia's *army defeated.*

Zenobia defeated a ſecond time.

Palmyra *beſieged.*

[a] Aur. vit. p. 216. [b] Idem, p. 217. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Zos. p. 655.

a tired out with the toils and fatigues of ſo long a ſiege, wrote a letter to *Zenobia*, exhorting her to ſurrender, and promiſing her her life. To this letter *Zenobia* returned the following anſwer: "No man ever before you made ſuch a demand. It is not "by letters, but valour, that you muſt induce me to ſubmit. You cannot but know, "that *Cleopatra* choſe rather to die, than live under *Auguſtus*, notwithſtanding the "mighty promiſes he made her. I expect daily the *Perſians*, *Saracens*, and *Ar-*"*menians*, who are all haſtening to my relief; and what will then become of you "and your army, whom the robbers of *Syria* have put to flight? You will then lay "aſide that pride and preſumption with which you command me to ſurrender, as "if you were the conqueror of the univerſe [c]." *Aurelian*, piqued with this anſwer, b immediately ordered a general aſſault; but was repulſed with great loſs, and obliged to give over the attempt. However, he defeated, a few days after, the *Perſians*, who came to the relief of the place; and what by menaces, what by mighty promiſes, prevailed upon the *Armenians* and *Saracens* to join him againſt the queen, whom they were come to aſſiſt. *Zenobia*, finding herſelf diſappointed as to the ſuccours, which ſhe had long expected, and deſpairing of being able to hold out much longer with her own forces, reſolved to withdraw privately from the city into *Perſia*, and there ſolicit in perſon more powerful ſupplies. Accordingly ſhe ſet out in the dead of the night with a ſmall retinue on fleet camels, carrying with her part of her jewels and treaſures. But *Aurelian*, who was very watchful, having had timely notice of her flight, c detached a party of horſe after the fugitive queen; who coming up with her as ſhe was ready to croſs the *Euphrates* in a boat, ſeized her, and carried her back to *Aure-*
lian, who from that moment began to look upon himſelf as the conqueror and ſole lord of the eaſt. When ſhe was brought into his preſence, he aſked her, What had prompted her to take up arms againſt, and inſult over, the emperors of *Rome?* To this queſtion the queen replied, with no leſs intrepidity than addreſs, That ſhe looked upon him indeed, who knew how to conquer, as emperor; but as for *Gallienus*, *Aureolus*, and ſuch as reſembled them, ſhe had never thought them worthy of that name [f].

Zenobia's *anſwer to* Aurelian, *requiring her to ſubmit*

Zenobia *taken and brought to* Aurelian.

THE city of *Palmyra* ſtill held out, and ſome were againſt ſubmitting upon any d terms whatſoever; but others ſued for mercy, and, upon the emperor's promiſing to grant them their lives, opened their gates to the conqueror, who ſpared the inhabitants, but ſtripped the city of all its wealth, and appointed one *Sandarion* governor of the place, with five hundred archers and other troops under his command [g]. After this, the emperor returned to *Emeſa*, carrying with him the captive queen, whoſe death the ſoldiers demanded with loud clamours; but the emperor thought it beneath him to ſpill the blood of a woman, the more, becauſe ſhe had with great care defended the eaſtern provinces againſt the *Perſians* and other neighbouring nations, ready to ſeize them during the domeſtic diſturbances that prevailed in every part of the empire [h]. The emperor likewiſe ſpared *Vhaballat*, the queen's youngeſt ſon [i]. As for e the other two, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, *Pollio* tells us in one place, that it is uncertain whether they died a natural or violent death [k]; and elſewhere, that they were led in triumph with the queen their mother [l]. All writers agree, that *Aurelian* cauſed many perſons of diſtinction to be executed at *Emeſa* for ſiding with *Zenobia*, and ordered others to be thrown over-board when he croſſed over from *Chalcedon* to *Thrace*. Among the former was the celebrated philoſopher *Longinus*, of whom hereafter. The fame of this victory ſoon reached the moſt diſtant nations, and they all ſtrove, with ſolemn embaſſies and rich preſents, to gain the friendſhip of the conqueror of *Zenobia*. Among theſe are mentioned the *Blemyes*, the *Auxumites*, the inhabitants of *Arabia Felix*, the *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Albanians*, *Saracens*, *Armenians*, *Ethio-*
f *pians*, *Indians*, *Perſians*, and even the *Seres* or *Chineſe*. *Hormiſdas*, or, as *Eutychius* calls him, *Hormoz al Horri*, who had ſucceeded his father *Sapor* in the kingdom of *Perſia*, ſent to the emperor, amongſt other preſents, a chariot, covered all over with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, and a ſcarlet mantle of ſuch a lively colour, that the *Romans* had never ſeen any but what came infinitely ſhort of it. *Aurelian*, and after him *Probus* and *Diocleſian*, taken with its extraordinary brightneſs and beauty, ſent, but to no effect, perſons into the eaſt, on purpoſe to diſcover the art of dying to ſuch an extraordinary perfection [m]. *Aurelian*, having thus

The city of Palmyra *ſubmits.*

All the eaſtern and ſouthern nations court the friendſhip of Aurelian.

[c] Aur. vit. p. 218. [f] Trigint. tyran. c. 29. p. 199. [g] Aur. vit. p. 219. [h] Idem ibid.
[i] Zos. p. 661. BIRAG. p. 385. [k] Trig. tyran. c. 26. p. 198. [l] Idem, c. 23. p. 196.
[m] Aur. vit. p. 218.

thus recovered and ſettled in peace the eaſtern provinces, returned by *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium* into *Europe*, carrying with him his illuſtrious captive. He defeated, on his march through *Thrace*, the *Carpi*, who had broken into that province; but at the ſame time he was informed, that the inhabitants of *Palmyra* had revolted, put the *Roman* governor and gariſon to the ſword, and proclaimed a kinſman of *Zenobia*, named *Achilleus*, or, as *Zoſimus* calls him, *Antiochus*, their ſovereign. Upon this intelligence, the emperor, with great expedition, haſtened back into *Syria*, and arriving at *Palmyra* before the inhabitants had any notice of his march, he took the city without oppoſition, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition [n]. He had not yet quitted the eaſt, when news was brought him, that *Egypt* had revolted, and ſet up for emperor one *Firmus*, or rather *Firmius*, as he is ſtyled on ſuch of his medals as have reached our times [o]. He was a native of *Seleucia* in *Syria*; but poſſeſſed an immenſe eſtate in *Egypt*, and carried on an advantagious trade with the *Saracens*, the *Blemyes*, a people of *Ethiopia*, and the inhabitants of *India*; for he uſed to brag, that with his gains only upon paper and glue, he could maintain a whole army. *Vopiſcus* relates wonderful things of his ſtrength and appetite. He was greatly attached to *Zenobia*, and, to keep up her party and intereſt, aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus*, made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*, and ſtopped the corn which it uſed to ſend yearly to *Rome*. *Aurelian* marched againſt him with that expedition which was peculiar to him, and, being attended with his uſual ſucceſs, overcame the uſurper, ſtormed a ſtrong-hold to which he fled, and having taken him priſoner, cauſed him to be publicly executed [p]. Having thus ſuppreſſed all troubles in the eaſt, he returned the ſecond time to *Europe*, with a deſign to recover and reunite to the empire the provinces of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which were ſtill held by *Tetricus*. This he eaſily compaſſed, *Tetricus* himſelf, no longer able to bear the continual diſorders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into *Gaul* [q]. However, a battle was fought near *Chalon* on the *Marne*; during which, *Tetricus* voluntarily yielding to *Aurelian*, his troops, deſtitute of a leader, were cut in pieces. Thus was *Gaul*, after it had been held for the ſpace of thirteen years by different tyrants, united anew to the empire. Towards the end of this year, when *Tacitus*, afterwards emperor, and *Placidianus* were conſuls, *Aurelian* returned to *Rome*, where he was received with the moſt magnificent triumph the city had ever beheld. There were four royal and ſtately chariots: the firſt, which had belonged to *Odenatus*, was intirely covered with ſilver, gold, and jewels; another, equally rich and magnificent, was a preſent to *Aurelian* from the king of *Perſia*; the third was *Zenobia*'s own chariot; and the fourth, which was drawn by four ſtags, had been taken by *Aurelian* from a *Gothic* prince. In the latter the emperor himſelf made his entry. Theſe chariots were preceded by twenty elephants, and great variety of wild beaſts from different countries. Next came eight hundred couple of gladiators, followed by an incredible number of captives of different nations, with their hands tied behind their backs, *viz. Goths*, *Alans*, *Roxolans*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, *Suevians*, *Vandals*, *Alemans*, *Blemyes*, *Auxumites*, *Arabians*, *Eudæmonians*, *Indians*, *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Saracens*, *Armenians*, *Perſians*, ſuch of the *Palmyrenians* as had outlived the late ſlaughter, ſome *Egyptians* taken in the late rebellion of *Firmius*, and ten *Gothic* women, whom *Aurelian* had taken fighting in the habit of men. Theſe were followed by *Tetricus*, in a ſcarlet robe, and his ſon, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire. Next to them marched *Zenobia*, whoſe uncommon beauty, noble ſtature, and majeſtic mien attracted the eyes of the ſpectators, and ſeemed to eclipſe the grandeur and luſtre of the emperor himſelf. She was bound with chains of gold, which other perſons bore up, apparelled with the richeſt tiſſues and robes, and ſo loaded with pearls and precious ſtones, that ſhe was often obliged to halt, being ready to ſink under ſo great a burden. *Zenobia* was followed by the emperor's triumphal chariot, the ſenate in a body, the people of *Rome* with their various ſtandards, and the victorious legions, horſe and foot, in rich and ſplendid armour, with crowns of laurel on their heads, and branches of palm-trees, the ſymbol of victory, in their hands. The ſenate, however, in the midſt of the public rejoicings, betrayed no ſmall concern to ſee *Tetricus*, one of their own body, who had even been conſul, led in triumph. In the capitol *Aurelian* ſacrificed to *Jupiter* the four ſtags that had drawn his chariot, in compliance

Palmyra *revolts; but is retaken, and all the inhabitants put to the ſword.*

The revolt of Firmus.

Gaul *reduced.*

Aurelian's *triumph.*

[n] Aur. vit. p. 219. [o] Goltz. p. 119. Spanh. l. vii. p. 599. [p] Aur. vit. p. 220. Zos. p. 66. [q] Trig. tyran. c. 23. p. 119.

a compliance with a vow he had made, when he took them. From the capitol, he went to the palace, attended by the ſenate and ſuch crouds of people, that the day was far ſpent before he could reach it. The next and ſeveral following days, he diverted the people with plays, races in the circus, ſhews of gladiators, combats of wild beaſts, ſea-fights in the naumachia, and all ſorts of entertainments [r]. He treated his illuſtrious captives with great humanity and kindneſs. To *Zenobia* he gave lands and poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, ſufficient to maintain her according to her rank. On that eſtate ſhe lived, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, like a *Roman* matron, with her children, that is, according to *Zonaras*, with her daughters, whom *Aurelian* took under his protection, and married to perſons of the firſt quality

His humanity towards Zenobia *and her children*;

b in *Rome* [s]. The ſame writer adds, that *Aurelian* himſelf married one of them; which may perhaps be as true as what *Syncellus* had written before him, *viz.* that the emperor gave *Zenobia* herſelf in marriage to an illuſtrious ſenator [t]. Be that as it will, it is certain that her deſcendants lived ſtill at *Rome* in great ſplendor about the latter end of the fourth century [u], *Baronius* takes the holy biſhop of *Florence*, *Zenobius*, who was contemporary with St. *Ambroſe*, to have been of her family [w]. As for her ſon *Vhaballat*, he retired into *Armenia*, where *Aurelian* gave him, it ſeems, a ſmall principality; for he coined money, and is ſtyled on ſome of his coins, which are ſtill to be ſeen, *Vhaballat of Armenia*, and on others, *Vhaballat king of the Verimi*, probably an obſcure people of *Armenia* [x]. The emperor ſhewed no leſs kindneſs to

c *Tetricus*, than to *Zenobia*. To make ſome amends for the injury he had done him, by leading him like a captive in triumph, he heaped many honours upon him, ſtyling him his collegue, his fellow-ſoldier, and even honouring him ſometimes with the title of emperor. He appointed him governor of *Lucania*, telling him pleaſantly, that it was more to his reputation to govern a province of *Italy*, than to reign beyond the *Alps* [y]. He treated with the ſame humanity and good-nature young *Tetricus*, whom he had led in triumph with his father, ſuffering him to continue in the ſenate, and leaving his eſtate untouched, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity, who lived at *Rome*, under the ſucceeding princes, in great ſplendor, eſteemed and revered by perſons of all ranks. In the houſe of the *Tetrici*, on mount *Cælius*, was

And towards Tetricus *and his ſon.*

d ſtill to be ſeen, in the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, a moſt beautiful piece, repreſenting in moſaic work the father and ſon delivering up a ſceptre and crown to *Aurelian*, and *Aurelian* reſtoring to them the ſenatorial robes, and inveſting them in their former diguity [z].

The next conſuls were *Aurelian*, the ſecond time, and *C. Julius Capitolinus*. This year, the emperor continued at *Rome*; and, being now diverted by no foreign or domeſtic wars, he applied himſelf wholly to the ſuppreſſing of ſeveral abuſes, which had prevailed in the time of *Gallienus*, and which *Claudius* had not been able to obviate, during his ſhort reign. He made ſeveral regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had eſtranged from him, in the beginning of his

e reign, with his cruelty, to which he had naturally a great bias. To the bounties of the emperors his predeceſſors, who had eſtabliſhed funds for diſtributing bread and oil among the people, he added a certain portion of hogs-fleſh to be given with the bread and oil; and increaſed the latter largeſs by the addition of an ounce to each pound. He even deſigned to eſtabliſh a fund for diſtributing a certain quantity of wine among them; but was either prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution, or, as others write, diverted from it by the captain of the guards, who told him, that if he allowed the populace wine, they would next expect geeſe and chickens [a]. When he left *Rome* to make war upon *Zenobia*, he promiſed to give to each man among the people a crown weighing two pounds, if he returned conqueror.

Several regulations made by Aurelian.

f The people thought he meant crowns of gold; but when they challenged his promiſe, the emperor cauſed loaves to be made of the fineſt flour in the form of crowns, each weighing two pounds, and diſtributed them daily among the people ſo long as he lived, as he frequently did money and cloaths. He appointed, that *Egypt* ſhould ſupply the city of *Rome* yearly with a certain quantity of glaſs, paper, linen, and ſeveral other things, that were either the natural growth, or manufactured in that country [b]. He cauſed wharfs to be built along the banks of the *Tiber*, and the chanel

[r] Aur. vit. p. 220. [s] Trig. tyrann. c. 29. p. 198. Zon. p. 240. [t] Syncell. p. 385. [u] Hier. chron. [w] Baron. ad ann. 274. [x] Birag. p. 407. Goltz. p. 116. [y] Eutrop. Aur. Vict. epit. [z] Trig. tyr. c. 23. 24. p. 196, 197. [a] Aurel. vit. p. 225. [b] Idem, p. 224.

chanel of that river to be cleanſed and dug deeper. But nothing more obliged a
His generoſity. perſons of all ranks, than his generouſly remitting whatever was owing this year by private perſons to the exchequer, and his publicly burning in the forum of *Trajan* all the papers, bonds, and regiſters, relating to ſuch debts. At the ſame time, he publiſhed an act of oblivion with reſpect to all crimes committed againſt the ſtate to that day. From that time forward he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch as accuſed others, without being able to make good their charge [c]. He enacted many wholſome laws, by which he is ſaid to have purged *Rome* of all profeſſed lewdneſs, irreligion, and wicked arts. Finding that eunuchs began to be ſold at a very great rate, he fixed the number which each perſon might keep of ſuch ſlaves, according to their different ranks. He enacted moſt ſevere laws againſt adultery, and puniſhed b
with death one of his own domeſtics guilty of that crime. He would ſuffer none to keep women free-born for concubines. His domeſtics, freed-men, and ſlaves, he kept in great awe, cauſing them, as he was naturally inclined to cruelty, to be inhumanly beaten in his preſence for the ſmalleſt faults, and delivering them up, when guilty of tranſgreſſing the laws, to the civil magiſtrates [d]. He deſigned to forbid all tiſſue of gold and gilding, pretending, that in nature there was as great a ſtock of gold, as of ſilver; and, that the former metal, if ſuch a prohibition ſhould take place, would become as common as the latter. This prohibition, however, was not publiſhed by him, but by his ſucceſſor *Tacitus*, who is ſuppoſed to have ſuggeſted it to him [e]. About this time, he built and conſecrated a moſt magnificent temple c
He builds a magnificent temple to the ſun. to the ſun, of which frequent mention is made in hiſtory, and embelliſhed it with moſt rich and coſtly ornaments, and with an infinite quantity of gold, pearls, and precious ſtones. It was one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent ſtructures in *Rome*. The gold veſſels belonging to it weighed fifteen hundred pounds. He likewiſe inriched the capitol, and moſt of the temples in the city, with preſents of great value ſent him by foreign princes [f]. He extended the juriſdiction of the pontiffs, increaſed their revenues, and eſtabliſhed funds for the repairs of the temples, and the
A great ſedition in Rome. ſalaries of the inferior miniſters. Towards the end of the year, a dangerous ſedition was raiſed in *Rome* by the perſons employed in the mint, who having, by a notorious breach of truſt, coined a great quantity of falſe money, to avoid the puniſh- d
ment due to their crime, joined in a body, and, under the conduct of one *Feliciſſimus*, formerly a ſlave, but appointed by *Aurelian* one of the receivers of the exchequer, raiſed ſuch diſturbances, that the emperor was obliged to order his troops to march againſt them, whom they received drawn up in battle-array on mount *Cælius*, killed ſeven thouſand of them; but were in the end, though they fought with all the boldneſs of men in deſpair, overcome, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, not to ſay, cruelty. After this the emperor called in all the falſe coin, and gave true money in its room [g]. Soon after this ſedition, he put ſeveral ſenators to death, and likewiſe the ſon, or, as others will have it, the daughter, of his own ſiſter, for faults not ſpecified in hiſtory, but only ſaid not to have deſerved ſuch a ſevere puniſhment [h]. e
Towards the cloſe of this, or the very beginning of the following, year, when *Aurelian* was conſul the third time, with *Martellinus*, ſome diſturbances happened in
Aurelian *marches into* Gaul, *to appeaſe ſome diſturbances there.* *Gaul*, which obliged the emperor to quit *Rome*, and haſten thither. All we know of this expedition is, that *Gaul* was reſtored to its former tranquillity, and that the emperor, marching from that province into *Vindelicia*, obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption on that ſide, to repaſs the *Danube* [i]. A modern writer [k] is of opinion, that the emperor, before he left *Gaul*, rebuilt the city of *Orleans*, which at leaſt ever ſince the fifth century has been called by the *Latin* writers *Aureliani urbs*, and *urbs Aurelianorum*: its ancient name was *Genabum* or *Cenabum*. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that he likewiſe either built or fortified the city of *Dijon*, at preſent f
the capital of *Burgundy* [l]. From *Vindelicia* the emperor marched into *Illyricum*;
He abandons to the barbarians the province of Dacia. and there finding the province of *Dacia* in the hands of the barbarians, who had ſeized it in the reign of *Gallienus*, he did not think it worth his while to recover a country, which he was well appriſed he could not maintain in the midſt of ſo many barbarous nations. He therefore withdrew the *Roman* troops from the few forts they ſtill held beyond the *Danube*, and gave to the inhabitants, who had been driven

[c] Idem, p 222. [d] Idem, p. 224. [e] Idem ibid. & Tacit. vit. p. 230. [f] Aur. vit. p. 217, 222. Zos. p. 661. [g] Aur. vit. p. 222. Zos. p. 665. [h] Aur. vit. ibid. Aur. Vict. epit. [i] Aur. vit. p. 221. Zon. p. 240. [k] Le Maire, antiq. d'Orleans, c. 3. p. 9. [l] Greg. p. 172.

a driven out by the barbarians, part of *Mæſia* and *Dardania* to ſettle in. Thus out of theſe two countries he formed a new province, called by ſome the *Aurelian Dacia*, by others *New Dacia*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Trajan*'s *Dacia*, which lay beyond the *Danube*. The metropolis of this new province, which, according to *Sanſon*, comprehended the moſt diſtant parts of *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, was *Sardica*, now known to us by the name of *Sofia*, but called by the inhabitants *Triadizza* [m]. The *Goths*, it ſeems, poſſeſſed themſelves of the country, which the emperor had abandoned. From *Illyricum*, the emperor marched into *Thrace*, with a deſign to paſs the winter there; and early in the ſpring to croſs over into *Aſia*, and lead his army againſt the *Perſians*, upon what provocation hiſtory does not inform us. But while he was
b wholly bent upon this war, death overtook him, and put a period to this, and his other vaſt deſigns. Hiſtorians give us the following account of his unhappy end. He ſuſpected *Mneſtheus*, one of his freedmen and ſecretaries, of ſome extortion, and had threatened to puniſh him. Hereupon *Mneſtheus*, probably conſcious to himſelf of the crime laid to his charge, and well acquainted with the emperor's cruel and inflexible temper, reſolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, counterfeiting his maſter's hand, he wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers in the army, and among the reſt his own; and ſhewing it to thoſe whoſe names he had ſet down, he told them, that he had found it in the emperor's cloſet; that they were all doomed to deſtruction; and that only by ſome deſperate attempt they could avert their im-
c pending ruin. They all believed him, and, prompted partly by fear, partly by indignation, to ſee their ſervices thus rewarded, took, without heſitation, the reſolution ſuggeſted to them by *Mneſtheus*; and a few days after, as the army was marching to a place named *Cænophrurium*, that is, the *new-caſtle*, half way between *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, they fell upon the emperor ſword in hand, while he was attended only by a ſmall guard, and diſpatched him with many wounds. *Vopiſcus* writes, that he fell by the hand of *Mucapor*, who, it ſeems, was a man of rank, ſince he is ſtyled general; and a letter is ſtill extant written to him by *Aurelian*, wherein the emperor gives him an account of the vigorous oppoſition he met with from *Zenobia* at the ſiege of *Palmyra* [n]. The emperor muſt have been killed about the
d latter end of *January*; for his death was known at *Rome* on the third of *February* of this year 275. ſo that he had reigned five full years; and lived, according to the moſt probable opinion, ſixty-three [o]. His death did not remain unpuniſhed; for the officers, who had killed him, finding, ſoon after his death, that they had been impoſed upon by *Mneſtheus*, threw him to the wild beaſts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceaſed emperor in the place where he had been killed, the whole army ſolemnizing his obſequies with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. All thoſe who had had any hand in his death were either cut in pieces on the ſpot by the enraged ſoldiery, or afterwards executed under his ſucceſſors *Tacitus* and *Probus*. His death was much lamented by the ſenate, who, at the requeſt
e of the army, ranked him among the gods; but more by the people, whom he had obliged with more bounties and largeſſes, than any of his predeceſſors had done. *Aurelian* is commonly ſtyled the reſtorer of the empire, which, after the evils it had ſuffered by the captivity of *Valerian* and indolence of *Gallienus*, began to revive under *Claudius*, and was by *Aurelian* reſtored to its former ſtrength and luſtre. He delivered *Italy* from the incurſions of the *Alemanni*, reſcued the eaſt from the ſhameful yoke of a woman, humbled the *Perſians*, ſtill elated with the captivity of *Valerian*, re-united *Gaul* to the empire, and reſtored to *Rome Thrace* and *Illyricum*, over-run and oppreſſed by the barbarians. His arms were dreaded, and his friendſhip courted, by the moſt diſtant nations. He was a prince of great bravery, prudence, and
f generoſity; but as his exceſſive cruelty over-balanced all his other good qualities, he is by *Vopiſcus* and moſt other writers ranked not among the good, but the uſeful, princes. In the beginning of his reign, he ſeems to have countenanced the true religion [p]; but being afterwards ſeduced by wicked counſellors, he reſolved utterly to extirpate the chriſtian name, and had already taken up the pen to ſign the bloody letters and edicts drawn up againſt them, when a ſudden flaſh of lightning ſtruck the pen out of his hand, and filled both him and all about him with terror and diſmay. However, as the effects of fear, which ſtops the hand without changing the

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

He is murdered.

His character

[m] Aur. vit. p. 222. Lactan. perſec. c. 9. p. 8. Syncell. p. 385. [n] Aur. vit. p. 218.
[o] Idem, p. 221. Aur. Vict. epit. Zos. p. 661. [p] Euseb. l. vii. c. 30. p. 282, 283.

the heart, are but ſhort-lived, he returned to his former reſolution, and publiſhed againſt us, ſays *Lactantius*, edicts of blood and ſlaughter, which ſerved only to draw vengeance from heaven upon his own head [q]; for before his edicts reached the more diſtant provinces, he was aſſaſſinated in the manner we have related above. Hence this is not by the eccleſiaſtic writers reckoned one of the ten general perſecutions, though ſeveral champions of the faith ſuffered martyrdom in the provinces, where his edicts were publiſhed. Of *Aurelian*, *Victor* the younger obſerves, that he appeared in public with a diadem on his head, which no emperor had dared to do before him. *Jornandes* writes, that *Diocleſian* was the firſt *Roman* emperor who preſumed to wear that royal ornament [r]. But that he, and not *Victor*, was miſtaken, appears from one of the duke of *Arſchot*'s medals, on which *Aurelian* is repreſented with a crown on his head reſembling our ducal crowns [s]. The ſucceeding princes followed his example; but the diadem was not commonly worn till the time of *Conſtantine*. Of the writers, who flouriſhed under this prince, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (Z).

As

[q] Lact. perſec. c. 6. p. 6. Euseb. ibid. [r] Jorn. reg. c. 23. p. 445. [s] Arſchotana numiſm. Croii ducis, tab. 63. Antwerp. ann. 1604. Spanhem. l. viii. p. 682, 683,

(Z) Under *Aurelian* flouriſhed two celebrated philoſophers, *Longinus* and *Amelius*. The former, named *Caſſius Longinus*, and likewiſe *Dionyſius*, which name is prefixed to his treatiſe on the *ſublime*, is by moſt writers thought to have been a native of *Athens* (74). From *Vopiſcus* it appears, that he could not write in the *Syriac* tongue (75); and conſequently, that he was not by birth a *Syrian*, as ſome have aſſerted. His family, it ſeems, came originally from that country (76); for his mother *Frontonides* was ſiſter to *Fronto* of *Emeſa* in *Phœnicia*, who taught rhetoric at *Athens* in the reign of *Severus*, publiſhed many works, and, dying in that city, bequeathed his eſtate to his nephew (77). *Longinus*, when he was yet very young, travelled with his father into ſeveral countries, which gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the great philoſophers of thoſe times. In one of his works, which *Porphyrius*, his epitomizer, has conveyed to us, he names ſeveral philoſophers of different ſects, among whom the moſt famous are *Plotinus*, his diſciple *Amelius*, *Ammonius*, a chriſtian philoſopher, and one *Origenes*. *Longinus* was a long time the diſciple of the two latter (78). He profeſſed and taught the philoſophy of *Plato*, and had the celebrated philoſopher *Porphyrius* for his diſciple, who tells us, that he and ſome other philoſophers were feaſted at *Athens* by *Longinus* on *Plato*'s birth-day (79). *Longinus* was not only a great philoſopher, but the beſt critic and orator of his age, and ſo well verſed in the various branches of literature, that he was commonly ſtyled *a treaſure of knowledge*, and *a living library* (80). He was a man, ſays *Eunapius*, of an extraordinary diſcernment in diſcovering beauties and faults in the writings of other, and therein ſurpaſſed all men (81). He was charged, ſays that writer, without telling us by whom, to write critical diſſertations on the works of the ancients, and his judgment was preferred to what others had written on the ſame ſubject before him (82). He taught *Zenobia* the *Greek* tongue eſpouſed her cauſe with great warmth againſt *Aurelian*, and was ſuppoſed to have dictated the letter which that princeſs wrote to the emperor during the ſiege of *Palmyra*. That letter ſo provoked *Aurelian*, that, upon the reduction of the place, he cauſed the ſuppoſed author of it to be put to death; which he ſuffered with great firmneſs and intrepidity, comforting thoſe who were affected with his misfortune. This baſe revenge reflected no ſmall diſhonour on *Aurelian* (83); for the loſs of ſo great a man was looked upon as a public calamity (84). He left many works behind him very uſeful, ſays *Zoſimus* (85), to ſuch as deſire to be inſtructed in the ſciences, and which were admired by all the world. He muſt have begun to write very early, if what *Porphyrius* aſſerted be true, *viz.* that *Origen*, who died in 253. read with application his works (86). *Euſebius* quotes a paſſage out of one of his works, ſhewing the abſurdity of the opinion of the *Stoics* concerning the ſoul (87). *Porphyrius* mentions a work of his upon *vehemence*, inſcribed to *Porphyrius* himſelf, and to one *Cleodamus* (88); and the preface of another upon the *Supreme Being*, addreſſed to one *Marcellus*, wherein he confuted the opinions of *Plotinus* and *Amelius* (89), quoting a work, which he had written againſt *Porphyrius* himſelf for his having preferred the opinion of *Plotinus* to what he had learnt of him concerning ideas: in the ſame preface he made mention of a long letter, which he had written to *Amelius* againſt ſome particular ſentiments of *Plotinus*, and upon *Plato*'s opinion touching juſtice (90). *Porphyrius* gives us the abſtract of a letter, which *Longinus* wrote to him about the year 270. deſiring him to ſend him the works of *Plotinus*, and to leave *Sicily*, where *Porphyrius* then was, and come to him in *Phœnicia*. *Porphyrius* adds, that if his affairs had allowed him to go thither, *Longinus* would have better underſtood the ſentiments of *Plotinus*, and ſaved himſelf the trouble of confuting them (91). The ſame writer quotes three other works of *Longinus*, viz. on *principles, or firſt cauſes*, on *the love of antiquity*, and on *men of letters* (92). *Suidas* mentions ſeveral philological pieces publiſhed by *Longinus* (93); but takes no notice of his treatiſe on *the ſublime*, the only intire work of *Longinus* which has reached our times, and fully anſwers the great idea which the ancients raiſe in us of its author. *Cæcilius*, who flouriſhed in the time of *Auguſtus*, wrote a treatiſe on the ſublime; but contented himſelf only with ſhewing in what true ſublimeneſs conſiſted, without preſcribing any rules leading us to the attainment of it, which is the chief ſubject of *Longinus*'s treatiſe, handled in a manner worthy of ſo great a writer. Among the inſtances he alledges of thoſe who have written in a ſtyle truly ſublime, and ſuitable to the greatneſs of their

(74) *Johnſ. l.* iii. *c.* 14. *p.* 284. (75) *Aur. vit. p.* 219. (76) *Suid.* 1088. (77) *Idem ibid.* (78) *Plot. vit. p.* 13. (79) *Euſeb. præpar. evang. l.* x. *c.* 3 *p.* 464. *Plot. vit p.* 14. (80) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 17. *Plot. vit. p.* 13. (81) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 16, 17. (82) *Idem ibid.* (83) *Aur. vit. p.* 219. *Zoſ. l.* i. *p.* 652. (84) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 17. (85) *Zoſ. l.* i. *p.* 659. (86) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 19. (87) *Idem præp. evang. l.* xv. *c.* 20. *p.* 822. (88) *Plot. vit. p.* 10. (89) *Idem, p.* 13, 14. (90) *Idem ibid.* (91) *Plot. vit. p.* 15. (92) *Idem, p.* 9. *Johnſ. l.* 3. *c.* 14. *p.* 284. (93) *Suid.* λ. *p.* 50.

As all the chief officers in the army had been concerned in the death of *Aurelian*, the soldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, was able to prevail upon themselves

their subject, he speaks of *Moses* thus: *The Jewish legislator, who was no common man, having filled his mind with sublime notions of the grandeur and power of God, expressed them at the beginning of his laws in a style answering the mighty subject; God said, let there be light, and there was light; let the earth appear, and it was so* (94). *Longinus* inscribed this work to one *Posthumius Terentianus*, his intimate friend, and a man of letters, whom some writers take to be the same person with *Terentianus Maurus*, who published several works, some of which have reached our times. But of him we have spoken in the reign of *Domitian* (95); for he flourished, according to *Vossius*, under that prince.

Amelius, against whom *Longinus* wrote, was a philosopher of great note among the *Platonics* (96). *Suidas* says he was of *Apamea*, but *Porphyrius* assures us, that he was born in *Hetruria*: perhaps his family came originally from *Apamea* in *Syria*, and settled in *Hetruria*. *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* supposes *Amelius* and *Gentilianus* to have been two distinct persons; and quotes for that *Porphyrius*,, who tells us in express terms, that *Amelius* was likewise called *Gentilianus* (97). He was disciple to *Plotinus*, and greatly attached to him; for he lived twenty-four years with him at *Rome*, from the third year of *Philip* to the first of *Claudius*, that is, from the year 246. to the beginning of 269 (98). He had studied before under *Lysimachus*, a stoic philosopher (99). He was at *Apamea* in *Syria* at the beginning of the year 270. when *Plotinus* died. He was a very laborious man, and is said to have composed an hundred volumes, containing only what he had heard of *Plotinus* in the frequent conferences that philosopher had held with him and others of the same sect (100). In the year 263. he had not yet published any thing of his own; but before the death of *Plotinus*, he wrote forty books against magic, and the heretics called *Gnostics* (1). He composed one in three days time, shewing in what chiefly the doctrine of *Plotinus* differed from that of *Numenes*. This piece he inscribed to *Porphyrius* by a letter, which is still extant (2). To him he likewise addressed some other works, to clear up the difficulties he met with in the doctrine of *Plotinus*. *Amelius* and *Plotinus* were, in the opinion of *Longinus*, the only philosophers who, in his time, published works worth perusing (3). The tenets of these two philosophers were the same, but *Amelius* explained them more, perhaps too much, at length; and hence probably it was that his works were greatly neglected and undervalued by the *Platonics* themselves, about the latter end of the following century (4). *Eusebius* (5), *Theodoret* (6), and *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* (7) produce a passage out of his works, wherein he quotes the beginning of St. *John*'s gospel. *Theodoret* calls him the chief of the school of *Porphyrius*, that is, of *Plotinus*, whose tenets were held by *Porphyrius* (8). *Suidas* writes, that *Porphyrius* was instructed by him in the principles of the *Platonic* philosophy (9). About the same time flourished one *Androclides*, author of a piece upon the sophists, who made extemporary speeches; in that work he mentions *Porphyrius*; whence *Suidas* concludes him to have flourished at the same time. He was the son of one *Synesius* of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia* (10).

Some historians too flourished under *Aurelian*, viz. *Callinicus* of *Tyre*, whom *Vopiscus* styles the most learned of all the *Greek* historians of his time (11); and *Theochus*, or *Theon* of *Chios*, as some critics conjecture (12). Both these historians wrote the life of *Aurelian*; but dwelt, it seems, too much on most trifling incidents (13). *Nicomachus*, another *Greek* historian, wrote at the same time; for *Vopiscus* tells us, that he copied from him the letter which *Zenobia* wrote to *Aurelian*; that *Zenobia* dictated it in the *Syriac* language; and that *Nicomachus* translated it into *Greek*, in which language it was sent to *Aurelian*, who had written to her in the same dialect (14). *Vossius* takes this to be the *Nicomachus* who transcribed, as we read in *Sidonius* (15), and corrected the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, in confronting it with the original of *Philostratus* (16). *Aurelianus Festivus*, a freedman of the emperor *Aurelian*, wrote the history of his reign, or at least part of it, with the life of *Firmus*, who usurped the title of emperor in *Egypt* (17). *Vossius* ranks him, *Cornelius Capitolinus*, who wrote the history of *Zenobia*, and *Gellius Fuscus*, who wrote the life of *Tetricus*, tyrant of *Gaul*, among the *Latin* writers, no doubt, on account of their names; for *Vopiscus*, who quotes the two former, and wrote in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, tells us, that some *Greek*, but no *Latin*, author had undertaken before him to write the history of *Aurelian*'s reign (18). *Brennius Dexippus*, by birth an *Athenian*, by profession an orator, the son of another *Dexippus*, flourished under *Aurelian*, and was reckoned one of the greatest orators *Greece* had ever produced (19). His style, says *Photius*, was grave and majestic; his words expressive; his phrases proper, and well-suited to the subject; so that he may be called a second *Thucydides*; but in clearness he far excels the first (20). Though he was a man of letters, yet he fought with success at the head of his countrymen against the *Goths*, or *Heruli*, in the year 267 (21). He wrote the history of the *Roman* emperors from *Alexander* to *Claudius*, with no less conciseness, says *Capitolinus* (22), than sincerity; whence he is often quoted by him and *Trebellius Pollio*, who style his history *the history of the times*. He wrote a separate history of the wars of the *Romans* with the *Scythians*, which he intitled *Scythica*. This *Photius* preferred, for the elegance of style, to all his other works (23). He likewise wrote in four books the history of the successors of *Alexander the Great* (24). *Vossius* ascribes to him the book on *Aristotle*'s categories, which has reached our times (25). But others maintain, that *Dexippus*, the author of that work, was disciple to *Iamblichus*, who flourished in the reign of *Julian* the apostate (26). We ought perhaps to distinguish likewise *Dexippus*, the author of some comedies (27), from the historian, though *Vossius* confounds them (28).

(94) *Long. c.* 8. *p.* 20. (95) *Vide Hist. Univers. vol.* V. *p.* 643. (96) *Euseb. præpar. l.* xi. *c.* 18. *p.* 540. (97) *Cyrill in Jul. l.* viii. *c.* 6. *p.* 283. *Plot. vit. p.* 5. (98) *Plot. vit. p.* 3, 6. (99) *Idem, p.* 13. (100) *Idem p.* 3. (1) *Idem, p.* 10 (2) *Idem, p.* 11. (3) *Idem, p.* 14. (4) *Euseb. præp. l.* xi. *c.* 19, *p.* 540. (5) *Idem ibid.* (6) *Theod. de curand. Græcor. affect. p.* 500. (7) *Cyr. in Jul. l.* viii. *p.* 283.. (8) *Theod. ibid.* (9) *Suid. a. p.* 198. (10) *Idem, a, p.* 261. (11) *Vit. Aurel. p.* 209. (12) *Vide Voss. hist. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 17. *p.* 495. (13) *Aur. vit. p.* 210. (14) *Idem, p.* 218. (15) *Sidon. l.* viii. *epist.* 3. *p.* 214. (16) *Voss. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 214 (17) *Firm. vit. p.* 244. (18) *Aur. vit. p.* 209. (19) *Suid. d. p.* 659. *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 21. (20) *Phot. c.* 82. *p.* 200. (21) *Gallien. vit. p.* 181. (22) *Capit. p.* 130. (23) *Phot. c.* 82. *p.* 200. (24) *Idem ibid. p.* 201. (25) *Voss p.* 243. (26) *Johns. l.* iii. *p.* 259. (27) *Suid. p.* 1516. (28) *Voss. hist. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 243.

to name any of them in his room, wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of the emperor, and referring to them the choice of a new prince. When their letter was read, *Tacitus*, who was at that time prince of the ſenate, and voted the firſt, declared, that he was for referring the choice of a new emperor to the army, as the army had done to the ſenate: *For what diſputes*, ſaid he, *and diſturbances will inevitably enſue, ſhould not the army approve of the perſon whom we name?* The ſenate acquieſced to his propoſal; but the ſoldiers referred the choice a ſecond and a third time to the ſenate, as the ſenate did to the ſoldiers; ſo that the empire, by this reciprocal exchange of compliments and commendable diſpute between the ſenate and army, remained near eight months without a head, and nevertheleſs no uſurper ſtarted up during that time; no diſturbances happened, either at *Rome* or in the provinces. But the barbarians in the mean time, taking advantage of the inter-regnum, began to put themſelves in motion. The *Germans*, that is, the *Lyges*, the *Franks*, the *Burgundiones*, and the *Vandals*, broke into *Gaul*; the *Goths* threatened *Illyricum*; and every one expected, that the *Perſians*, againſt whom *Aurelian* had declared war, would not continue long quiet. Theſe things *Velius Cornificius Gordianus*, then conſul, laid before the ſenate on the twenty-fifth of *September*, and earneſtly preſſed them to proceed, without further delay, to the election of a new prince. He concluded his ſpeech by telling them, That the empire could no longer ſubſiſt without a head, and that the army would either accept the prince whom they choſe, or, rejecting him, chuſe another. There had been ſome talk before of raiſing *Tacitus* to the empire, who thereupon had withdrawn into *Campania*, and lived there two months in retirement; but being recalled by the ſenate, he was preſent at this meeting held on the twenty-fifth of *September*; and after the conſul *Gordianus* had ended his ſpeech, he roſe up to deliver his opinion firſt, as prince of the ſenate; but before he had uttered a ſingle word, the whole aſſembly cried out with one voice, *We ſalute you, Tacitus, emperor: to you we commit the care of the ſtate and the world. Take the empire given you by the authority of the ſenate: your rank, your character, your paſt conduct, deſerve it.* He attempted to excuſe himſelf in regard of his great age (for he was then ſeventy-five); but they all cried out, That other emperors, ſtricken in years, had governed with great applauſe; that they wanted not a ſoldier, but an emperor; not a ſtrong body, but a vigorous mind; and that he had a brother, who would bear with him part of the burden. After this was taken the ſuffrage of each ſenator in particular, when *Metius Falconius Nicomachus*, the eldeſt conſular, after having in an elegant ſpeech beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon *Tacitus*, inlarged in a very affecting manner on the many evils attending the adminiſtration of young and unexperienced princes, and conjured *Tacitus*, by the love he bore his country, not to leave the empire to his ſons, who were yet children, but to name for his ſucceſſor a perſon, whom he judged equal to ſo great a truſt, if the ſtate were, by the immutable decrees of the *Fates*, deprived of him before his children attained to maturity of age. He added, that to diſpoſe of the ſenate, the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire, in the ſame manner as he diſpoſed of his houſes, lands, and ſlaves, was repugnant to the laws of juſtice and equity; and that nothing would ſo much commend his name to all future ages, as to ſhew at his death, that he loved the republic above his family and iſſue[t]. When *Metius* had ended his ſpeech, the ſenators all to a man cried out, *Tacitus is emperor*. The decree was accordingly drawn up, inveſting him with the ſovereign power, and ſigned by all the ſenators, even by *Tacitus* himſelf. From the ſenate they all went to the field of *Mars*, where *Ælius Ceſetianus*, then governor of *Rome*, declared to the ſoldiers and people aſſembled there, the election of *Tacitus*, which was received with the uſual acclamations[u].

The army refer the election of a new prince to the ſenate, and the ſenate to the army.

Tacitus *unanimouſly choſen by the ſenate.*

The preſent emperor, named on his coins *M. Claudius Tacitus*, but, by *Vopiſcus*, *Aurelianus*, or *Aurelius*, *Tacitus*, acknowledged *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated hiſtorian, for his kinſman; and therefore, to ſecure his inimitable performance againſt the injuries of time, he ordered ten copies of it to be tranſcribed every year, and to be lodged in the publick libraries and in the cabinets of the learned; but notwithſtanding his care, only a ſmall part of what that excellent hiſtorian wrote, has reached our times. The emperor, as we have hinted above, was ſtricken in years, but had ſeveral children, who were very young. *Florianus*, named on the ancient coins *M. Annius Florianus*, was only his uterine brother. All we know of his preferments is, that

[t] Tacit. vit. p. 227——231. [u] Idem ibid.

a that he had been conſul, and was, at the time of his election, prince of the ſenate. He was a man of learning, of a mild temper, an enemy to all pomp, and a great admirer of the manners of the primitive *Romans*. When he was created emperor, he gave his immenſe eſtate to the public, allotting part of it for the repairing and beautifying of the temples. What ready money he had by him, he diſtributed among the ſoldiers. He ſet at liberty all the ſlaves he had at *Rome*, and cauſed his houſe to be pulled down, in order to build public baths in the place where it ſtood. His temperance and regularity, his œconomy and care of the public money, his impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, are much commended by the authors of his life. In the firſt ſpeech he made to the ſenate he declared, that he would tranſact b nothing without their conſent and authority; and then propoſed the two following laws, which were received with great applauſe, and confirmed by a decree; *viz.* that whoever ſhould mix metals with a baſer ſort ſhould forfeit his eſtate and life; that ſlaves ſhould not be admitted as witneſſes againſt their maſters, even in caſes of treaſon. In the ſame ſpeech he deſired the conſulſhip for his brother *Florianus*; but the ſenate did not think fit to grant him his requeſt; which he was ſo far from reſenting, that, on the contrary, he ſeemed highly pleaſed with the liberty they had taken, ſaying, *I am glad they know him.* From the very beginning of his reign he applied himſelf to the ſuppreſſing of ſeveral abuſes which ſtill prevailed in *Rome*. By one edict he put down all the brothel-houſes; by another he ordered all the public baths c to be ſhut up at ſunſet; and by a third prohibited all ſorts of gold tiſſue and gilding. He reſpected the memory of the good emperors, and cauſed a temple to be built to their honour, and ſacrifices to be offered to them on their ſeveral anniverſaries. He paid a particular regard to *Aurelian*, and prevailed upon the ſenate to decree him a ſtatue of gold, to be ſet up in the capitol, and others of ſilver, to be placed in the ſenate, in the temple of the ſun, and in the ſquare of *Trajan*[b]. The ſenate, overjoyed for the recovery of their ancient rights of creating emperors, ordered public proceſſions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, feaſted their friends, and wrote letters to all the ſtates and cities in alliance with *Rome*, acquainting them, that they were at length reſtored to their former authority; that the kings and d princes of the barbarians were to apply to them; and that all appeals from the proconſuls were to be made, not to the emperor, or the captain of the guards, but to the governor of *Rome*, from whom they might appeal to the ſenate[c]. The new prince was ſcarce well ſettled in the empire, when news was brought him, that incredible multitudes of barbarians were advancing from the *Palus Mæotis* through *Colchis*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian* to aſſiſt him in his intended expedition againſt the *Perſians*. *Tacitus* immediately left *Rome*, and arriving in *Thrace*, where he was received by the army with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, paſſed from thence over into *Aſia*, defeated the barbarians, and obliged them to return into their own country[d]. The following year, the emperor entered upon e his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Æmilianus* for his collegue; and having paſſed the winter in *Cilicia*, was preparing to return to *Italy*, when he was, according to ſome writers, ſeized with a violent diſtemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life; but, according to others, killed by his own ſoldiers[e]. He died at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, or, as others write, at *Tiana* in *Cappadocia*, after a ſhort reign of about ſix months. Upon his death, his brother *Florianus*, whom he had appointed captain of the guards, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was acknowledged in all the provinces of *Europe* and *Africa*; but the legions quartered in *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, and *Egypt*, declared for *Probus*, whom *Tacitus* had appointed commander of all the forces in the eaſt. Hereupon a civil war was kindled in the bowels of f the empire, while the barbarians were ready to invade it on all ſides. *Florianus* gained at firſt ſome advantages over his competitor; but as the troops under his command were more addicted to *Probus* than to him, they began to mutiny, and, at the approach of *Probus*, who was reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, fell upon their own leader, cut him in pieces, after he had reigned about two months, and joined *Probus*. This happened in the neighbourhood of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*. The death of *Florianus* was no ſooner known in *Europe* and *Africa*, than the armies every-where proclaimed *Probus* emperor, and the ſenate readily confirmed their election, honouring the new emperor with the titles of *Auguſtus*, *father*

His preferments.

Two of his laws.

Tacitus *marches againſt the barbarians, and defeats them.*

His death.

Florianus *aſſumes the empire; but is murdered by his own men.*

Probus *proclaimed emperor.*

[b] Idem, p. 232. [c] Idem, p. 231, 232. [d] Zonar. p. 240. Zos. p. 662. [e] Tacit. vit. p. 230.

father of his country, high pontiff, &c. and inveſting him with the tribunitial and proconſular power; for they all entertained a great opinion of his juſtice, equity, moderation, &c. and looked upon him as a perſon in every reſpect qualified for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt: and truly, if *Vopiſcus* is to be credited, he was one of the beſt and greateſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. That writer prefers him to *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, *Alexander*, *Claudius*, nay, and to *Auguſtus* himſelf. *His character.* He was, ſays he, an excellent commander, an able ſtateſman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in ſhort, endowed with every good quality commendable in a prince [m]. He was a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*. *Extraction and preferments.* His father, by name *Maximus*, was, in his youth, by profeſſion a gardener; but afterwards liſting himſelf among the troops, he was raiſed to the poſt of tribune; and married a woman of rank, by whom he had one ſon, the preſent emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory. *Probus* entered into the army when very young, and having diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions under *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Claudius*, and *Aurelian*, he was by theſe princes raiſed to the higheſt poſts of the army, and employed, always with ſucceſs, in the many wars which they waged with the barbarians [n]. He was about forty-four years old, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, when preferred to the empire. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than he left *Cilicia*, and returned to *Europe*. He paſſed the winter in *Pannonia*, and having there taken upon him his firſt conſulſhip, and named *M. Aurelius Paulinus* for his collegue, he ſet out in the ſpring for *Gaul*, where the *Franks* and other *German* nations had committed dreadful ravages. He *He delivers Gaul from the barbarians, and reduces great part of Germany.* is ſaid to have fought in that province many ſucceſsful battles, to have killed near four hundred thouſand of the barbarians, and to have obliged the reſt to quit the booty they had taken, and ſave themſelves by flight beyond the *Rhine*. Having thus reſtored *Gaul* to its former tranquillity, he paſſed the *Rhine* at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater ſucceſs than any of his predeceſſors had ever done, as appears from the account which he himſelf tranſmitted to the ſenate in the following letter: "I return thanks to the immortal "gods, conſcript fathers, who have given manifeſt tokens of their approving your "choice in raiſing me to the empire. *Germany*, that wide and extenſive country, "is intirely ſubdued. Nine kings of different nations have thrown themſelves pro"ſtrate at my feet, or rather at yours. All the barbarians now plow and ſow for "you, nay, and fight for you. Return therefore thanks to the gods for ſo ſignal "a conqueſt. Four hundred thouſand of the enemy have been cut in pieces; ſixteen "thouſand have been incorporated in our troops. We have recovered ſixty great "cities which they had taken, and delivered *Gaul* from the yoke under which it "groaned. The crowns of gold, with which the cities of *Gaul* have preſented me, "I have tranſmitted to you, to be conſecrated, and, by your hands, offered to the "great *Jupiter*, and to the other gods and goddeſſes. We have not only recovered "the booty which they had taken, but inriched ourſelves with their ſpoils. The "fields of *Gaul* are ploughed with the cattle of the barbarians; their ſheep are "incloſed in our folds, and our magazines are filled with their corn: in ſhort, we "have left them nothing but the bare ſoil. I have had ſome thoughts of reducing "*Germany* to a *Roman* province; but the republic, exhauſted with ſo many wars, "is not perhaps at preſent in a condition to maintain the additional troops which "muſt be raiſed for that purpoſe [o]." *Vopiſcus* adds, that he drove the enemy beyond the *Elb* and the *Necker*, and built a great many forts in the country lying between thoſe rivers and the *Rhine*, which he might have eaſily reduced to a *Roman* province; but did not think it adviſeable to burden the republic with new troops, which he muſt have raiſed, and left there, to keep thoſe warlike nations in awe. *Zoſimus* tells us, that one of the battles, which he fought with the *Logi*, a *German* nation, probably the ſame people whom *Tacitus* calls *Lyges*, laſted two days, the armies being parted only by night; that the victory inclined ſometimes to the *Romans*, and ſometimes to the *Germans*, who fought with incredible bravery; but that the former at *He overcomes the Logi, the Burgundians, and the Vandals.* length prevailed, by the bravery of *Probus*, and not only gave the enemy a total overthrow, but took their king, by name *Semnon*, priſoner, with his ſons and the flower of their nobility; whom, however, the emperor afterwards ſet at liberty, upon their reſtoring to him all the booty and priſoners they had taken [q]. The ſame writer adds,

[m] Prob. vit. p. 233, 234, 241. [n] Idem p. 235—237. [o] Idem, p. 239. [p] Zos. l. i. p. 864.

2 adds, that in another engagement with the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* on the banks of the *Rhine*, he took their king *Igillus* priſoner, with many others of thoſe two nations, whom he tranſplanted into *Britain*, where they proved very ſerviceable to the *Romans* upon all ſeditions and inſurrections [q]. They ſettled perhaps in *Cambridgeſhire*; for *Gervaſius Tilburienſis* mentions an old *vallum* in that county, which he calls *Vandelſburg*, and ſays, it was the work of the *Vandals* [r].

THE following year, the emperor entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Lupus* for his collegue, and early in the ſpring ſet out from *Gaul*; and bending his march through *Rhætia*, he arrived in *Illyricum*, whence the *Sarmatians*, who had made an irruption into that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach, leaving
b their booty behind them. From *Illyricum* he purſued his march into *Thrace*, where he was met by deputies from all the *Gothic* nations, ſent by their reſpective ſtates and princes to ſue for peace, and court his friendſhip [s]. Having thus ſettled peace and tranquillity in all the provinces of *Europe*, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, and entering *Iſauria*, which had revolted from *Rome*, as we have related above, after many dangerous conflicts with the *Iſaurian* robbers and *Palfurius* their leader, whom he took and put to death, he intirely reduced that country, tranſplanted the inhabitants into diſtant provinces, and divided *Iſauria* among his veterans, upon condition that they ſhould ſend their ſons, as ſoon as they attained the age of eighteen, to ſerve in the army, leſt, truſting to their rocks and mountains, they ſhould follow the example of
c the ancient inhabitants, and turn robbers [t]. From *Iſauria* the emperor marched into *Syria*, where he entered upon his third conſulſhip, having *Paternus* for his collegue, and early in the ſpring led his army againſt the *Blemyes*, a barbarous nation, dwelling between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, who had made themſelves maſters of *Coptos* and *Ptolemais* in *Thebais*, and ſtruck terror into the neighbouring countries. *Probus* defeated them with great ſlaughter, recovered the above-mentioned cities, took a great number of the barbarians priſoners, and ſent them to *Rome*, where their extraordinary figure, ſays *Vopiſcus*, raiſed great admiration in the *Roman* people [u]. *Pliny* had deſcribed them many years before, as a people without heads, and having their mouths and eyes in their breaſts [w]. Some writers think, that the ſhortneſs of their
d necks gave riſe to this fable. The king of *Perſia*, *Varranes* II. alarmed at the fame of the victories gained by *Probus* over ſo fierce and warlike a nation, ſent embaſſadors to him, with rich preſents, to ſue for peace; but the emperor, not ſatisfied with their propoſals, refuſed the preſents and ſent back the deputies; which ſo terrified the king, that he concluded a peace with *Probus* upon his own terms [x]. The eaſtern provinces being thus ſettled in peace, the emperor returned to *Thrace*, where he allotted lands to one hundred thouſand *Baſtarnæ*, a *Scythian* nation, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. They all remained faithful to him; but the *Gepidæ*, *Juthungi*, and *Vandals*, to whom he allotted lands in the ſame province, revolted while the emperor was engaged in domeſtic wars, which broke out the fol-
e lowing year. From *Thrace* the emperor returned to *Rome*, and there triumphed over the *Germans* and *Blemyes* [y], and diverted the people, for ſeveral days together, with all ſorts of ſhews, combats, and entertainments. And now no foreign nation daring to attempt an invaſion, peace reigned throughout the whole empire; but this general tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by domeſtic broils, which firſt broke out in the eaſt, where *Sext. Julius Saturninus*, as he is ſtyled on the ancient coins, was proclaimed emperor. He was, according to ſome, a native of *Mauritania*, according to others, of *Gaul*, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many wars; for he is ſaid to have reſtored tranquillity to *Gaul*, to have recovered *Africa* from the *Moors*, and appeaſed the diſturbances that had long prevailed in *Spain* [z]. The emperor *Aurelian*
f had appointed him commander of the troops quartered on the frontiers of the eaſtern provinces, and at the ſame time ordered him never to ſet foot in *Egypt*, fearing, ſays *Vopiſcus*, as he was well acquainted with the ambitious temper of the *Gauls*, and the ſtrange inclination of the *Egyptians* to novelty, leſt he might be prompted by them to aſſume the ſovereignty. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, *Saturninus* being led by his curioſity to viſit *Egypt*, he no ſooner appeared at *Alexandria*, than he was by that turbulent and reſtleſs people proclaimed emperor. He declined at firſt that dignity, and, quitting *Alexandria*, returned in great haſte to *Paleſtine*: but afterwards appre-

The Goths *ſue for peace.*

Iſauria *reduced.*

The Blemyes *defeated.*

The Perſians *ſue for peace.*

Probus *triumphs.*

Saturninus *revolts.*

[q] Idem ibid. p. 865. [r] Vide CAMD. Britain. p. 136. & BUCH. Belg. l. vii. p. 218. [s] Prob. vit. p. 239. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] PLIN. l. v. c. 8. [x] Prob. vit. p. 239. [y] Idem, p. 240. [z] Saturn. vit. p. 244. ZOS. p. 663. GOLTZ. p. 116. BIRAG. p. 309.

apprehending, that what had already happened might give *Probus* no ſmall umbrage, a
and occaſion his ruin, he ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, ſhedding many
tears amidſt the acclamations of the ſoldiery and populace [q]. *Zonaras* writes, that
Probus, who had a great kindneſs for him, not believing he had revolted, cauſed the
perſon to be puniſhed who brought him the firſt news of his rebellion. He after-
wards wrote ſeveral kind letters to him; but his ſoldiers threatening him with death,
if he hearkened to, or complied with, the emperor's offers, he was forced to reject
them. Hereupon *Probus* diſpatched ſome troops againſt them, which being joined
He is overcome and killed. by others in the eaſt, engaged *Saturninus*, put him to flight, and obliged him to
ſhelter himſelf in the citadel of *Apamea*, which they took by ſtorm, and put the b
whole gariſon, together with *Saturninus*, to the ſword. The emperor, who deſigned
to pardon him, ſhewed no ſmall concern for his death [r]. The following year,
Proculus *revolts.* *Meſſala* and *Gratus* being conſuls, two uſurpers ſtarted up in *Gaul*, *Proculus* and
Bonoſus. The former was a native of *Albingaunum*, now *Albenga*, ſubject to the
republic of *Genoa*. His anceſtors had been famous robbers, and had, by their rob-
beries, acquired immenſe wealth; for *Proculus* is ſaid to have armed two thouſand
ſlaves of his own when he revolted. In his youth he had been himſelf a robber;
but entering afterwards into the army, he had ſignalized himſelf by many noble
exploits. He was tribune, and had the command of ſeveral legions, when he took
upon him the title of emperor, prompted thereunto chiefly by his wife, called firſt c
Viturgia, and afterwards *Sampſo*, a woman of great ambition and a manly courage,
and by the inhabitants of *Lions*, who had been treated with great ſeverity by *Aure-
lian*, and apprehended the like treatment from *Probus*. He was proclaimed empe-
ror at *Cologn*, and acknowledged, according to *Vopiſcus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*, *Britain*,
and *Spain*. The ſame writer tells us, that he defeated the *Alemanni* in ſeveral bat-
tles; but was himſelf at laſt overcome by *Probus*, and forced to take refuge among
the *Franks*, from whom he pretended to derive his origin. The *Franks* promiſed
Is betrayed by the Franks, *and put to death.* him their aſſiſtance; but, inſtead of performing their promiſe, they betrayed him to
the emperor, by whom he was puniſhed according to his deſerts [s]. *Bonoſus*, or, as
he is ſtyled on the ancient coins, *Q. Bonoſius*, was deſcended of a *Spaniſh* family, but d
born in *Britain*. His father kept a public ſchool, and taught children the firſt
rudiments of the *Latin* tongue. The ſon entered early into the army, and raiſed
himſelf by degrees from the low rank of a common ſoldier to the poſt of general,
and was employed as ſuch to guard the frontiers of *Rhætia*; but having ſuffered the
Germans to ſurpriſe and burn the *Roman* fleet on the *Rhine*, his dread of being
puniſhed for this neglect, prompted him to aſſume the ſovereignty, and cauſe himſelf
Bonoſus *proclaimed emperor.* to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. He maintained him-
ſelf in that dignity longer than was expected, and fought ſeveral battles with *Pro-
bus*; but being at length reduced to great ſtreights, he choſe rather to ſtrangle
Is overcome, and lays violent hands on himſelf. himſelf, than to fall into the hands of the conqueror. Authors obſerve of him, that e
he could drink as much as ten men, without being in the leaſt diſordered; and that
by drinking with the embaſſadors of the barbarians, he often diſcovered the ſecrets
with which they were intruſted. *Vopiſcus* tells us, that the emperor *Aurelian* mar-
ried to him a princeſs of the royal blood of the *Goths*, by name *Hunila*, whom he
had taken priſoner, that *Bonoſus* might, by her means, become acquainted with the
great men among the *Goths*, and diſcover, in drinking with them, their ſecret
views and deſigns [t]. *Hunila* was a woman of great wit, beauty, and virtue; and
therefore *Probus*, upon the death of her huſband, not only ſpared her, and the two
ſons ſhe had by *Bonoſus*, but ſettled an annual penſion upon the mother, and ſuffered
the children to enjoy their paternal eſtate [u]. *Zoſimus* [w] and *Zonaras* [x] ſpeak of the f
The governor of Britain *revolts, and is murdered.* revolt of the governor of *Britain*, whom they do not name; and tell us, that the
emperor complaining of him to a *Moor*, named *Victorinus*, upon whoſe recommen-
dation he had preferred him to that government, the *Moor* begged and obtained
leave to go into *Britain*, and try whether he could bring back his friend to a ſenſe of
his duty. Upon his arrival, he was received by the uſurper with great demonſtra-
tions of kindneſs; which he requited by murdering his old friend in the night-time.
His death put an end to the revolt in *Britain*. We are not told whether or no *Probus*
approved of this treachery.

The

[q] Sat. vit. p. 249. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem, p. 245—247. [t] Bonoſ. vit. p. 247. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Zos. l. i. p. 663. [x] Zonar. p. 246.

a THE following year, the emperor entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Tiberianus* for his collegue. The whole empire now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; all domeſtic troubles were happily appeaſed, and foreign enemies awed by the fame of *Probus*'s mighty atchievements. However, that the troops might not abandon themſelves to idleneſs, he took care to employ them in many uſeful works, ſaying, That ſince they were maintained by the public, they ought either to fight or labour for the public. As *Hannibal* therefore, to find ſome employment for his ſoldiers, had formerly filled *Africa* with olive-trees planted by them, ſo *Probus*, for his valour ſtyled by many a ſecond *Hannibal*, employed his troops in planting vines on the hills of *Gaul*, *Pannonia*, and *Mæſia*, allowing, ſays *Vopiſcus*, the *Gauls*, *Pannonians*, *Spaniards*, b and *Britons* full liberty to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleaſed; which had been denied them ever ſince the time of *Domitian*[y]. The emperor *Julian* writes, that *Probus*, during his ſhort reign, either rebuilt or repaired ſeventy cities[z]. As the city of *Sirmium*, the place of his nativity, ſtood in a low marſhy ground, he employed great numbers of his ſoldiers in digging a canal to convey the waters into the ſea. This incenſed them againſt him, and their rage was heightened by the apprehenſion they were under of being ſoon diſbanded; for the emperor had ſaid, That he hoped in a ſhort time there would be no occaſion for ſoldiers or armies. This they could not bear, and therefore the following year, when *Probus* was conſul the fifth time with *Victorinus*, they attacked him with great fury, as he was marching from c one town in *Illyricum* to another. The emperor had time to retire into an iron tower of an extraordinary height, which he himſelf had built, to obſerve from thence the ſoldiers while they were at work. But thither the incenſed multitude purſued him, and having eaſily ſtormed the place, as it was defended by the prince alone, diſpatched him with many wounds, after he had lived fifty, and reigned ſix years and four months. His death is aſcribed by many to *Carus*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, and was then captain of the guards; but *Vopiſcus* endeavours to clear him from that imputation. The whole army raiſed a ſtately monument to the honour of the deceaſed prince, with the following epitaph: *Here lies the emperor* Probus, *whoſe life and manners anſwered his name. He ſubdued all the barbarous nations, and conquered the tyrants* d *who ſtarted up in his time.* The loſs of ſo good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the ſenate and people of *Rome*, but by the barbarians themſelves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and juſtice. His ſucceſſors honoured his memory with all poſſible marks of reſpect and eſteem, ranking him among the gods, conſecrating temples to his name, celebrating with great pomp his anniverſary, *&c.* He was, without all doubt, one of the beſt, as well as of the greateſt, princes, that ever reigned at *Rome*[a]. After his death, his family withdrew from *Rome*, probably not to give umbrage to his ſucceſſors, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Verona*[b]. As for the few writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we refer the reader to our note (A).

How Probus *employed his ſoldiers in time of peace.*

He is murdered by the mutinous ſoldiery.

e UPON the death of *Probus*, *Carus*, then captain of the prætorian guards, was, by the unanimous conſent of the army, raiſed to the empire, as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified to ſucceed ſo good a prince, ſo great a warrior. The ſenate were well pleaſed with the election of *Carus*; but dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his ſon *Carinus*, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the ſoldiery. However, apprehending the power of the army, and deſirous to maintain the peace and tranquillity

Carus *proclaimed emperor.*

y Prob. vit. p. 240. z JUL. CÆS. p. 17. a Prob. vit. p. 241. b Idem ibid.

(A) Under *Probus* flouriſhed *Turdulus Gallicanus*, who wrote a kind of journal, often quoted by *Vopiſcus* in his life of *Probus*, who ſtyles the author of it a man of honour and ſincerity (29). He likewiſe cites *M. Salvidienus*, from whom he copied the ſpeech made by *Saturninus*, when he put on the purple, and aſſumed the title of emperor (30); which prompts us to believe, that *Salvidienus* wrote the hiſtory of that uſurper. *Oneſimus* publiſhed the life of *Probus*, done, according to *Vopiſcus*, with great exactneſs (31), and likewiſe that of the emperor *Carus* (32). *Voſſius* ranks them all three among the *Latin* hiſtorians (33), and mentions a *Greek* hiſtorian, by name *Onaſimus*, a native of *Sparta* or *Cyprus*, who lived, according to *Suidas*, under *Conſtantine*, and was both a ſophiſt and hiſtorian. Perhaps *Oneſimus* and *Onaſimus* were one and the ſame perſon, there having paſſed but twenty-four years between *Probus* and *Conſtantine*. *Suidas* aſcribes to *Onaſimus* ſeveral philological and other works (34). About the ſame time flouriſhed another ſophiſt, named likewiſe *Onaſimus*, but who was a native of *Athens* (35).

(29) *Prob. vit. p.* 233. (30) *Saturn. vit. p.* 245. (31) *Bonoſ. vit. p.* 246. & *Car. vit. p.* 250.
(32) *Idem ibid.* (33) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat.* ii. *c.* 4. *p.* 184. (34) *Suid. p.* 523. (35) *Idem ibid.*

quillity eſtabliſhed by *Probus*, they at laſt acknowledged *Carus*, and conferred upon him the uſual titles and honours [b]. Of his family and anceſtors we know but very little. Some ſay, that he was by birth a *Roman*, but by deſcent an *Illyrican*; others, that he was born in *Illyricum*, but of *Carthaginian* parents. In a journal quoted by *Vopiſcus*, he is ſtyled a native of *Milan* [c]. The two *Victors*, *Eutropius*, and ſeveral others, will have him to have been born in *Narbonne*. The emperor himſelf pretended, that his anceſtors were originally *Romans* [d]. He raiſed himſelf by degrees to the chief employments in the ſtate, both civil and military. He had been conſul; for the conſulſhip, which he took after his acceſſion to the empire, is called his ſecond conſulſhip. *Probus*, after having employed him in moſt of his expeditions, appointed him captain of the guards, in which office he gained the affections of the ſoldiers to ſuch a degree, that, upon the death of *Probus*, they all agreed to raiſe him to the empire in his room. That prince entertained a mighty opinion of the prudence, juſtice, and integrity of *Carus*, as appears from a letter quoted by *Vopiſcus*, which he wrote to the ſenate in his behalf, deſiring them to reward his eminent ſervices, by erecting to him an equeſtrian ſtatue, and building him a houſe at the public charge, for which the emperor himſelf promiſed to ſupply the neceſſary marble [e]. *Carus* was no ſooner ſettled in the empire, than he gave the title of *Cæſar* to his two ſons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, of whom the former was a youth intirely abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs, and the latter endowed with every good quality requiſite in a prince. Some writers pretend, that at the ſame time he declared them his partners in the empire, giving them equal power and authority with himſelf; but on the medals of this year 282. the firſt of *Carus*'s reign, his two ſons are only ſtyled *Cæſars* [f]. The *Sarmatians* no ſooner heard of the death of *Probus*, than they broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, over-ran thoſe countries, and threatened *Italy* itſelf. Hereupon *Carus*, drawing together his forces, marched againſt the barbarians, and coming, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, to a general engagement with them, cut ſixteen thouſand of them in pieces, took twenty thouſand priſoners, and obliged the reſt to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire into their own country, whither he would have purſued them, had he not been informed, that the *Perſians* were ready to invade the eaſtern provinces with a mighty army, under the conduct of their king *Varranes* II. a warlike prince, who had lately ſignalized himſelf againſt the *Segetani*, and intirely reduced that brave and powerful people. Upon this intelligence, *Carus*, committing the care of the weſtern provinces to his eldeſt ſon *Carinus*, and taking with him *Numerianus*, left *Thrace*, and, croſſing over into *Aſia*, marched ſtrait to *Antioch*, and thence into *Meſopotamia*; which the *Perſians*, who, it ſeems, had already ſeized that province, abandoned at his approach. From *Meſopotamia* he advanced into *Perſia*, laid waſte the country far and wide; and meeting with no oppoſition, as the *Perſians* were then engaged in a civil war, he beſieged and took the famous cities of *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, with *Coche*, which was a place of great ſtrength on the other ſide of the *Tigris*, and, as it were, the citadel of *Cteſiphon* [g]. For theſe conqueſts he took the ſurname of *Perſicus*, which we read on moſt of his coins [h]. He was bent upon utterly ruining the *Perſian* monarchy, and would, in all likelihood, have ſucceeded in that great deſign, the *Perſians* being then divided among themſelves, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood of *Cteſiphon*, while he was preparing to purſue his conqueſts beyond that city, which the *Romans*, as was pretended, were by an ancient oracle forbidden to do. *Junius Calpurnius*, one of the emperor's ſecretaries, gave the following account of his death, in a letter which he wrote to the governor of *Rome*: "While *Carus*, our truly dear prince, lay ſick "in his tent, a violent ſtorm broke out, attended with dreadful flaſhes of lightning, "and claps of thunder. Day was all on a ſudden turned into night, and the air "darkened to ſuch a degree, that we could not diſcern one another. While we "were under the utmoſt conſternation, frightened and diſmayed, after a clap of "thunder more loud and terrible than all the reſt, we heard one cry out, *The emperor* "*is dead*. Soon after, his chamberlains, diſtracted with grief, ſet fire to his tent; "which gave riſe to the report, that he was ſtilled with lightning; but it is certain, "that he died of his illneſs." Thus one of his ſecretaries, whoſe letter *Vopiſcus* produces, to confute thoſe who aſcribed the emperor's death to divine vengeance, for his

His extraction and preferments.

He creates his two ſons Cæſars.

Defeats the Sarmatians.

Gains great advantages over the Perſians, *and takes* Seleucia *and* Cteſiphon.

His death.

[b] Car. vit. p. 243. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem, p. 249. [e] Idem, p. 242. [f] Birag. p. 426. [g] Car. vit. p. 250. Greg. Naz. orat. iv. p. 115. [h] Birag. p. 419. Spanh. l. v. p. 419.

a his attempting to extend his conquests beyond *Ctesiphon*[i]. However, the two *Victors*, *Eutropius*, *Rufus*, *Festus*, *Apollinaris*, *Sidonius*, St. *Jerom*, *Eusebius*, *Georgius Syncellus*, and *Zonaras*, write, that he was killed, and his tent burnt, with lightning. He had begun the second year of his reign, and his death happened between the eighth of *December* of this year 283, and the twelfth of *January* of the year ensuing; for his name is prefixed to all the laws that were published till the eighth of *December*, and those of *Carinus* and *Numerianus* to a law dated the twelfth of *January* of the year 284[k]. He reigned, according to the most probable opinion, a year and four months. He was consul when he died, and had his son *Carinus* for his collegue in that dignity. Upon the death of *Carus*, his son *Numerianus* was immediately saluted by the whole

Numerianus *proclaimed emperor.*

b army with the title of emperor. As to his other son, *Carinus*, he was then in *Gaul*, and had been raised by his father to the sovereignty before he set out for the *Persian* war. *Numerianus*, grieved beyond expression for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire. As his eyes, weakened with the great quantity of tears he had shed, could not bear the light, he caused himself to be carried in a close litter. *Arrius Aper*, his father-in-law and captain of the guards, who had free access to him, laid hold of that opportunity to murder him privately, with a design to raise himself to the empire. The body of the deceased prince he left in the litter, telling the soldiers who wanted to see their emperor, that he could not endure the air, and striving in the mean time to gain them over to his own interest. The dead

He is murdered.

c body was thus carried three days; but as it began in the end to be offensive to the smell, the crime was discovered sooner than *Aper* expected, and he immediately seized, no one doubting, but he had been the author of the murder. Upon the death of *Numerianus*, the army with one voice proclaimed *Diocletian* emperor. Such was the unhappy end of *Numerianus*, after he had reigned about eight months. He was killed near *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, as he was leading his army back into *Italy*. All the ancients speak of him as a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a person of his rank. He was an excellent orator, and is said to have once sent such an eloquent speech to the senate, that a statue was decreed him, to be set up in the *Ulpian* library, with this inscription, *To* Numerianus Cæsar, *the most eloquent orator of his age*. In

Diocletian *raised to the empire.*

d poetry he far surpassed all the writers of his time, and left several pieces behind him, both in verse and prose, which were mightily cried up by the learned[l]. He had often declared in public, and it was probably of him that *Calphurnius*, a celebrated poet of those times, said, That he diverted himself with pleading, while he was still in his mother's arms[m]; that is, when he was very young. Both he and his father *Carus* were ranked among the gods, had temples and divine honours decreed them, *&c.* It appears from some medals, that the latter had impiously assumed the title of god before his death[n]. Some writers flourished in his time, of whom in note (B).

His extraction preferments, &c.

Diocletian was descended of a mean and obscure family in *Dalmatia*, being, according to some, the son of a notary, and of a slave, according to others; nay, *Victor* the younger tells us, that he was himself in his youth slave to a senator, named

e *Anulinus*,

[i] Car. vit. p. 256. [k] Cypr. an. p. 45. Cod. Just. l. v. tit. 71. leg. 7. p. 509. l. viii. tit. 56. leg. 3. p. 804. Noris de Diocles. c. 1. p. 9. [l] Num. vit. p. 251. [m] Calph. eclog. i. ver. 45. [n] Spanh. l. v. p. 419.

(B) *Vopiscus* tells us, that the life of *Carus* and his children was written before the year 300. by *Fabius Cerilianus*, whose diligence and exactness he commends (36); and that of *Carinus* in particular by *Fulvius Asprianus*, whose scrupulous exactness, and too great care to omit nothing, rendered his work extremely tedious (37). *Aurelius Apollinaris* likewise wrote the life of *Carus*, probably in Iambics; for he was a poet, and is said to have taken delight in that kind of verse (38). *Vossius* ranks these three among the *Latin* writers (39). A few eclogues, and part of a poem on the chace, by *M. Olympius Nemesianus*, has reached our times. He likewise wrote some pieces on fishing and navigation, and was highly esteemed in those days (40). He is supposed to have been a native of *Carthage*, where his works, in the time of *Hincmar*, were publicly read in the schools (41). He inscribed his poem on the chace to *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, after the death of their father; that is, after the year 284. He had not yet, at that time, been at court, nor seen *Rome* (42). Four other eclogues have reached our times, supposed to have been written by *T. Calphurnius*, or *Calpurnius*, a native of *Sicily*, and to have been inscribed to *Nemesianus*. In the first mention is made of declamations made by a prince, supposed to be *Numerianus*, almost in his infancy (43). *Scaliger* takes the sports that were exhibited by *Carinus* and *Numerian* to be the subject of the last eclogue (44). Perhaps *Junius Calphurnius*, secretary to *Carus*, and the abovementioned poet were one and the same person.

(36) *Car. vit. p.* 249, 250. (37) *Idem, p.* 254. (38) *Idem, p.* 251. (39) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *p.* 184. (40) *Nemes. p.* 508, 511. *Car. vit. p.* 251. (41) *Voss. poet. Lat. p.* 53. (42) *Nemes. cyn. ver.* 64. *p.* 509. *& ver.* 77, 81. (43) *Calphur. p.* 501. (44) *Scalig. in Euseb. chron. p.* 253.

Anulinus, who afterwards gave him his liberty [o]. The name both of his mother a
and the place of his birth was *Dioclea*; whence he was called *Diocles* till his acceſſion
to the empire, when he gave his name a *Latin* ſound and termination, calling himſelf
Dioclesianus [p]. He entered early into the army, and by degrees raiſed himſelf to the
firſt military employments. We are told, that while he yet ſerved in an inferior
poſt, a woman, by profeſſion a *Druid*, in whoſe houſe he lodged, upbraiding him
with covetouſneſs, he anſwered her in jeſt, *I ſhall be more generous when I am empe-*
ror. You are joking, Diocles, replied the *Druid*; *but I tell you in good earneſt, that*
you will attain the empire after you have killed a boar. This is ſuppoſed to have hap-
pened in the city of *Tongres*, in the preſent biſhopric of *Liege* [q]. *Diocleſian* ſerved
with great credit under *Probus*, who gave him the command of the troops quartered b
in *Mœſia* [r]. He attended *Carus* in his expedition againſt the *Perſians*, and diſtin-
guiſhed himſelf in that war. *Syncellus* tells us, that he was raiſed by that prince to
the conſulſhip [s]. He had, at the time of *Numerianus*'s death, the command of the
guards that attended the emperor's perſon, and were ſuperior in rank to the prætо-
rian guards, as we have obſerved above [t]. He was a great maſter of civil affairs,
prompt at foreſeeing events, dextrous at concerting ſchemes, naturally inclined to
violent meaſures, but at the ſame time maſter of his temper; an enemy to all uſeleſs
expences, and a great encourager of learning, though from his youth he had been
brought up in the camp, and had never applied himſelf to any ſtudy but that of the
military art, in the knowledge of which he was equal to the famous commanders of c
ancient times [u]. *Lactantius* charges him with cowardice, and ſays, that he avoided,
as much as he well could, expoſing his perſon to dangers [w]. He was, according to
Eutropius, naturally covetous, and bent upon amaſſing riches by any means what-
ever [x]. By his wife *Priſca* he had a daughter, named *Galeria Valeria*, who was mar-
ried to *Maximinus Galerius*; but proved barren [y]. Both the mother and daughter
favoured, and, according to *Lactantius*, once profeſſed, the chriſtian religion; for
that writer reckons them among the firſt, who, terrified with the menaces of *Diocle-*
ſian, defiled themſelves with impure ſacrifices [z]. *Diocleſian* being, by the unanimous
conſent of the army, proclaimed emperor, in the manner we have related above,
aſcended the tribunal; and after having harangued the ſoldiers, and ſolemnly declared d
upon his oath, that he had been no-ways acceſſory or privy to the death of *Numerianus*,
he cauſed *Aper* to be brought before him, reproached him in bitter terms with the
murder of his prince and ſon-in-law, and then deſcending from the tribunal, drew
He puts Aper *to death.* his ſword, and buried it in his breaſt, ſaying, *You ſhall have the honour*, O Aper, *to*
fall by an illuſtrious hand. The new emperor would not have begun his reign with
an action that ſavoured of cruelty, had it not been to fulfil the above-mentioned pro-
phecy of the *Druid*, the word *aper* ſignifying in the *Latin* tongue a boar; whence,
in ſeeing *Aper* fall, he cried out, *I have at length killed the fatal boar.* *Vopiſcus* tells
us, that, mindful of the prediction, he ſtrove always in hunting to kill the boars
with his own hand; and adds, that when he ſaw *Aurelian*, *Tacitus*, *Probus*, *Carus* and e
his two ſons, raiſed to the empire before him, he uſed pleaſantly to ſay before *Maxi-*
mian, and our hiſtorian's grandfather, (for to theſe two alone he imparted the pro-
phecy) *That he killed, but others enjoyed the boar* [a]. *Diocleſian* was proclaimed emperor
at *Chalcedon*, on the ſeventeenth of *September* of the year 284. which epoch is the
The æra of Diocleſian. more remarkable, as it is the beginning of a new æra, called, *The æra of* Diocleſian,
and ſometimes, *The æra of martyrs*, which for many ages obtained in the church, and is
ſtill in uſe among the *Cophts* in *Egypt*, the *Abiſſines*, and ſome other *African* nations.
The firſt year of this æra begins with the *Egyptian* year on the twenty-ninth of *Auguſt*
of 284 [b]. *Diocleſian* made his public entry into *Nicomedia* on the twenty-ſeventh of
September of this year, and ſpent the remaining months in making the neceſſary pre- f
parations to oppoſe *Carinus*, who, hearing of his brother's death and the aſſumption
of *Diocleſian*, had left *Gaul*, and was haſtening, at the head of a powerful army, into
Illyricum. The following year, *Carinus* took upon him his third conſulſhip, having
Ariſtobulus, his captain of the guards, for his collegue; and arriving in *Venetia*, over-
came there and ſlew one *Julianus*, governor of that province, who had cauſed himſelf
to

[o] Vict. epit. p. 542. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Car. vit. p. 252. [r] Zonar. tom. 2. p. 243.
[s] Syncel. p. 387. [t] Vide p. 108. [u] Prob. vit. p. 241. Macrin. vit. p. 96. Carin. vit. p. 251.
[w] Lactant. perſecut. c. 7. & 9. [x] Eutrop. p. 586. [y] Lact. ibid. p. 44. Biragg. p. 444.
[z] Lact. ibid. c. 15. p. 12, 13. [a] Car. vit. p. 252. [b] Eutych. p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 524.

a to be proclaimed emperor[c]. Elated with this victory, he advanced into *Illyricum*, where he fought ſeveral battles with *Diocleſian*, whom he intirely defeated in a general engagement near *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœſia*; but while he was purſuing the enemy, he was killed by ſome of his own men, ſtirred up againſt him by a tribune, whoſe wife he had debauched. Thus *Aurelius Victor*[d]. But *Eutropius* writes, that he was betrayed by his own army, and killed by *Diocleſian*[e]. Be that as it will, *Diocleſian*, ſeeing himſelf, by the death of his rival, become ſole maſter of the empire, marched to *Rome*; and having eſtabliſhed his authority there, ſet out ſoon after for *Germany*, where he gained ſeveral advantages over the *Alemanni*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul*. The ſame year, his generals fought b with ſucceſs againſt the inhabitants of *Britain*, who, it ſeems, had attempted to ſhake off the yoke. For theſe victories he aſſumed the ſurnames of *Germanicus* and *Britannicus*, as appears from an inſcription dated the ſecond year of his reign[f]. From *Germany* he returned through *Illyricum* into the eaſt; for he was at *Sirmium* on the firſt day of the following year[g], and at *Nicomedia* on the twenty-firſt of *January*[h]. The next conſuls were *Junius Maximus*, the ſecond time, and *Vettius Aquilinus*. This year, *Diocleſian* took *Maximian*, ſtyled on the ancient coins *M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus*, for his collegue and partner in the empire. *Maximian* was born of obſcure parents, in a village near *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; but entering early into the army, had ſignalized himſelf by many noble exploits, and was reckoned one of the c beſt commanders of his time. All the ancients paint him as a man of a moſt cruel and ſavage temper, and addicted to all manner of wickedneſs; but at the ſame time extol his courage, his experience in military affairs, and his inviolable attachment to *Diocleſian*, with whom he had lived many years in great friendſhip. The emperor therefore, who had no iſſue male, and repoſed an intire confidence in *Maximian*, choſe him for his partner in the empire, inveſted him with the tribunitial and conſular power, and honoured him with the title of *Auguſtus*. Some authors write, that *Diocleſian* not only took him for his collegue in the ſovereignty, but divided the empire with him, reſerving to himſelf the eaſtern provinces, and leaving to *Maximian Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, and the reſt of the weſtern countries[i]. *Maximian* had by d his wife, *Galeria Valeria Eutropia*, by birth a *Syrian*, *Maxentius*, who uſurped the empire at *Rome*, and *Fauſta*, the wife of *Conſtantine the Great*. *Maxentius* was by ſome thought to have been a ſuppoſitious child[k]. *Eutropia* had by a former huſband a daughter, ſtyled on the ancient coins *Flavia Maximiana Theodora*, whom *Maximian* married to *Conſtantius Chlorus*[l], of whom hereafter. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that *Diocleſian* was induced to take *Maximian* for his partner in the empire, chiefly by the diſturbances which happened this year in *Gaul*, where two commanders, *Aulus Pomponius Ælianus* and *Cn. Salvius Amandus*, having aſſembled a great number of vagabonds, robbers, and peaſants, cauſed themſelves to be proclaimed emperors. *Maximian*, leaving *Diocleſian* in *Nicomedia*, haſtened into *Gaul*, and there, with the troops e quartered in that province, defeated the rebels, and reſtored the province to its former tranquillity[m]. The revolted peaſants were called *Bacaudæ*, or *Bagaudæ*, the etymology of which appellation has puzzled the beſt antiquaries. *S. Maure de Foſſes*, about three ſhort miles from *Paris*, was formerly called the *caſtle of the* Bagaudæ, being built, according to a tradition which obtained in the ſeventh century, by *Julius Cæſar*, in the peninſula formed by the *Marne*, and fortified with a rampart and ditches, which defended the entry left open by the river. The *Bagaudæ* are ſaid to have held out there a long time againſt *Maximian*, who at length made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, levelled it with the ground, and filled up the ditches; which, however, gave to the place its preſent name[n]. While *Maximian* was employed againſt the f rebels in *Gaul*, *Diocleſian* was making great preparations in the eaſt, in order to recover *Meſopotamia* from the *Perſians*, who, after the death of *Carinus*, had ſeized that province. But *Varranes* II. at that time king of *Perſia*, choſe rather to reſtore what he had taken from the *Romans*, than to engage in a war, which, he apprehended, would prove long and dangerous[o]. Mention is made of ſome advantages gained this year by *Diocleſian* over the *Saracens*[p]. He was the laſt day of this year at *Tiberias* in

The death of Carinus.

Diocleſian *takes* Maximian *for his partner in the empire.*

A rebellion in Gaul *ſuppreſſed by* Maximian.

[c] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Eutrop. p. 585. [f] Noris de Dioclef. num. c. 4. p. 19, 20. [g] Cod. Juſtin. l. vi. tit. 21. leg. 6. p. 331. [h] Idem, tit. 9. leg. 3. p. 530. [i] Noris de Dioclef. num. Lactan. perſec. c. 8. p. 8. Pagi, p. 157. [k] Vict. epit. p. 542. Julian. orat. i. p. 9. [l] Eutrop. p. 585. [m] Aur. Vict. p. 524. [n] Vide Du Cange gloſſar. med. & infim. Latinitat. p. 661, 662. [o] Panegyr. orat. x. p. 125—132. [p] Panegyr. p. 132.

in *Paleſtine*, as appears from the date of ſome laws in the code [q]. The following year, 287. *Dioclesian* entered upon his third conſulſhip, and *Maximian* upon his firſt. The former from *Paleſtine* paſſed into *Pannonia*, as appears from the date of ſeveral laws enacted this year [r]; but what called him into that province, or what he performed there, we are no-where told. As for *Maximian*, he was attacked in *Gaul* by the *Alemanni*, the *Burgundians*, the *Heruli*, whom *Bucherius* places on the coaſts of the *Baltic* ſea, and by ſeveral other barbarous nations, who were all overcome by *Maximian*, and deſtroyed either by the ſword, or by famine. *Mamertinus*, in his panegyric upon this prince, tells us, perhaps not without ſome exaggeration, that, of ſuch an immenſe multitude, not one was left alive to carry back the news of their overthrow [s]. The ſame year, *Carauſius*, a native of *Gaul*, having by *Maximian*'s orders built a fleet at *Boulogne*, gained great advantages over the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who began to infeſt the ſeas with piracies, and, in ſeveral engagements by land, made a dreadful havock of the *German* nations that had broke into *Celtic Gaul*. However, as he kept and applied to his own uſe the booty which he had taken from the barbarians, inſtead of returning it to the proprietors, *Maximian* reſolved to put him to death; but *Carauſius*, having timely notice of his deſign, paſſed over into *Britain* with the fleet under his command, and there taking upon him the title of emperor, was acknowledged by all the troops quartered in that iſland [t]. He afterwards cauſed a great number of veſſels to be built, levied new forces, called the barbarians from the continent to his aſſiſtance, and, by inſtructing them how to work their ſhips and fight by ſea, maintained himſelf a long time in poſſeſſion of the iſland, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of *Maximian*.

He utterly defeats ſeveral German *nations.*

Carauſius *revolts, and ſeizes* Britain.

The following year, *Maximian* was conſul, the ſecond time, with *Januarius*. *Mamertinus*, his panegyriſt, tells us, that on the firſt day of his conſulſhip, news being brought to *Treves*, where he then was, that the barbarians had made an irruption into *Gaul*, and were but at a ſmall diſtance from that city, he immediately quitted his conſular robes, put on his armour, and, mounting his horſe, marched againſt the enemy, cut moſt of them in pieces, and the ſame day re-entered *Treves* in triumph [u]. Soon after, he croſſed the *Rhine*; and entering *Germany*, laid waſte the enemy's country, took a great number of captives, and returned to *Gaul* loaded with booty [w]. The fame of his name ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Franks*, that two of their kings, *Atec* and *Genobaud*, ſubmitted to him, deſiring him to confirm then in their reſpective kingdoms [x]. From an ancient inſcription it appears, that both *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* took the ſurnames of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, and *Germanicus* [y]. *Mamertinus* ſpeaks of ſome victories gained by *Maximian*'s generals over a *fickle and deceitful nation*, meaning, no doubt, the *Franks*; for ſuch was, at leaſt in thoſe times, the character of that people [z]. *Dioclesian* likewiſe entered *Germany* this year on the ſide of *Rhætia*, and is ſaid to have extended the bounds of the empire to the ſprings of the *Danube* [a]. The next year, *Baſſus* being conſul, the ſecond time, with *Quintianus*, *Claudius Mamertinus* pronounced his famous panegyric on the emperor *Maximian* in the city of *Treves*, as is commonly believed, the emperor himſelf being preſent. As he was then aſſembling on the coaſt of *Gaul* the ſhips, which he had cauſed to be built in ſeveral parts, with a deſign to attack *Carauſius* in *Britain*, his panegyriſt promiſes him certain victory over that rebel [b]. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for *Carauſius*'s men, who had been trained to ſea-ſervice, eaſily put to flight thoſe who were ſent againſt them, diſperſed the emperor's fleet, and drove them on the coaſt of *Gaul*, where moſt of them were daſhed to pieces. *Maximian*, to cover the diſgrace of this defeat, gave out, that the ſea had not proved favourable to him, and that he only put off the war to a more convenient ſeaſon. But, in the mean time, he began a treaty with *Carauſius*, wherein it was concluded, that he ſhould enjoy the government of *Britain*, as the more proper perſon, on account of his ſkill in ſea-affairs, to defend the iſland againſt the invaſions of the barbarians [c]. This agreement is marked on all *Carauſius*'s coins, which repreſent two emperors ſhaking hands, with this legend, *Concordia Augg.* [d]. Thus was *Britain*, by treaty, given up to *Carauſius*, who governed it, with the title of emperor, for the ſpace of ſix

Maximian *defeats the barbarians a ſecond time*

Gains great advantages over the Franks.

Britain *given up to* Carauſius.

[q] Cod. Juſt. l. iv. tit. 40. leg. 3. p. 311. [r] Cod. Juſt. l. v. tit. 42. leg. 3. p. 487. [s] Panegyr. 10. p. 125. [t] Eutrop. p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 524. Panegyr. 8. p. 108. [u] Panegyr. p. 125. [w] Idem ibid. p. 126. [x] Vales. rer. Francic. l. i. p. 11, 12. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Paneg. 10. p. 127. [a] Idem, p. 126. [b] Idem, p. 128. [c] Eutrop. p. 586. Aur. Vict. p. 525. [d] Noris de Dioclef. num. c. 4. p. 22, 23.

a six or seven years, reckoning from this treaty, or, what to us seems most probable, from the time he first seized it. Our authors tell us, that he repaired and fortified the wall of *Severus*, and gained some advantages over the barbarians [e]. The same year, *Diocletian* gained a complete victory over the *Sarmatians*, the *Vithungæ*, or rather *Juguntbæ*, and the *Quadi* [f]. *Eumenes* writes, that the whole nation of the *Sarmatians* was cut off; and the province of *Dacia*, which they had seized, re-united to the empire [g]. For these victories, *Diocletian* assumed the surname of *Sarmaticus*, as appears from several ancient coins and inscriptions [h]. The next consuls were *Diocletian*, the fourth time, and *Maximian*, the third. The former gained this year some considerable advantages over the *Saracens* [i]; and then, leaving the eastern provinces, b returned to *Illyricum*, and from *Illyricum* entered *Italy* by the *Alpes Juliæ* in the depth of winter. *Maximian* at the same time left *Gaul*; and, passing the *Alpes Cottiæ*, met *Diocletian* at *Milan*, where the two emperors held several private conferences, the subject whereof is not mentioned by historians, and then returned to their respective armies; for they came attended only by a small guard, but were received in all the cities through which they passed, with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. The following year, *Tiberianus* and *Dion*, the son, or rather grandson, as is conjectured, of the celebrated historian, being consuls, a bloody war broke out among the barbarians, both in the north and in *Africa*. The *Goths*, having overcome the *Burgundians* dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, were intent upon utterly c extirpating that rival nation; but the *Burgundians* were powerfully supported by the *Alani* and the *Tervingæ*. Another *Gothic* nation, entering into a confederacy with the *Taifalæ*, made war upon the *Vandals* and the *Gepidæ*. In *Africa* the *Blemyes* were at war with the *Ethiopians*, and the *Moors* were engaged in a civil war. Neither was *Persia* exempt from civil disturbances, raised by *Hormisda*, who, revolting from his brother *Narranes* II, endeavoured to drive him from the throne, and seize it for himself, being supported in his unjust pretensions by several *Persian* lords, and some foreign nations [k]. The barbarians being thus diverted from making inroads into the empire, all the provinces subjects to *Rome* enjoyed this year a profound tranquillity, which, however, was but short-lived; for the following year, 292. when *An-* d *nibalianus* and *Asclepiodotus* were consuls, the empire was in great danger of being torn in pieces by foreign, as well as domestic, enemies. Not to mention *Carausius*, who still held *Britain*, the *Persians*, delivered from their intestine broils, broke into *Mesopotamia*, and threatened *Syria*. The *Quinquegentiani*, perhaps so called because they were *quinque gentes*, that is, *five nations*, joined in confederacy against the *Romans*, over-ran *Africa*; *M. Aurelius Julianus* revolted in *Italy*, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; the same title was assumed at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* by *Achilleus*, styled on his coins *L. Epidius Achilleus* [l]. The two emperors, alarmed at the danger which threatened the empire, and not thinking themselves alone able to oppose so many enemies at once, resolved to strengthen their interest with the assistance of others, and to name each of them a *Cæsar*, who should succeed them in the empire, e and jointly with them defend the *Roman* dominions, both against foreign invaders, and domestic usurpers. Pursuant to this resolution and agreement, *Diocletian* chose *Maximinus Galerus*, and *Maximian Constantius*, surnamed *Chlorus*, who were each of them invested with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and honoured with the titles of *emperor*, *father of their country*, *high pontiff*, &c. which had hitherto been peculiar to the sovereign [m]. The two emperors, the better to cement the union between them and their *Cæsars*, obliged them to put away their wives, and marry others; upon which *Constantius* married *Theodora*, daughter-in-law to *Maximian*, and *Galerius Valeria* the daughter of *Diocletian* [n]. Some authors write, that both the *Cæsars* were named by *Diocletian*, and by him invested in that dignity with great f solemnity the first day of *March* of this year 292. on a rising ground, about three miles from *Nicomedia*, where a pillar was afterwards erected, with a statue consecrated to *Jupiter* [o]. But most writers suppose *Galerius* to have been chosen by *Diocletian*, and *Constantius* by *Maximian*; and all agree, that *Galerius* was adopted by the former, and *Constantius* by the latter. After the nomination of the two *Cæsars*, the

Diocletian *defeats the* Sarmatians.

The two emperors meet at Milan.

The empire threatened on all sides.

The two emperors chuse two Cæsars.

[e] Usser. rer. Brit. p. 586. Alford. annal. Brit. p. 285. [f] Paneg. 11. p. 132, 133. [g] Paneg. 8. p. 105, 107. [h] Noris ibid. c. 4. p. 23. Birag. p. 426. [i] Paneg. 11. p. 132. [k] Paneg. 11. p. 131—137. [l] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. Eutrop. p. 585. Birag. p. 430. Goltz. p. 122. [m] Eutrop p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 524. Grut. p. 166. Euseb. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. [n] Vict. p. 524. Eutrop. p. 586. [o] Lact. pers. c. 19. p. 18. Chron. Alex. p. 640.

The empire divided into four parts.

the empire was divided into four parts: *Diocleſian* choſe for himſelf the countries a beyond the *Ægean* ſea; *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were allotted to *Galerius*; *Italy* and *Africa*, with the adjacent iſlands, to *Maximian*; and *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*, with *Mauritania Tingitana*, to *Conſtantius*. Each of theſe princes governed the provinces that fell to their ſhare, with an abſolute ſway; but the other three paid great defe-rence to *Diocleſian*, acknowledging themſelves indebted to him for the power they enjoyed, and looking upon him as their common father. An intire union and concord reigned among them, each of them carefully avoiding to aſſume any ſupe-riority over the reſt, or to give the leaſt motive of jealouſy or umbrage to his col-legues [o]. From this time forward, the empire continued almoſt conſtantly divided; but at the ſame time each emperor was looked upon as maſter of the whole. Hence b to the laws, which any of them enacted, were always prefixed the names of his collegues; and likewiſe to all the requeſts and petitions that were preſented to them.

The evils attending this diviſion.

This multiplicity of princes was attended with great inconveniencies, and is there-fore much exclaimed againſt by *Lactantius*, who aſcribes it to the cowardice of *Dio-cleſian*, unwilling to expoſe his own perſon to danger [p]. As each of the four ſove-reigns would have as many officers, both civil and military, and the ſame number of forces as had been maintained by the ſtate when governed only by one emperor, there were more ſoldiers to pay, than people to ſupply the neceſſary ſums. Hence the taxes and impoſts were increaſed beyond meaſure, the inhabitants in the ſeveral provinces reduced to beggary, the lands left untilled for want of hands, *&c.* In c proportion as the people grew leſs able to pay the heavy taxes laid upon them, the number of the officers was increaſed to exact them by force. Thus was the empire greatly weakened, and almoſt quite ruined [q]. *Italy* itſelf, which had hitherto only ſupplied with proviſions the court, and the troops attending it, was obliged to pay the ſame tribute as the provinces; which reduced it in proceſs of time to a de-plorable condition [r].

Birth, education, preferments, &c. of Galerius Cæſar.

Galerius, whom *Diocleſian* named to the dignity of *Cæſar*, is ſtyled on moſt of his coins, *Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus*. He was born in a village near *Sar-dica*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*; his mother, by name *Romula*, having retired thither from *Old Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, while that country was over- d run by the *Carpi*. *Galerius*, in honour of his mother, gave afterwards the name of *Romulianum* to the place of his nativity [s]. As *Romula* was a profeſſed enemy to the chriſtians, ſhe inſpired her ſon with the ſame hatred to them; which chiefly gave riſe to the bloody proſecution which broke out in the latter end of *Diocleſian*'s reign. *Galerius* was deſcended of an obſcure family; for both he and his ſiſter's ſon *Maxi-minus*, whom he afterwards created *Cæſar*, are ſaid to have been in their youth cow-herds; whence *Galerius* was nick-named *Armentarius*, from the *Latin* word *armentum*, ſignifying a drove of cattle. He was a perſon altogether illiterate; but nevertheleſs raiſed himſelf from the mean condition of a common ſoldier to the chief poſts in the army, having given ſignal proofs of his valour and conduct under the emperors e *Aurelian* and *Probus* [t]. *Lactantius* reckons him amongſt the worſt emperors, and ſpeaks of him as one abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs, naturally inclined to cruelty, and a declared enemy to learning and men of letters [u]. The ſame writer adds, that in his words, in his actions, and even in his countenance, there was ſome-thing ſhocking and offenſive, apt to inſpire thoſe who approached him, rather with terror and averſion, than with eſteem or affection. *Aurelius Victor*, who ſeems to have been no-ways prejudiced againſt him, owns, that he was naturally of a fierce and ſavage temper, and that his ruſtic, haughty, and diſobliging behaviour drowned all his good qualities; for, according to that writer, he had excellent natural parts, and would have made a good figure on the throne, had the gifs of nature been f improved by a polite and liberal education [w]. He had no children by *Valeria*, the daughter of *Diocleſian*; but a ſon, named *Candidianus*, by a concubine, and a daugh-ter by his former wife, who was married to *Maxentius*, the ſon of *Maximian* [x]. Of *Conſtantius*, the other *Cæſar*, we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. *Galerius* was no ſooner created *Cæſar*, than he marched, with all the troops he could aſſemble, againſt the barbarians in the neighbourhood of the *Danube* and *Illyricum*; but per-formed

[o] Euseb. Vict. ibid. [p] Lact. perſ. c. 7. p. 6. [q] Idem, p. 6, 8. [r] Aur. Vict. p. 524. [s] Idem ibid. Eutrop. p. 581. [t] Vict. epit. p. 543. [u] Lact. perſ. c. 9. p. 8. [w] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [x] Lact. perſ. p. 401. 44. 19. 16.

a formed nothing, either in this or the three following years, againſt the enemies of *Rome*, which hiſtorians have judged worth tranſmitting to poſterity. He cauſed ſeveral large foreſts to be grubbed up in *Lower Pannonia*, and a lake to be diſcharged into the *Danube*; by which means he gained a new province, which, from his wife's name, he ſtyled *Valeria*, lying between the *Danube* and the *Draw*, and known in future ages by the name of *Pannonia Secunda*. The chief cities of this new province were, *Murſa*, *Aquincum*, and *Valeria* [y]. *Maximian* paſſed this year over into *Africa*, where he gained a complete victory over the *Quinquegentiani*, and reduced *Julianus* (who had taken upon him the title of emperor in *Italy*, as we have hinted above, and afterwards croſſed over in *Africa*) to ſuch ſtreights, that he ſtabbed

Pannonia Secunda, *a new province.*

b himſelf with his own ſword [z]. *Conſtantius* was no ſooner inveſted with his new dignity, than he haſtened into *Gaul*; and arriving at *Geſſoriacum*, now *Boulogne*, which was held by the troops of *Carauſius*, inveſted the place, and blocked up the haven with huge beams driven into the ground at the entrance, and heaps of great ſtones like a rampart. The gariſon being by this means prevented from returning into *Britain*, and deprived of all hopes of relief, ſubmitted to *Conſtantius*, and were incorporated among his troops. The mole, which had continued firm for ſeveral days, was quite disjointed by the firſt tide after the ſurrender of the city, and broken to pieces. *Conſtantius*, notwithſtanding the reduction of that important place, did not yet attempt the recovery of *Britain*, not thinking himſelf furniſhed with a ſuf-

Conſtantius *takes* Geſſoriacum.

c ficient number of ſhips for ſo great an undertaking. Where *Dioclesian* was this year, or what he performed, we are no-where told. The following year, *Dioclesian* being conſul the fifth time, and *Maximian* the fourth, *Carauſius* was treacherouſly murdered by *Allectus*, his boſom friend and prime miniſter, who thereupon uſurped the government, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor [b]. *Conſtantius*, while his fleet was preparing in the ports on the ocean for the *Britiſh* expedition, cleared *Batavia* of the *Franks*, who had ſeized on that country, and tranſplanted them, with their wives and children, into other parts of the empire, deſtitute of inhabitants, obliging them to till the ground, to pay tribute, and to ſupply, when required, a certain number of troops [c]. The emperor *Julian* tells us, that *Maximian* and

Carauſius *murdered by* Allectus, *who aſſumes the government of* Britain.

Conſtantius *drives the* Franks *out of* Batavia.

d *Conſtantius*, not only drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, but built many forts on the frontiers, to prevent their making new irruptions; by which means the inhabitants long enjoyed a profound tranquillity [d]. It was probably on account of his victories over the *Franks*, that *Conſtantius* aſſumed the title of *Germanicus*, which is given him in an inſcription of the following year, 194. quoted by *Lactantius* [e]. *Eumenius*, the panegyriſt, tells us, that *Conſtantius* performed many remarkable exploits before he attempted the reduction of *Britain*; that he utterly exterminated ſeveral barbarous nations, extended the limits of the empire, reſtored many provinces, pillaged and laid waſte *Germany* from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*, and took the king of a very fierce and warlike nation priſoner [f]. He reſtored to its ancient

e ſplendor the city of *Auguſtodunum*, now *Autun*, which had been almoſt utterly ruined in the year 269. by *Tetricus*, for having revolted from him, and invited the emperor *Claudius* into *Gaul*. The temples, baths, and other public edifices, nay, and moſt of the houſes belonging to private perſons, were, at an immenſe charge, rebuilt by *Conſtantius*, who moreover embelliſhed the city, in regard of its attachment to *Claudius*, his great uncle, with magnificent aqueducts, ſupplied it with plenty of water, tranſplanted thither the moſt conſpicuous families in the other provinces, prevailed upon the famous orator *Eumenius*, who was himſelf a native of the place, to take upon him the charge of educating and inſtructing their youth, and, in ſhort, did all that lay in his power to raiſe *Autun* above all the other cities of *Gaul* [g].

He reſtores the city of Autun.

f THE following year, when *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* were conſuls, two ſtrong caſtles were built by the latter on the *Danube*, in the country of the *Sarmatians*; the one over-againſt *Acincum*, or *Aquincum*, now *Strigonium*, or *Gran*, in *Lower Hungary*; the other oppoſite to *Bononia*, which ſtood between the *Draw* and *Save*, and is at preſent known by the name of *Bonmoſter*. From the date of ſeveral laws, publiſhed this and the preceding year, it appears, that *Dioclesian* ſpent them both in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; which provinces belonged to *Galerius*, whom perhaps he was come to aſſiſt againſt

[y] AUR. VICT. p. 525, 526. BAUDRAN. p. 303. [z] AUR. VICT. ibid. [a] Panegyr. 7, 8. p. 93, 105. [b] AUR. VICT. p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586, Panegyr. 8. p. 108. [c] Panegyr. 1, 3, 7, 8. p. 3, 47, 93, 104, 106, 107. [d] JULIAN. p. 12. [e] LACT. perſ. p. 366. [f] Paneg. 8. p. 103, 107. [g] Paneg. 6, 8, 9. p. 85, 112, 114.

againſt the barbarians on the other ſide of the *Danube:* in the ſame manner we ſhall ſee *Maximian* enter *Gaul* to defend that province againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, while *Conſtantius* was employed in *Britain.* The next conſuls were *Tyſcus* and *Annulinus.* This year, the *Carpi*, after having long maintained themſelves in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the *Roman* emperors, were at length intirely reduced by *Galerius*, and by *Dioclesian* tranſplanted into the territories of the empire, chiefly into *Pannonia*[h]. From an inſcription of this year, we learn, that the emperors cauſed the walls of *Vitodurum*, now *Winterthur*, in the canton of *Zurich*, between *Zurich* and *Conſtance*, to be rebuilt. *Aurelius Proculus*, who commanded in the country of the *Sequani*, had the ſuperintendency of the work. In that inſcription, *Dioclesian* is ſtyled *imperator* the tenth time, and *Maximian* the eighth[i]. The following year, 296. *Dioclesian* being conſul the ſixth time, and *Conſtantius* the ſecond, the latter, after three years preparations, undertook at length the reduction of *Britain.* *Eumenius* the panegyriſt pretends, that the *Romans* were every-where victorious; that they had recovered whatever they had formerly poſſeſſed (he ought at leaſt to have excepted ancient *Dacia*); and that, having overcome the reſt of their enemies, they deemed it a great diſgrace, that ſuch a wealthy province as *Britain*, which ſupplied them with many valuable commodities, ſhould ſtill be held by an aſſaſſin and uſurper[k]. *Conſtantius* therefore, without further delay, reſolved to paſs over into *Britain*; and *Maximian*, to whom he imparted his reſolution, haſtened into *Gaul*, to prevent the barbarians beyond the *Rhine* from breaking into the empire, while he was employed againſt the rebels in *Britain.* *Conſtantius* had equipped ſeveral fleets, and in different ports, that the enemy, not knowing where to expect him, might be obliged to divide their powerful navy. One of his fleets, commanded by *Aſclepiodotus*, his captain of the guards, to whom hiſtorians aſcribe the whole glory of the victory, ſet ſail from *Boulogne*; and eſcaping, by the help of a fog, the *Britiſh* navy, which lay off the iſle of *Wight*, and was ready to engage them, landed their men without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. *Aſclepiodotus* had no ſooner put his army aſhore, than he ſet fire to his fleet, that there might be no hopes of ſafety, but in victory. *Conſtantius*, who had ſailed with another ſquadron from the mouth of the *Seine*, landed at another place, not mentioned by hiſtorians, and was received by the inhabitants with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. *Allectus* was encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the place where *Conſtantius* landed; but either not daring to engage him in perſon, or hoping to overcome *Aſclepiodotus* before the two armies joined, he quitted his poſt, and marched with great ſpeed againſt the latter. *Conſtantius* followed him, but did not arrive, notwithſtanding all the expedition he could uſe, till after the battle, in which *Allectus*, who had engaged, hurried on by fear and deſpair, before the arrival of the *Roman* troops who obeyed him, was killed; and his army, conſiſting only of foreign auxiliaries, either diſperſed or cut in pieces. Before the battle, he quitted the imperial robes, that they might not diſcover him; ſo that the conquerors, with much ado, diſcovered his body among the heaps of the barbarians who lay ſlain in the field[l]. Part of *Conſtantius*'s fleet, ſeparating from the reſt during the fog, entered the *Thames*; and ſailing up that river, arrived at *London.* This accident, which might have been attended with bad conſequences, occaſioned a new victory. For ſuch of the auxiliaries of *Allectus* as had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, fled to *London*, with a deſign to plunder that wealthy city, and return to their reſpective countries with the booty. But *Conſtantius*'s men landing luckily in the port of *London* at the ſame time, fell upon the barbarians, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them in all parts of the city; which was by that means, to the great joy of the inhabitants, happily preſerved. *Conſtantius* granted a general pardon to the partizans of *Carauſius* and *Allectus*, and cauſed his own men to reſtore whatever they had taken from the natives upon their firſt landing, ſaying, that he was not come to oppreſs, but to deliver the people from oppreſſion[m]. Thus was *Britain* re-united to the empire, after it had been held ſeven years by *Carauſius*, and three by *Allectus.* Of this victory, *Eumenius* the panegyriſt ſpeaks thus: "O important victory! worthy of many triumphs! By this *Britain* is reſtored; by this the "*Franks* are utterly defeated; and other nations in that rebellious confederacy reduced "to

The Carpi *intirely ſubdued.*

Conſtantius *invades* Britain.

His army lands in the iſland.

Allectus *overcome and ſlain.*

London *ſaved by* Conſtantius's *men from being plundered.*

Britain *re-united to the empire.*

[h] Paneg. 8. p. 105, 107. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 16. p. 634. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 357. [i] Gruter. p. 166. Vales. not. Gall. p. 615. Ferrar. de ant. Italic. p. 332. [k] Paneg. 8. p. 107. [l] Idem paneg. 7. p. 99. & 8. p. 109—111. Aur. Vic. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. Euseb. chron. [m] Paneg. 8. p. 110, 111. Eutrop. p. 586.

a "to obedience. To conclude, the ſea itſelf is ſcoured, to eſtabliſh a laſting tranquillity "in thoſe provinces. You, great *Cæſar*, for your part, may with juſtice triumph in "this conqueſt of a new world; and, by reſtoring the naval glory of *Rome*, may "boaſt, that you have added to the empire a larger element than all its former do- "minions.---*Britain* is now ſo perfectly reduced, that all the neighbouring nations "are under abſolute ſubjection [n]." Thus *Eumenius*, a greater friend to *Conſtantius*, as will appear in the ſequel of the hiſtory, than to truth; for the brave *Caledonians* were not by him brought under the yoke, but ſtill maintained their ancient liberties. The ſame writer obſerves, that from *Britain Conſtantius* ſent ſeveral workmen to be employed in rebuilding and embelliſhing the city of *Autun* [o]. *Conſtantius*, having

b thus ſettled affairs in *Britain*, returned to *Gaul*; and tranſplanting great numbers of *Franks* into that province, peopled with them the countries of *Amiens*, *Beauvois*, *Troies*, and *Langres*, almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants, obliging the new comers to cultivate the lands, to pay the uſual tributes, and ſupply the *Roman* armies with a certain number of troops [p]. The ſame year, *Diocleſian* recovered *Egypt* from *Achilleus*, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and held that province, according to his coins, for the ſpace of near ſix years [q]. *Diocleſian* marched againſt him this year in perſon, overcame him without much trouble, and puniſhed him according to his deſerts. Thus *Aurelius Victor* [r]. But *Eutropius* writes, that he ſuſtained an eight months ſiege in *Alexandria* [s]; and *Euſebius*, that great numbers were killed

c on both ſides, during the ſiege [t]. *Diocleſian* not only puniſhed with death the ring-leaders of the revolt, but filled *Egypt* with murders and proſcriptions [u]; and even gave up, according to *Oroſius* [w], the city of *Alexandria* to be plundered by his greedy and enraged ſoldiery. If what theſe authors write be true, we leave our readers to judge of the ſincerity of *Eumenius*, who tells us, that *Diocleſian*, by his extraordinary clemency, reſtored tranquillity to *Egypt* [x]. Some writers obſerve, that he made a ſtrict ſearch after all the books of chymiſtry, written formerly by the *Egyptians*, and cauſed them all to be publicly burnt, leſt the *Egyptians*, inriched by that art, ſhould be tempted to ſhake off the yoke anew [y], *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Conſtantius*, attended *Diocleſian* in this war; for *Euſebius* tells us, that he ſaw him as he paſſed with the

d emperor through *Paleſtine* [z]. The city of *Coptos* and *Buſiris* in *Thebais*, having ſided in this war with *Achilleus*, were by *Diocleſian* utterly ruined [a]. *Zonaras* ſuppoſes theſe cities to have been deſtroyed by *Diocleſian*, ſome time before the revolt of *Achilleus*, for having attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke [b]. *Eumenius* tells us, that the victories gained by *Diocleſian* in *Egypt*, ſtruck terror into the *Indians* and *Ethiopians* [c]. However, the emperor was ſo far from taking any advantage of that conſternation, and extending the limits of the empire on that ſide, that, on the contrary, he entered into a treaty with the *Nubians*, who uſed to make frequent inroads into the adjoining territority of *Oaſis*, yielding to them a large country, as much, ſays *Procopius*, as a traveller could go through in ſeven days, on condition, that they prevented the

e *Blemyes*, and other barbarians, from breaking into *Egypt* on the ſide of *Ethiopia*. The ſame writer adds, that *Diocleſian* cauſed a caſtle to be built in an iſland formed by the *Nile* in the neighbourhood of *Elephantis*, and a temple, in which ſacrifices were offered, both by the *Roman* and *Nubian* prieſts, for the proſperity of both nations. By this means, the emperor hoped to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between the *Romans* and thoſe barbarians; and therefore called the caſtle *Philas*, that is, *friendſhip*. But neither the country he yielded to them, nor the penſion which he engaged to pay yearly both to them and the *Blemyes*, and which was ſtill paid in the time of *Juſtinian*, was ſufficient to reſtrain them from making inroads into the empire, when not awed by the *Roman* troops [d].

f THE next conſuls were *Maximianus*, the fifth time, and *Galerius*, the ſecond. The former, quitting *Gaul* upon the return of *Conſtantius* from *Britain*, croſſed over into *Africa*, cut in pieces the armies of the rebellious *Moors*, beſieged their caſtles and ſtrong holds, drove them from their mountains and rocks, which they had hitherto deemed impregnable; and having obliged them to deliver up their arms, and ſurrender

Part of Gaul *peopled by the* Franks.

Achilleus *overcome, and* Egypt *reduced by* Diocleſian.

Diocleſian *yields part of* Egypt *to the* Nubians.

The Moors *ſubdued by* Maximian.

[a] Paneg. 8. p. 111, 112. [o] Idem id. [p] VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 15. BUCH. Belg. p. 227. Panegyr. 7. p. 93. [q] GOLTZ. p. 121. BIRAG. p. 430. [r] AUR. VICT. p. 525. [s] EUTROP. p. 586. [t] EUSEB. chron. [u] EUTROP. p. 586. JOHANN. Antioch. p. 834. [w] OROS. l. vii. c. 25. p. 215. [x] Panegyr. 9. p. 121. [y] SUID. p. 741. JOHAN. ANTIOCH. ibid. [z] EUSEB. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 19. p. 417. [a] THEOPH. chronograph. p. 4, 6. [b] ZONAR. p. 243. [c] Panegyr. 8. p. 105. [d] PROCOP. bell. Perſ. c. 19. p. 59. OLYMPIODOR. p. 13.

render at diſcretion, tranſplanted them into other countries [e]. The ſame year, *Narſes*, king of *Perſia*, emulating the glory of *Sapor*, who had defeated the *Roman* armies and taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, entered *Armenia* at the head of a mighty army; and, having, without much trouble, reduced that kingdom, advanced into *Meſopotamia*. *Dioclesian*, mindful of the misfortune that had befallen the unhappy *Valerian*, inſtead of marching againſt him in perſon, withdrew into *Egypt*, committing the whole management of that dangerous war to *Galerius*, whom he injoined to leave *Illyricum* forthwith, and haſten into *Meſopotamia*, to oppoſe there the attempts of the *Perſian* monarch. *Galerius* obeyed, flew to *Meſopotamia*, and meeting the *Perſians* between *Callinicum* and *Carrhæ*, engaged their numerous army with the few troops he had then with him. The battle laſted ſome hours; but in the end the *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were forced to give ground, and ſave themſelves by flight. *Galerius* haſtened to *Dioclesian*, to give him, by word of mouth, an account of the diſaſter, and adviſe with him about the moſt proper meaſures to prevent the evil conſequences that might attend it. The emperor, who, at his arrival, was taking the air in the fields, received him with the greateſt contempt imaginable, and ſuffered him, attired as he was with the purple, to walk one, or, as others write, ſeveral miles by his chariot [f]. This affront, inſtead of diſheartening him, inſpired him with an eager deſire of wiping off the diſgrace of his late overthrow. Having therefore, with much ado, obtained leave of *Dioclesian* to raiſe a new army, he aſſembled all the troops in *Illyricum* and *Mœſia*, made new levies, and in a ſhort time returned with a conſiderable army, and entered *Armenia*. All authors agree, that *Galerius* in this war performed whatever could be expected from a brave ſoldier and experienced commander: he even went in perſon, attended only by two horſe-men, to reconnoitre the enemy, paſſing himſelf upon thoſe who ſtopped him for a deputy ſent by the *Roman* emperor to the *Perſian* monarch. Having thus viewed the enemy's camp and works, he attacked them ſo ſeaſonably, and conducted the whole action with ſuch prudence and addreſs, that only with twenty-five thouſand men he forced their entrenchments, tho' defended by an innumerable multitude, cut above twenty thouſand of them in pieces, took an immenſe booty and an incredible number of priſoners, among whom were the king's wives, ſiſters, and children, both ſons and daughters, and a great many perſons of the firſt rank [g]. *Galerius* treated the princeſſes with great reſpect, and would not ſuffer the leaſt affront to be offered to them; which ſeemed ſo ſurpriſing to the *Perſians*, that they owned themſelves as much inferior to the *Romans* in chaſtity as in valour [h]. *Eutropius* tells us, that *Licinius*, afterwards emperor, ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion [i]. *Narſes*, who was preſent at this battle, and, according to *Zonaras*, wounded in the beginning of the engagement, fled with the reſt, and took ſhelter in the moſt remote deſerts of his kingdom; whence he ſent *Apharban*, one of his chief favourites, to conclude a peace with the *Romans* upon any terms. *Apharban*, in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive manner, intreated the conqueror not to deſtroy the *Perſian* empire, but to uſe his victory with moderation; which, he ſaid, would gain him greater reputation and fame, than the victory itſelf. As for the conditions of the peace, he left them intirely to him; and only begged in his maſter's name, that, mindful of the generoſity which in all ages had been peculiar to the *Romans*, he would add to the obligations which he already owed him for treating his wives and children with ſuch humanity, that of reſtoring them to their former condition. *Galerius* anſwered him, that it ill became the *Perſians* to expect moderation in others, after they had in ſuch an enormous manner, as was known to the whole world, abuſed their victory in treating their illuſtrious captive *Valerian* like the meaneſt of ſlaves, nay, worſe than their beaſts of burden. However, as it is beneath a *Roman*, added he, to retaliate ſuch indignities, and we are taught to ſpare thoſe who ſubmit, and humble ſuch as oppoſe us, let your maſter know, that he may perhaps ſoon have the pleaſure of ſeeing the perſons who are ſo dear to him [k]. *Galerius*, having diſmiſſed the *Perſian* embaſſador, haſtened to *Dioclesian*, who received him at *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia* with all poſſible marks of honour and eſteem. They held ſeveral conferences, the ſubject of which was, whether or no they ſhould conclude a peace with the *Perſians*, and upon

Galerius *defeated by* Narſes, *king of* Perſia.

Narſes *utterly defeated in a ſecond battle by* Galerius.

The Perſians *ſue for peace.*

[e] Panegyr. 8. p. 105—108. [f] Aur. Vict. p. 525. Juli. orat. 1. p. 31. Ammian. l. xiv. p. 27. [g] Eutrop. p. 586. Feſtus, p. 553. Lact. perſec. c. 9. p. 8. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 245. Zonar. p. 244. [h] Petr. Patric. in excerpt. de legat. p. 26. & 30. [i] Eutrop. ibid. [k] Eutrop. ibid. Petr. Patric. legat. p. 26.

a upon what terms. We are told, that they might have eaſily reduced *Perſia* to a *Roman* province; but that *Dioclefian* did not approve of it, for reaſons, ſays *Aurelius Victor*, unknown to us [l]. *Sicorius Probus*, one of *Galerius*'s ſecretaries, was therefore diſpatched to *Narſes*, who received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and ſoon after admitted him to an audience on the banks of the *Aſprudis* in *Media*, in the preſence only of *Apharban* and two others. The terms propoſed by *Probus* were, that *Narſes* ſhould yield to the *Romans* the five following provinces, *Intelene*, *Sophene*, *Arzaçene*, *Cardene*, and *Zabdicene*; that the *Tigris* ſhould be the boundary between the two empires; that *Niſibis* ſhould be a common empory to both nations; that the limits of *Armenia* ſhould be extended to the caſtle of b *Zintha* on the confines of *Media*; and laſtly, that the king of *Iberia* ſhould receive the crown at the hands of the *Roman* emperor. *Narſes* excepted againſt the article relating to *Niſibis*, but complied with the reſt. Whereupon a peace was concluded, and the *Perſian* king's wives and children ſent back to him [m]. This peace proved very advantagious to the *Romans*, and laſted forty years, till the *Perſians*, deſirous to recover the provinces they had yielded, broke it in the latter end of *Conſtantine*'s reign. The above-mentioned provinces lay towards the ſprings of the *Tigris*, and on the *Roman* ſide of that river; but were by the *Romans* commonly called the provinces beyond the *Tigris*, becauſe they had been ſo called by the *Perſians*. Inſtead of *Intelene* and *Sophene*, we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Moxoene* and *Rehimene*: as to the names of the other three, there is no diſagreement among authors. For theſe c conqueſts, *Galerius* aſſumed the pompous titles of *Perſicus*, *Armeniacus*, *Medicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, as if he had ſubdued all theſe nations; and became ſo elated with his victory, that *Dioclefian* began to take umbrage at his haughty behaviour, imagining that he would not be much longer ſatisfied with the bare title of *Cæſar* [n]. The following year, *Anicius Fauſtus* being conſul, the ſecond time, with *Severus Gallus*, *Dioclefian* built ſeveral forts and caſtles on the frontiers of the empire towards *Perſia*, and ſurrounded with high walls and ſtrong towers the caſtle of *Cercuſium* in *Meſopotamia*, at the confluence of the *Aboras* and the *Euphrates* [o]. The next conſuls were *Dioclefian*, the ſeventh time, and *Maximian*, the ſixth. This year, the *Marco*- d *manni* and *Baſtarnæ* received a great overthrow, and great numbers of their captives were tranſplanted into the *Roman* territories. From ſeveral laws it appears, that *Dioclefian* was this year in the months of *January*, *February*, *April*, and *November*, at *Sirmium*, and on the fifth of *June* at *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* [q]. The following year, when *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* were conſuls the third time, is quite barren of events. The next conſuls were *Titianus*, the ſecond time, and *Nepotianus*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be the father of *Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, who uſurped the empire fifty years after [r]. This year *Conſtantius* gained a remarkable victory over the *Alemanni*, who coming upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a ſmall body of troops with him, obliged him to retire, and ſhelter himſelf within the walls of e *Langres*. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered the city, he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and falling upon the enemy, cut ſixty thouſand of them in pieces [s]. *Eumenius* mentions another victory gained this year by *Conſtantius* in the plains of *Vindoniſſa*, now *Vindiſch*, in the canton of *Bern*, near the confluence of the *Aar* and the *Ruſs* [t]. The ſame writer tells us, that a numerous army, conſiſting of different *German* nations, having rendezvouſed in an iſland in the *Rhine*, while that river was frozen over, were by a ſudden thaw ſhut up there, and obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion to the *Romans*, who kept them blocked up with their fleet [u]. *Dioclefian* was, as appears from the code [w], on the fourth of *July* at *Antioch* in *Syria*. The following f year, when *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* were conſuls the fourth time, a great dearth prevailed in moſt provinces of the empire, occaſioned, ſays *Lactantius* [x], by the avariciouſneſs of *Dioclefian*, who, to obviate that evil, fixed the prices of all ſorts of neceſſary proviſions; but the rates being too low, the traders, inſtead of expoſing to ſale, concealed their commodities: by which means the dearth was changed into a famine,

Which is granted them upon their yielding five provinces to the Romans.

Galerius *is puffed up with his victory.*

Conſtantius *gains a ſignal victory over the* Alemanni.

A great dearth in moſt provinces of the empire.

[l] Aur Vict. p. 525. [m] Petr. Patric. legat. p. 29. [n] Euseb. l. viii. c. 17. Lact. perſ. c. 9. p. 9. Aur. Vict. p. 525. [o] Panegyr. 9. p. 121. Grut. p. 166, 167. Ammian. l. xxix. p. 359. [p] Aur. Victor. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. [q] Cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 13. leg. 17. p. 201, &c. [r] Onuph. p. 261. [s] Zonar. p. 244. Theophan. chronog. p. 5. Panegyr. 7. p. 93. [t] Panegyr. 7. p. 92. Baudr. p. 31. [u] Panegyr. 7. p. 92. [w] Cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 28. leg. 25. p. 268. [x] Lact. perſ. c. 7. p. 362.

a famine, which raged till the merchants were allowed to ſell their commodities at their own prices. The ſame thing happened in the reign of *Julian*, ſurnamed the *apoſtate*. We read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that *Dioclesian* gave this year to that city the *military bread* [o]: what is meant thereby, we are not told. *Procopius* writes, that *Dioclesian* ordered two millions of buſhels of corn to be yearly diſtributed among the inhabitants of that populous metropolis [p]. Before the reign of *Dioclesian*, corn was given monthly to old and diſabled perſons; and in the reign of *Conſtantine* to the eccleſiaſtics [q]. *Dioclesian* ſeems to have paſſed this year partly in *Syria*, and partly at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, with *Galerius* [r]. The next year, *Dioclesian* entered upon his eighth, and *Maximian* upon his ſeventh, conſulſhip. *Dioclesian* and *Galerian* paſſed the winter at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, in conſultations, not about the means of extending the empire, and ſecuring it againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, but concerning the moſt effectual methods of utterly extirpating the chriſtian religion, to which *Galerian* had imbibed from his infancy an irreconcileable hatred. He found means to inſpire *Dioclesian* with the ſame fury, and, as we may call it, madneſs; the effect of which was the moſt bloody and dreadful perſecution the church had yet ſuffered. This perſecution, which was the tenth and laſt general one, broke out on the twenty-third of *February* of this year, 303. the nineteenth of *Dioclesian*'s reign, and raged ten whole years with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, the chriſtians being every-where, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, dragged to execution, and tortured with the moſt exquiſite torments, rage, cruelty, and hatred could invent. Such numbers of chriſtians ſuffered death in all the provinces of the empire, that the tyrants, imagining they had compaſſed their wicked intent, and intirely aboliſhed chriſtianity, told the world in a pompous, but lying, inſcription, that they had extinguiſhed the chriſtian name and ſuperſtition, and every-where reſtored the worſhip of the gods to its former purity and luſtre. But the church triumphed over all the powers and artifices of men, and, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of tyranny, prevailed a few years after in the very metropolis of idolatry and ſuperſtition. During this perſecution, *Albanus Verolamienſis*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, a citizen of *Iſca legionum*, now *Exeter*, and other champions of the faith, almoſt without number, ſuffered martyrdom in *Britain*. But to give an account of their ſufferings, of their truly heroic firmneſs, and unſhaken conſtancy, would be intrenching on the province of the eccleſiaſtic writers. Happy and glorious had hitherto been the reign of *Dioclesian*; but he no ſooner began to imbrue his hands in the blood of the righteous, ſays *Euſebius*, than he felt the effects of divine vengeance in the many calamities which ſoon overtook him [s]. A few days after the iſſuing of the firſt edicts againſt the chriſtians, a fire broke out in the palace at *Nicomedia*, where *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* were lodged, and reduced part of it to aſhes [t]. *Euſebius* writes, that he could never know how that accident happened [u]. *Conſtantine*, who was on the ſpot, aſcribes it to lightning [w]; and *Lactantius* aſſures us, that *Galerius* cauſed fire to be privately ſet to the palace, that he might lay the blame of it upon the chriſtians, and by that means incenſe *Dioclesian* ſtill more againſt them, which he did accordingly [x]. *Conſtantine* tells us [y], that *Dioclesian* was ſo diſturbed with this accident, that thenceforth he conſtantly imagined to ſee lightning falling from heaven, which was in effect the beginning of that phrenzy, which by *Lactantius* and *Euſebius* is aſcribed to the malady, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon. *Dioclesian*'s terror and diſmay were greatly increaſed by a ſecond fire, which broke out in the palace fifteen days after the firſt, but was ſtopt before it had done any great miſchief. However, it had the effect which was intended by the author of it, *Galerius*; for *Dioclesian*, aſcribing it to the chriſtians, reſolved to keep no meaſures with them; and *Galerius*, the more to exaſperate him againſt them, withdrew from *Nicomedia* the ſame day, ſaying, that he was afraid of being burnt alive by the chriſtians [z]. About this time, one *Eugenius* aſſumed the title of emperor in *Syria*. He commanded five hundred men in *Seleucia*, who being employed in the day-time in cleanſing the harbour of that city, and in the night in baking their own bread, to deliver themſelves from that inſupportable drudgery, agreed to revolt, and proclaim their leader emperor. *Eugenius*,

The tenth general perſecution.

A fire breaks out in the palace at Nicomedia.

Eugenius *proclaimed emperor by a few ſoldiers.*

[o] Chron. Alex. p. 644. [p] Procop. arcan. hiſt. c. 26. p. 77. [q] Euseb. l. vii. c. 21. p. 267. Evagr. p. 68. Atharapol. p. 737. [r] Cod. p. 240, 243. [s] Euseb. l. viii. c. 13. p. 308. [t] Lact. perſ. c. 14. p. 12. Euseb. l. viii. c. 6. p. 297. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Const. orat. ad ſanct. cœtum. [x] Lact. perſ. c. 14. p. 12. [y] Conſtant. ibid. [z] Lact. ibid. Euseb. de martyr. Palæſ. c. 2. p. 320.

a *genius*, who expected nothing less, refused at first the dignity offered him; but was at length prevailed upon, through fear, to accept it; for they threatened him with present death, if he refused to second their designs. Being therefore arrayed with a purple robe taken from the statue of one of the gods, he led his men strait to *Antioch*, which city he reached the same day in the close of the evening, and entered it without opposition, as there was no garison in the place, and the inhabitants were quite unapprised of his revolt; but when he began to act as emperor, the whole city rose, and falling upon the rebels, for the most part intoxicated with wine, with such arms as chance presented, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of *Eugenius* began and ended the same day [a]. *Diocletian* ought rather to have rewarded *Who are all cut in pieces.*

b than punished the *Antiochians*; but on this occasion he betrayed that cruelty which was natural to him; for, without any trial, without paying any regard to the usual forms of law, he commanded the chief magistrates of *Antioch* and *Seleucia* to be publicly executed, as if they had been all privy to the conspiracy; which rendered him so odious to the *Syrians*, that they could not, without horror, hear his name mentioned ninety years after [b]. Among the many persons who lost their lives on this occasion, *Libanius* names his paternal grandfather and his grand-father's brother, whose estates were likewise confiscated [c]. Towards the close of the year, *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, with their two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, repaired to *Rome*, and there enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the senate had long since decreed them, and their many victories and conquests well deserved. As *Diocletian*, both in his

c triumph and the sports that followed it, shewed greater œconomy than was pleasing to the populace, they took thence occasion to rally him with great liberty; which he not being able to bear, left the city soon after his triumph, and set out for *Ravenna* on the nineteenth of *December*. As the season was then both rainy and cold, he contracted a lingering distemper, which in a short time weakened him to such a degree, that he could neither walk nor stand [d]. He entered upon his ninth consulship at *Ravenna*, having *Maximian*, the eighth time consul, for his collegue. In the beginning of the spring, he set out from *Ravenna*, and passing through *Venetia* and *Illyricum*, carried always, contrary to his custom, in a litter, arrived at *Nicomedia* in the beginning of the

d autumn. As his distemper increased daily, on the thirteenth of *December* so deep a swoon seized him, that he was believed to have paid the last debt of mortality, and a report of his death was spread all over the city. However, he recovered his sight and voice; but his head remained so affected, that thenceforth he frequently fell into fits, which quite deprived him of the use of his reason. As he was not in a condition to appear abroad till the first of *March* of the following year, many persons believed he was dead; but that his death was kept concealed till the arrival of *Galerius*, least the soldiers should, in the mean time, according to their custom, proclaim a new emperor [e]. To dissipate this report, he shewed himself to the people of *Nicomedia* on the first of *March*; but there appeared such a change in his countenance, that many doubted whether it was the same person. Soon after, *Galerius* arrived, who had already

e threatened *Maximian* with a civil war, if he did not resign the empire; and was come into *Nicomedia* with a design to oblige *Diocletian* likewise to resign the sovereignty, since he was no longer able to discharge the functions of the imperial dignity. As *Diocletian* did not yield to the reasons he alledged, but only offered to take both him and *Constantius* for his partners in the empire, *Galerius* told him plainly, that if he did not resign of his own accord, he would force him to it. *Diocletian*, frightened with these menaces, and well apprised, that *Galerius*, who had, for some time, been increasing his army with new levies, was in a condition to make good his word, yielded at length, and it was agreed, that *Diocletian* and *Maximian* should resign the

f sovereignty; that *Constantius* and *Galerius* should, at the same time, be invested with it; and that, to preserve the form of government introduced by *Diocletian*, two new *Cæsars* should be named. *Diocletian* immediately dispatched an express to *Maximian*, who was then at *Milan*, acquainting him with what had passed at *Nicomedia*. He was no less unwilling, than his collegue, to part with the sovereignty; but nevertheless, to avoid a civil war, in which, he was well apprised, *Galerius* would prevail, he came into the same measures [f]. Such is the account which *Lactantius* gives us of the resignation of *Maximian* and *Diocletian*, in a piece not long since recovered from darkness

His illness.

Galerius *obliges him to renounce the empire.*

[a] Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Lact. persec. c. 17. p. 15. Ammian. l. xvi. p. 131. [e] Lact. persec. c. 17. p. 15. Euseb. l. viii. c. 13. [f] Lact. persec. c. 17. p. 15. & c. 18. p. 16.

darkneſs. *Conſtantine*, who was then at *Nicomedia*, and lodged in the ſame palace with *Diocleſian*, aſſures us, in a ſpeech which he pronounced in public, that the emperor, thinking himſelf no longer able to govern, on account of the fits to which he was ſubject, reſigned of his own accord [g]; and the panegyriſts, who wrote at that time, mention his reſignation as a ſhining inſtance of greatneſs, generoſity, and an utter contempt of all human grandeur; nay, they tell us, that both he and *Maximian* had agreed long before, and even bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath in the capitol, to reſign the ſovereignty. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Diocleſian* quitted the government, and betook himſelf to a private life, that he might not be overwhelmed with the misfortunes that threatened the empire [h]. As two new *Cæſars* were to be choſen, *Diocleſian* propoſed *Maxentius*, the ſon of *Maximian* and ſon-in-law of *Galerius*, and *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Conſtantius*; but *Galerius*, rejecting them, prevailed upon *Diocleſian* to name two others in their room, *viz.* *Severus*, whom he had already ſent to receive the purple at the hands of *Maximian*, and *Daia*, or *Daza*, his ſiſter's ſon, to whom he had a little before given the name of *Maximin*. They were both greatly attached to *Galerius*, but neither of them any-ways qualified for ſuch a high ſtation. However, *Diocleſian* conſented to their election; and a few days after, on the firſt of *May* of the preſent year 305. the twenty-firſt of his reign, he reſigned the empire in the preſence of his court and the army, diveſting himſelf of the purple, and delivering it to *Maximin*, whom at the ſame time he declared *Cæſar*, together with *Severus*. This ceremony was performed in the ſame place where *Galerius* had been declared *Cæſar*, about three miles from *Nicomedia*. *Diocleſian*, before he diveſted himſelf of the purple, made an harangue to the ſoldiers, telling them, That, his infirmities obliging him to retire, he yielded the empire to *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, who were more able and better qualified than he to diſcharge ſo great a truſt. When the ceremony was over, *Diocleſian* paſſed through *Nicomedia* with a ſmall retinue, and retiring to *Dalmatia*, his native country, choſe the city of *Salona* for the place of his reſidence [i]. The ſame day, *Maximian*, quitting the purple at *Milan*, conſigned it to *Severus*, as had been agreed on before-hand, declared *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* emperors, and then retired to *Lucania*, where we ſhall ſoon ſee him raiſing diſturbances, with a deſign to reſume the dignity which he had quitted. As for *Diocleſian*, he paſſed the remainder of his life, that is, near nine years, at a country-ſeat in the neighbourhood of *Salona*, on the ſpot where the city of *Spalatro* was afterwards built. The ruins of the palace of *Diocleſian* are ſtill to be ſeen there, and take up two thirds of the town. It was, according to the deſcription which *Conſtantius Porphyrogenitus* gives us of it, a moſt ſtately and magnificent building, and contained four temples, one of which is ſtill intire and the cathedral of *Spalatro*. *Diocleſian* diverted himſelf, during his retirement, with cultivating a garden, ſaying often, *Now I live; now I ſee the beauty of the ſun.* Some time after, when *Maximian* and others wrote to him to join them and reſume the empire, he returned them this anſwer; *I wiſh you would but come to* Salona, *that I might ſhew you the colworts which I have planted with my own hands: I am ſure you would never thenceforth mention the empire to me* [k]. He was long honoured in his retreat by the princes who reigned after him, and looked upon him as their common father, ſince to him they were indebted for their dignity. In an inſcription of the year 306. both he and *Maximian* are ſtyled the *ancient emperors*, and the *fathers of the emperors* [l]. In his time they conſecrated the *thermæ*, or hot baths, which he had begun at *Rome*, and conſulted him in all affairs of great importance, paying great deference to his counſels. Thus *Galerius* invited him in the year 307. to *Carnus*, or *Carnuntum*, in *Pannonia*, to adviſe with him about the promotion of *Licinius* [m]. However, ſeveral things happened afterwards, which gave him great concern and uneaſineſs: His daughter *Valeria* refuſing to marry *Maximin*, after the death of her huſband *Galerius* in the year 311. was by that prince treated in a barbarous manner, and baniſhed. *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, in the beginning of the year 313. eſpouſed with great zeal the cauſe of the perſecuted chriſtians, whom he and his collegue *Maximian* had attempted utterly to extirpate [n]. *Victor* adds, that the two above-mentioned princes having been invited to the nuptials of *Licinius* with the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, and he excuſing himſelf on account of his age, they wrote a threatening letter to him, as if he had been concerned in the diſturbances raiſed by *Maxentius*.

Maximin *and* Severus *declared* Cæſars.

Diocleſian *and* Maximian *reſign the empire.*

Diocleſian *leads a retired life.*

[g] Constant. orat. c. 25. [h] Aur. Vict. p. 525. [i] Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 16, 17. Vict. epit. p. 543. [k] Idem, 542. Eutrop. p. 587. [l] P. Pagi, p. 148. [m] Lact. perſ. c. 29. p. 26. [n] Idem ibid. c. 41. p. 36.

a *Maxentius*. The ſame author adds, that the dread he was in of an ignominous death, prompted him to end his life with poiſon [q]. *Theophanes* writes, that the ſenate had already iſſued a decree for his execution [q]; and *Lactantius*, that ſeeing himſelf, after a glorious reign of twenty years, ill uſed and deſpiſed, he reſolved to put an end to his life, abſtained from all food, and died of hunger, grief, and deſpair [r]. In the chronicle of *Alexandria* we read, that he died of a dropſy [f]; and in *Euſebius*, that he was conſumed and worn out by a lingering diſtemper [t]. He died, according to *Aurelius Victor* [u], ſoon after the marriage of *Licinius*, which was celebrated in the *March* of the year 313. after having lived about eighty years, and reigned twenty and ſome months. He was deified with the uſual ſolemnities after his death [w], pro-

b bably by *Licinius* or *Maximin* II. for *Conſtantine*, at the time of his death, profeſſed the chriſtian religion. *Libanius* writes, that *Diocleſian* ſhewed himſelf in many, but not in all, things an excellent prince [x]; and the emperor *Julian* commends him for having done many things that proved very uſeful to the public [y]. He enacted a great many wholeſome laws, and was ſo far from countenancing informers, that he commanded them to be executed, when they could not make good their charge. He would not receive the accuſation of one *Thaumaſius* againſt his benefactor *Symmachus*, in whoſe houſe he had been brought up, and condemned another to baniſhment, for informing againſt his brother [z]. He ſuppreſſed the officers called *frumentarii*, of whom *Caſaubon* ſpeaks much at length, without giving us any ſatisfactory

c reaſon why they were ſo called [a]. They were firſt eſtabliſhed to give the emperor immediate notice of the diſturbances that happened in the provinces; but abuſing their office, eſpecially in the diſtant countries, they often extorted large ſums from the inhabitants, by threatening to accuſe them, if they did not comply with their unjuſt demands. However, no great benefit was reaped from their ſuppreſſion; for thoſe who were ſtyled *agentes in rebus* and *curioſi* proved no leſs miſchievous than the *frumentarii* [b]. *Diocleſian* encouraged and preferred perſons of merit and virtue, diſcountenanced vice, managed the public money with great frugality, had much at heart the worſhip of the gods, and was, till ſeduced by *Galerius*, rather a friend than an enemy to the chriſtians, of whom he had, till the year 303. great numbers

d both in his court and army [c]. He was greatly addicted to building, and embelliſhed ſeveral cities of the empire, eſpecially *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Milan*, and *Nicomedia*, with many ſtately edifices. From the ruins of his *thermæ*, or public hot baths, which are ſtill viſited and admired by all travellers to *Rome*, we may judge of the grandeur and magnificence of that ſurpriſing fabric. Beſides the bathing places, in which three thouſand perſons could conveniently bathe at a time, there were many other rooms and apartments; for the books which were lodged in *Trajan*'s library were conveyed thither [d]. The emperor *Conſtantius* II. when he came to *Rome* in 358. admired nothing ſo much as *Diocleſian*'s baths, which ſeemed rather a province, ſays *Ammianus Marcellinus*, with no ſmall exaggeration, than a building. Part of theſe baths were by

e pope *Pius* IV. changed into a church, conſecrated to the *Virgin Mary*, under the title of *Santa Maria degli Angeli*. *Diocleſian* embelliſhed with a great number of ſtately buildings many other cities, but above all *Nicomedia*, with a deſign of equalling it to *Rome*, for which purpoſe he ſpared no coſt or labour, that might render the place either beautiful or convenient. He built there a circus, ſeveral baſilics, a mint, an arſenal, a palace for his wife, and another for his daughter. Thus *Nicomedia* became the ordinary reſidence of the emperors, when the affairs of the empire called them into the eaſt, till the removal of the imperial ſeat to *Conſtantinople* [f]. We have ſpoken above of his magnificent palace or villa at *Spalatro* in *Dalmatia*, in which province he likewiſe built the caſtle of *Dioclea*, in the village where he was born, the inhabitants

f whereof were called *Diocleſians* [g]. But theſe buildings proved very burdenſome to the people, who were not only obliged to abandon their ancient habitations to make room for them, but moreover to furniſh workmen, beaſts of burden, and the neceſſary materials; by which means he ruined provinces, while he embelliſhed the cities.

He ſhewed himſelf in many things an excellent prince.

His public buildings.

They prove burdenſome to the people.

[o] Vict. epit. p. 542. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Theoph. chronogr. p. 8. [r] Lact. perſ. c. 42. p. 36. [s] Chron. Alexand. p. 656. [t] Euseb. l. viii. c. 7. p. 317. [u] Aur. Vict. p. 542. [w] Eutrop. p. 586. Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. [x] Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399. [y] Jul orat. i. p. 12. [z] Cod. Just. l. ix. tit. i. leg. 17. p. 111. & leg. 12. p. 810. [a] Casaub. not. in Spart. p. 22. [b] Aur. Vict. p. 524. [c] Idem, p. 525. Lact. perſec. c. 10. p. 9. [d] Euseb. chron. p. 244. Prob. vit. 233. Vict. epit. p. 525. [e] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 71. [f] Lact. perſ. c. 7, 17. p. 7. 15. [g] Constan. Porphyr. de adminiſtr. imper. ad Rom. fil. p. 72.

cities. If he happened not to like a building when it was quite finiſhed, he cauſed it a
to be pulled down, though reared at an immenſe expence, and to be rebuilt upon a
different plan, perhaps to pull it down a ſecond and third time [h]. *Lactantius* charges
him with avarice, and with putting, under various falſe pretences, many perſons to
death, in order to ſeize their eſtates [i]. *Eutropius* [k], *Zonaras* [l], and *Aurelius Victor* [m]
tell us, that, to cover the meanneſs of his extraction, he affected extraordinary mag-
nificence in his attire, cauſed thoſe who approached him to fall proſtrate at his feet,
aſſumed the titles of *Lord* and *God*, as *Caligula* and *Domitian* had done, and claimed
Aſſumes the title of God. divine worſhip. Hence *Spartian*, in addreſſing his works to him, uſes this expreſ-
ſion; *I lay them at the feet of your deity* [n]. Other writers expreſs themſelves in the ſame
ſtyle, whether they direct their ſpeech to him or his collegues, who, it ſeems, fol- b
lowed his example [o]. *Diocleſian* took the name of *Jovius*, and *Maximian* that of
Herculeus, as if they had been deſcended from theſe pretended deities, and even
obliged their ſucceſſors to aſſume the ſame titles. Thus *Galerius* and *Maximian* added
to their other titles that of *Jupiter* and *Jovius*, and *Conſtantius* the ſurname of *Hercu-
leus*, which he tranſmitted to *Licinius*, and his ſon *Conſtantine*; but they ſoon quitted
them; for *Lactantius* tells us, that in the year 320, the impious names of *Jupiter* and
Hercules were aboliſhed from off the face of the earth [p]. We cannot help obſerving
before we cloſe this chapter, that though no reign was more remarkable, either for
length, or variety of great events, than *Diocleſian*'s, yet no prince's reign is leſs
known; which ſeems the more ſurpriſing to us, when we reflect on the great num- c
ber of hiſtorians who flouriſhed in his time. Many of them muſt, without all doubt,
have written the hiſtory of his life, as we know they did thoſe of his predeceſſors,
which moſt of them inſcribed to him: but no particular and diſtinct account of his
reign has reached us; nay, a chaſm even in the hiſtory of *Zoſimus*, from the death of
Carus to the reſignation of *Diocleſian*, has deprived us of what we might have learnt
concerning him of that, as we may call him, ſecond-hand hiſtorian. May we not
aſcribe this general loſs of memoirs concerning him to divine vengeance, for his
attempting utterly to aboliſh the holy ſcriptures? This, at leaſt, ſeems more pro-
bable to us, than what we read in a modern critic, *viz.* that the chriſtians, out of
hatred to ſo cruel an enemy, ſuppreſſed all hiſtories and memoirs relating to him [p]. d
Of the writers who flouriſhed under *Diocleſian*, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (C).

[h] LACT. perſ. c. 7 p. 7. [i] Idem ibid. c. 9. p. 9. [k] EUTROP. p. 586. [l] ZONAR. p. 244.
[m] AUR. VICT. p. 523. [n] SPART. vit. Ver. p. 13. [o] Paneg. 10. p. 123. [p] LACT. ibid.
c. 52. p. 46. [q] CASAUB. not. in Spart. p. 201.

(C) *Claudius Euſthenius*, ſecretary to *Diocleſian*, wrote in four books the hiſtory of the four princes *Diocleſian*, *Maximian*, *Conſtantius*, and *Galerius* (45); and this is all we know of him. *Voſſius* is of opinion, that *Aſclepiodotus* wrote the hiſtory of *Diocleſian*'s reign; becauſe *Vopiſcus* quotes him in relating ſome things concerning that prince (46); but as *Aſclepiodotus* was captain of the guards to *Conſtantius*, and well acquainted with the court, *Vopiſcus* might have quoted him, as he often quotes his father and grand-father, who never committed any thing to writing. The *Auguſtine* writers, *viz.* *Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus*, *Pollio*, and *Vopiſcus*, all lived in the reign of *Diocleſian*, though ſome of them wrote under his ſucceſſors. *Ælius Spartianus*, wrote firſt the lives of all the emperors, from *Julius Cæſar* to *Adrian*, and afterwards reſolved to add to them the lives of all the other emperors and *Cæſars*, and to inſcribe the whole to *Diocleſian*, of whoſe family he ſeems to have been (47). The lives of the following princes paſs under his name, *viz.* of *Adrian*, of *Ælius Verus*, his adopted ſon, of *Julian*, *Niger*, *Severus*, *Caracalla*, and *Geta*. Thoſe of *Ælius Cæſar*, *Adrian*, *Julian*, *Severus*, and *Niger*, are inſcribed to *Diocleſian*; that of *Caracalla* has no dedication prefixed to it; but the life of *Geta* is addreſſed to *Conſtantine*, already *uguſtus*. What the author ſays in his addreſs, gives us room to believe, that he had dedicated other lives to the ſame prince; nay, *Salmaſius* takes him to be the author of the lives of all the emperors to *Maximin* I. (48). This opinion we ſhall examine anon. *Vopiſcus*, in the life of *Probus*, names *Julius Capitolinus* and *Ælius Lampridius* among the hiſtorians who had written before him (49). To the latter are generally aſcribed the lives of *Commodus*, of *Diadumenus* the ſon of *Macrinus*, of *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexander*. The life of *Commodus* is inſcribed to *Diocleſian*; thoſe of *Heliogabalus* and *Alexander* to *Conſtantine*, who deſired the author, as he tells us, to write the life of *Heliogabalus*, and to addreſs it to him, as he had done ſeveral other lives before (50). He adds, that he deſigned to write the hiſtory of *Alexander Severus*, and his ſucceſſors, to *Conſtantine*; namely of the *Gordians*, of *Aurelian*, *Claudius*, *Diocleſian*, *Maximian*, *Licinius*, *Severus*, *Alexander*, who revolted in *Africa* in 308. and of *Maxentius*. Theſe princes were, it ſeems, at that time all dead, and conſequently he could not write this before the year 324. He tells us elſewhere, that he had written the lives of *M. Aurelius* and *Macrinus* (51). In ſome ancient manuſcripts, all the lives that paſs under the name of *Lampridius*, are aſcribed to *Spartian*; and truly the lives ſaid to have been written by theſe two hiſtorians are in every reſpect ſo like, that ſome learned critics have taken them to have been done by

(45) *Car. vit. p.* 254. (46) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 185. (47) *Ver. vit. p.* 13, 16.
(48) *Salmaſ. not. in Spart. p.* 242, 243. (49) *Prob. vit. p.* 234. (50) *Lampr. p.* 45, 101, 136, 113.
(51) *Commod. vit. p.* 45. *Diadum. vit. p.* 99.

by one writer, named *Ælius Lampridius Spartianus*. *Caſaubon* and *Voſſius* are greatly inclined to this opinion (51); the more becauſe *Vopiſcus* often quotes *Lampridius*, and never *Spartian*. On the other hand, *Salmaſius* takes them to be two diſtinct writers (52). *Julius Capitolinus* likewiſe undertook to write the lives of all the emperors in ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate books, as others had done before him; but, upon ſecond thoughts, to avoid prolixity and repetitions, he joined ſeveral lives together; of ſuch emperors eſpecially as reigned at the ſame time (53). Under his name paſs the lives of *T. Antoninus*, *M. Aurelius*, *L. Verus*, *Pertinax*, *Albinus*, *Macrinus*, the two *Maximins*, the three *Gordians*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinus:* The hiſtory of *Titus Antoninus*, *M. Aurelius*, *L. Verus*, and *Macrinus*, are dedicated to *Dioclefian*; and that of the *Maximins*, of the *Gordians*, and of *Albinus*, to *Conſtantine*, for whoſe ſake he undertook the whole work (54). Perhaps *Cornelius Capitolinus*, quoted by *Trebellius Pollio* in his account of *Zenobia* (55); and *Julius Capitolinus* are one and the ſame perſon. Some manuſcripts aſcribe to *Spartian* all the lives that paſs under the name of *Capitolinus*, except thoſe of the *Maximins*, of the *Gordians*; and of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* (56). *Salmaſius* yields to the authority of the manuſcripts (57); but *Voſſius* aſſerts, that the lives commonly aſcribed to *Capitolinus* were done by him, and not by *Spartian* (58). *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, a *Roman* ſenator, undertook, in the reign of *Dioclefian*, to write the lives of all thoſe who had enjoyed the ſovereignty, whether by right or uſurpation (5), but of all he wrote, or deſigned to write, nothing has reached our times, except his hiſtory of *Avidius Caſſius*, who revolted in the eaſt during the reign of *M. Aurelius*, which is dedicated to *Dioclefian*. This life too *Salmaſius* aſcribes to *Spartian* (60). But the name of *Vulcatius*, which is no common name, has not, in the opinion of *Voſſius* (61), been prefixed to it by chance, or mere caprice of the tranſcriber. *Valeſius* takes the hiſtorian to be one and the ſame perſon with *Gallicanus*, who was conſul with *Baſſus* in the year 317.

Trebellius Pollio wrote the life of *Philip*, and of all the other princes, whether lawful emperors or uſurpers, from his time to the reign of *Claudius* and his brother *Quintillus* (62). He had begun, it ſeems, this work before the year 291. when *Tiberianus* was governor of *Rome* (63). Great part of this work has been long ſince loſt. He likewiſe deſigned to write the life of *Aurelian*; which deſign if he ever put in execution, it was after *Vopiſcus* had written on the ſame ſubject; for that writer glories in his being the firſt among the *Latins* who publiſhed the life of *Aurelian* (64). *Trebellius Pollio* ſeems to have been greatly attached to *Conſtantius* the father of *Conſtantine* (65). *Vopiſcus* thinks he overlooked ſome things, and was too minute and diffuſe in others (66). His hiſtory of the thirty tyrants was publiſhed after the year 291. when *Conſtantius* was already *Cæſar*. He inſcribed his work to ſome particular friend or friends, whom he does not name; but the life of *Claudius* he addreſſes to *Conſtantine*, and not to *Conſtantius*, as ſome have maintained (67). *Voſſius* thinks his language and ſtyle not unworthy of praiſe, if compared with that of his cotemporary writers (68) Some aſcribe to *Capitolinus* the lives that paſs under the name of *Pollio*; but their opinion is rejected by the beſt critics (69). *Flavius Vopiſcus* was a native of *Syracuſe*, and ſeems to have been deſcended of a noble family; for his father and grandfather, whom he often quotes, lived in great intimacy with *Dioclefian*. He was induced to write the life of *Aurelian*, as he himſelf informs us, by *Junius Tiberianus* governor of *Rome*, (70), in 291. or 292. but he did not publiſh it before *Conſtantius* was created *Cæſar* (71). He ſeems to have made ſome additions to it long after; for he takes notice of a ſaying of *Dioclefian* after his reſignation, which, he ſays, he had learnt of his father (72). He wrote likewiſe the hiſtories of *Tacitus* and his brother *Florianus*, of *Probus*, of *Firmus*, and of ſome other uſurpers. He was employed in writing the lives of *Carus* and his children, while *Galerius* was waging war with the *Perſians* (73); that is, about the year 297. but he muſt have afterwards added ſeveral things to it; for he mentions the ſhews exhibited by *Dioclefian* in 309. and ſays, *That* Euſthenius, *who had been ſecretary to that prince, had written his life, and the lives of his three collegues* (74). From which expreſſion we may conclude, not only that *Euſthenius* was no longer his ſecretary, and conſequently that *Dioclefian* was no longer emperor, but likewiſe that he and his collegues were dead, ſince their lives were already written. The laſt of them died in 311. *Vopiſcus* inſcribed his works, not to the emperors, but to his friends. The life of *Firmus* is addreſſed to *Baſſus*, and that of *Probus* to one *Celſus*, his intimate friend, perhaps *Herennius Celſus*, who aſpired at the conſulſhip (75), and was, according to *Caſaubon* (76), governor of *Egypt*. *Vopiſcus* was a great admirer of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and promiſes in one place of his work to write his life; but of ſuch a performance no mention is made by any of the ancients (77). Theſe ſix writers, *viz. Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus Pollio*, and *Vopiſcus*, are commonly known to the learned by the name of *hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ ſcriptores*, though they are in effect rather biographers than hiſtorians, and take more care to inform us of the good and bad qualities of the emperors, of their birth, education, ſtature, mien, and even their diet, and the cloaths they wore, than to deſcribe their wars, the laws they enacted, and the great revolutions that happened during their reſpective reigns. *Vopiſcus*, in the opinion of the learned, far excels the reſt, both as to his method and ſtyle; but nevertheleſs has many great faults, and is not to be compared with any of the ancient *Latin* hiſtorians. As for the other five, they betray great want of judgment in their choice, and of method in digeſting what they had choſen. Of theſe ſix writers, *Capitolinus* is the moſt confuſed and injudicious; whence ſome have ſuſpected, that the author of this collection might have mixed and blended together the relations of *Capitolinus*, *Spartian*, and ſome others (78). Their ſtyle is quite coarſe and unpoliſhed, their expreſſions uncouth, and ſometimes hardly intelligible. *Vopiſcus* writes, that *Lampridius* and *Capitolinus* minded rather truth than elegance in their narrations (79). *Pollio* owns his ſtyle to have nothing of the elegance of the ancients (80). But of the many hiſtorians, ſome ſay fifty and upwards, who have handled the ſame ſubject, only the

(51) *Caſaub. in. Spart. p.* 1. *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 7. *p.* 192, 193. (52) *Salmaſ. in Spart. p.* 66. (53) *Gord. vit. p.* 151. *Maxim. vit. p.* 138. (54) *Capit. p.* 30, 39, 96, *&c.* (55) *Trig. tyran. c.* 29. *p.* 198. (56) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 186. (57) *Salmaſ. in Capit. p.* 58. (58) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 65. *p.* 18. (59) *Caſſii vit. p.* 40, 41. (60) *Salmaſ. in Spart. p.* 108. (61) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 187. (62) *Aur. vit. p.* 209, 242. (63) *Idem ibid.* (64) *Idem ibid.* (95) *Caſaub. in not. p.* 203. (66) *Aur. vit. ibid.* (67) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 6. *p.* 190. (68) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 6. *p.* 190. (69) *Vide Caſaub. in Poll. p.* 203. (70) *Aur vit. p.* 209. (71) *Idem, p.* 224. (72) *Idem, p.* 223. (73) *Car. vit. p.* 250. (74) *Idem, p.* 254. (75) *Trig. tyran. vit. p.* 195. (76) *Caſaub. in Vopiſc. p.* 216. (77) *Aur. vit. p.* 217. (78 *Vide Caſaub. in Spart. p.* 13. (79) *Prob. vit. p.* 234. (80) *Trig. tyran. p.* 184.

the above-mentioned ſix have reached us. *Tatius*, or *Statius Cyrillus*, was contemporary with theſe ſix writers, and tranſlated the lives of ſeveral emperors out of *Greek* into *Latin*. *Conſtantine* deſired him to abridge them, and to join ſeveral lives together in one volume (81). His work has been long ſince loſt. *Sotericus*, a poet and hiſtorian, flouriſhed in the reign of *Diocleſian*, on whom he wrote a panegyric. He was a native of *Oaſis* in *Libya*, and much eſteemed by the learned men of his age. He left behind him ſeveral works, and among the reſt the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus* (82); but only a ſmall fragment of what he wrote has been conveyed to us by the ſcholiaſt of *Lycophron* (83).

But of all the writers who flouriſhed under *Diocleſian*, the moſt famous was the philoſopher *Porphyrius*, born, as he himſelf writes, in the city of *Tyre*, or that neighbourhood; for he ſtyles himſelf a *Tyrian* (84). St. *Jerom* gives him the ſurname of *Bataneotes* (85); whence ſome have believed him to have been a native of *Batanea*, a village in *Syria*, according to *Stephanus*, or rather in *Phœnicia*; for it ſtood within fifteen miles of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*. Perhaps the family of *Porphyrius* came originally from *Tyre*, and thence he ſtyled himſelf a *Tyrian*, though born in the village of *Batanea* (86). It is certain, that he paſſed part of his life in the neighbourhood of *Tyre* (87). *Baronius* maintains him to have been by religion a *Jew* (88), probably for no other reaſon, but becauſe he ſuppoſed him to have been a native of *Batanea*; but in thoſe days *Batanea* was inhabited not only by *Jews*, but likewiſe by *Greeks* and *Syrians*. It is true, he always ſpoke with great reverence of the God of the *Jews* (89); but at the ſame time he declared himſelf an open enemy to that people, as well as to the *Chriſtians* (90). St. *Auſtin* ſtyles him *Porphyrius the Sicilian* (91), probably on account of his having reſided a long time in *Sicily*, and publiſhing there ſeveral books againſt the chriſtians. He was deſcended of a good family. His anceſtors were not *Greeks*, but *Syrians*, ſo far as we can judge from the name of his father, who was called *Malchus*; which name he himſelf bore in his youth: but as the name of *Malchus* in the *Syriac* language ſignified *king*, *Longinus* adviſed him to exchange it for that of *Porphyrius*, which has ſome relation to royalty, the word πορφυρα ſignifying in *Greek*, *purple*, which was peculiar to the emperors and *Cæſars*. However, he was by ſome ſtill called *Malchus*, and *Longinus* himſelf gave him that name in addreſſing a work to him (92). He was born in the year 233. for he was thirty in the tenth year of the reign of *Gallienus* (93). *Socrates* writes, that at firſt he profeſſed the chriſtian religion; but afterwards, upon his being beaten and abuſed by ſome chriſtians at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, out of revenge he not only renounced, but undertook to impugn, the religion, which he had till that time profeſſed (94). *Holſtenius* likewiſe ſuppoſes him to have been once a chriſtian, and for that ſuppoſition quotes St. *Auſtin* (95); but that father only ſays, that *Porphyrius* had read the ſcripture with great attention, but could not be reconciled with the humility of Jeſus (96); from which words no one can conclude, that he ever profeſſed the doctrine and humility of Jeſus. While he was yet very young, he ſaw *Origen*, at that time in great credit among the chriſtians (97), not at *Alexandria*, as *Vincentius Lirinenſis* writes (98), (for he had left that city in 231.) but either at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, or at *Tyre*. *Porphyrius* came to *Rome* about the year 252. He was diſciple to *Longinus*, under whom he ſtudied at *Athens* the philoſophy of *Plato*, and made ſuch progreſs in his ſtudies, that he ſoon became the honour and ornament of that ſchool (99). Though he was one of the moſt dangerous and inveterate enemies the chriſtian religion ever had, yet this has not hindered the chriſtian writers from doing him juſtice, and beſtowing upon him the praiſes he deſerved. *Euſebius* ranks him among the moſt illuſtrious men and eminent philoſophers, that flouriſhed at any time (100). *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* extolls his knowledge; and St. *Auſtin* ſtyles him an extraordinary genius, and the moſt learned among philoſophers (1). In the year 263. being then thirty, he paſſed from *Greece* to *Rome*, where he heard *Plotinus*, who taught there; and no ſooner heard him, than forgetting *Longinus* and all the other philoſophers, he addicted himſelf intirely to him (2). *Suidas* ſuppoſes him to have been likewiſe diſciple to *Amelius* (3); but the latter ſtudied at the ſame time under *Plotinus*, ſo that he and *Porphyrius* were rather condiſciples (4). *Porphyrius* indeed might have learned many things of *Amelius*, who was eighteen years older than he, and been in that ſenſe his diſciple. He lived ſix years with *Plotinus*, and the fruit he reaped from his inſtructions was a profound melancholy, which in the end reduced him to ſuch miſery, that he reſolved to deſtroy himſelf. *Plotinus*, ſuſpecting his deſign from ſome words he dropped, prevailed upon him to divert his mind from ſuch gloomy thoughts by travelling. He therefore took his leave of *Plotinus*, and, in the beginning of the year 268. the fifteenth of the reign of *Gallienus*, ſet out from *Rome*, and croſſed over into *Sicily*. He landed near *Meſſana*, now *Meſſina*; but, without viſiting that city, went ſtrait to cape *Lilybæum*, to ſee one *Probus*, who was generally eſteemed a man of great learning. He continued ſome days with *Probus*, without taking any food, or converſing with any one (5); but in the end got the better of his melancholy, and ſtaid near two years at *Lilybæum*. While he was there, *Plotinus* died at *Rome*, about the beginning of the year 270. From *Sicily Porphyrius* ſeems to have paſſed into the eaſt, to have ſtaid ſome time at *Tyre*, and returning from thence to *Sicily*, to have croſſed over from *Lilybæum* to *Africa*, and there viſited the city of *Carthage* (6). From *Africa* he ſailed back to *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* returned to *Rome*, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and even made ſome public ſpeeches or declamations (7). He lived to a great age, ſays *Eunapius*; and *Porphyrius* himſelf, in his life of *Plotinus*, ſpeaks of a thing that happened to him when he was ſixty-eight; that is, in the year 299. or 300 (8); ſo that he not only lived to the reign of *Probus*, as *Eunapius* writes, but to that of *Diocleſian*, and perhaps longer; which confirms what we read in St. *Auſtin*, viz. that he lived in the time that the princes of the earth, and the adorers of the infernal ſpirits, conſpired to extirpate the chriſtian religion; and therefore could not

(81) *Max. vit. p.* 138. *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 7. *p.* 193. (82) *Suid. p.* 784. (83) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 246. (84) *Plot. vit. p.* 6. (85) *Hier. in Gal. par. prim.* 156. (86) *Vide Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 15. *p.* 286. (87) *Plot. vit. p.* 12. (88) *Baron. ad ann.* 302. (89) *Auguſt. civit. Dei, l.* xix. *c.* 23. *p.* 253. (90) *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* x. *c.* 9. *p.* 485. (91) *Aug. retract. l.* ii. *c.* 11. *p.* 24. (92) *Eunap. c.* ii. *p.* 16. *Plot. vit. p.* 10. (93) *Idem, p.* 3. (94) *Socr. l.* iii. *c.* 3. *p.* 100. (95) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 5. *p.* 19. (96) *Aug. civ. Dei. l.* x. *p.* 118. (97) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 19. *p.* 220. (98) *Vinc. Lir. c.* 23. *p.* 352. (99) *Euſeb. præpar. evan. l.* x. *c.* 3. *p.* 464. *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 16. (100) *Euſeb. ibid. Porphyr. vit. c.* 1. *p.* 10, 11. (1) *Aug. civ. Dei, c.* 32. *p.* 120. (2) *Plot. vit. p.* 3. *Eunap. c.* ii. *p.* 17. (3) *Suid. p* 573, 193. (4) *Plot. vit. p.* 3. (5) *Idem, p.* 4. *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 17, 18. (6) *Porphyr. vit. p.* 2—12. *Plot. vit. p.* 17. (7) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 21. *Plot. vit. p.* 16. (8) *Idem ibid.*

not perſuade himſelf, that it had been given by God for a means of ſalvation; whereas he ought, continnes St. *Auſtin*, to have looked upon that bloody perſecution as an evident proof of the glory and invincible ſtrength of the church (8). He died, according to *Eunapius* (9), at *Rome*. St. *Jerom* ſeems to have believed, that he was buried in *Sicily* (10). He had married a widow, by name *Marcella*, who had five children by a former huſband. *Eunapius* tells us, that he married her with no other view but to bring up her children with greater care, out of regard to their father, who was his particular friend (11). As the chriſtian writers upbraid him with no vices, we conclude him to have been, as to his life and manners, altogether blameleſs. *Eunapius* cries up his eloquence and the beauty of his ſtyle and expreſſions (12). He was thoroughly verſed in every branch of literature, excelled all men of his age in the knowledge of polite learning, arithmetic, geometry, and muſic (13); but ſhone chiefly in philoſophy, his favourite ſcience and ſtudy. Authors obſerve of him, that, whereas other philoſophers ſtudied to conceal their ſentiments with an affected obſcurity, *Porphyrius* expreſſed himſelf in a manner adapted to the meaneſt capacities (14). He taught philoſophy at *Rome* both by word of mouth and in writing. *Iamblichus*, a celebrated philoſopher in thoſe times, and *Theodorus* of *Aſine* in *Peloponneſus*, a man in great repute among the pagans, were both his diſciples (15); as likewiſe were, according to ſome writers, *Chryſaores*, *Nemercus*, and *Gedalus*, who inſcribed ſome works to him (16). He was very communicative to thoſe who deſired to be informed and inſtructed, and kind to his diſciples, whom on all occaſions he was ready to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power. He applied himſelf, as moſt of the *Platonic* philoſophers did in thoſe days, to the execrable ſtudy of magic, which he diſguiſed with the plauſible name of *theourgia*, or *divine operation* (17). He compoſed an infinite number of books upon different ſubjects, of which the reader will find a catalogue in the latter end of the diſſertation which *Holſtenius* publiſhed on the life and writings of that philoſopher (18). We ſhall only take notice of ſuch of his works as are ſtill extant. A manuſcript has reached our times on the quantity and meaſure of words, under the name of *Porphyrius*, whom *Holſtenius* believes to have been the true author of it. To *Homer* is added in ſeveral editions a ſmall work, containing thirty-two queſtions concerning that poet, done by *Porphyrius*, and looked upon by *Holſtenius* as the beginning of an intire comment, well known to the ancients. The ſame writer publiſhed in 1630. a piece, which he aſcribes to *Porphyrius*, on the cave of the nymphs, deſcribed in the thirteenth book of the odyſſy: the reader will find there many difficulties cleared up touching the theology of the pagans: at the ſame time *Holſtenius* publiſhed a fragment of *Porphyrius* on the river *Styx*; and ſeveral other fragments of that piece are to be found in *Stobæus*. *Porphyrius* often quotes there the heretic *Bardeſanes*, and his diſciples, who, he ſays, lived in the time of *Heliogabalus*. He wrote in five books the *curious hiſtory*, or, as it is ſtyled by others, *curious entertainments* (19). Out of the firſt book of this work, *Euſebius* quotes a long paſſage upon plagiaries, who copy from one another (20). Among his philoſophical works, *Holſtenius* takes, in the firſt place, notice of the introduction upon the *univerſals*, which he wrote while in *Sicily*, to explain to *Chryſaores*, his diſciple, the *categories* of *Ariſtotle*. One *Ammonius* wrote a comment upon this work, which is ſtill extant. Another work of *Porphyrius*, on *Ariſtotle*'s *categories*, was firſt printed at *Paris* in 1543. Beſides theſe two, he wrote a third on the ſame ſubject, in ſeven books, which he inſcribed to *Gedalus*. This was in great part copied by *Iamblichus*, who likewiſe publiſhed a treatiſe on the categories longer than that of *Porphyrius* (21). In the latter end of the laſt century was publiſhed at *Baſle* an introduction, written by *Porphyrius*, on *Ptolemy*'s work touching the influence and force of the ſtars; and ſeveral manuſcripts of a comment by *Porphyrius* on another work of *Ptolemy*, treating of harmony and muſic, are ſtill extant (22). His books, containing the lives and tenets of the philoſophers, were well known to the ancients; but he brings them no lower than to *Plato*'s time (23). The ſubject of the firſt book of this work was the life of *Pythagoras*, which *Holſtenius* has publiſhed, but imperfect. The third contained the life of *Socrates*, of whom he ſpeaks very contemptuouſly, having, as is ſuppoſed, compiled theſe lives with paſſages borrowed from the ancients, and among the reſt from *Ariſtoxenes*, a declared enemy to *Socrates* (24). The reader will find, in the ſecond book of *Stobæus*, great part of a work done by *Porphyrius* on *what it is in our power to do*, and inſcribed by him to *Chryſaores* (25). The four books, which he wrote againſt eating of fleſh, and the *Latin* tranſlation of them by *Bernardus Felicianus*, are highly eſteemed by *Holſtenius*. Theſe books are addreſſed to *Caſtricius Firmus*, who had an eſtate at *Minturnæ*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and greatly admired, or rather adored, both *Plotinus* and his favourite diſciple *Porphyrius* (26). *Euſebius* and *Theodoret* have made uſe of ſeveral paſſages in this work, in writeing againſt the ſacrifices of the gentiles (27). As in this work *Porphyrius* condemned the ſacrifices, which the *Jews* were by their law commanded to offer to the true God, *Diodorus*, biſhop of *Tarſus*, undertook to confute him as to that particular. St. *Auſtin* often quotes a treatiſe of *Porphyrius* on *the return of the ſoul to God* (28), divided into ſeveral books. This is, without all doubt, the treatiſe *on the ſoul*, which is often cited by *Euſebius*, and was divided into five books, written by *Porphyrius* to confute *Bæthius*, a celebrated *peripatetic* in the time of *Auguſtus* (29). *Porphyrius* publiſhed another work on the *faculties of the ſoul*, out of which a long paſſage has been conveyed to us by *Stobæus*. *Holſtenius* has publiſhed ſeveral ſentences or ſayings of *Porphyrius*, which make up part of a treatiſe intituled, *introduction to things intelligible*. *Euſebius* and St *Auſtin* make frequent mention of a letter from *Porphyrius* to one *Anebon*, an *Egyptian* prieſt or prophet, containing ſeveral queſtions touching the nature of demons, the oracles, and magic. This letter was anſwered by *Iamblichus*, under the feigned name of *Abammon* (30). *Euſebius* and *Stobæus* quote ſeveral paſſages out of a book *upon ſtatues*, wherein *Porphyrius* is ſuppoſed to have excuſed, in the beſt manner he could, the worſhip paid by the pagans to their idols (31). *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* has tranſcribed ſome paſſages out of another book of his, inſcribed to *Nemercus*, upon *Divine Providence*. *Euſebius* and St. *Auſtin* ſpeak frequently of a treatiſe intituled,

(8) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* x. *c.* 32. *p.* 120, 121. (9) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 21. (10) *Hier. in Ezech. p.* 377. (11) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 11. (12) *Idem, c.* 2, 3, *p.* 19, 20. (13) *Idem, p.* 18, 19. (14) *Idem ibid.* (15) *Phot. c.* 242. *p.* 1057. *Steph. p.* 121, (16) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 5. *p.* 44. & 51, 53. (17) *Aug. ibid. l.* x. *c.* 9. *p.* 111. *Euſeb. præp. Evang. l.* iv. *c.* 6. *p.* 143. (18) *Holſten. vit. Porph. c.* 6, (19) *Vit. Porph. p.* 46—49. (20 *Euſeb. præp. Evang. l.* x. *c.* 3. *p.* 464. (21) *Porphyr, vit. p.* 51, 52. (22) *Idem, p.* 54, 55. (23) *Idem, p.* 56, *Eunap, p.* 10. (24) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 7. *p.* 60. (25) *Idem, p.* 64, (26) *Idem ibid.* (27) *Idem ibid.* (28) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* x. *p.* 5, *&c.* (29) *Porph. vit. p.* 71, 72. *Euſeb. præp. Evang. l.* iii. *c.* 34. (30. *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* x. *c.* 11. *p.* 112, *&c. Euſeb. ibid. l.* xiv. *c.* 10. *p.* 741. (31) *Eutrop. p.* 75. *Euſeb. ibid. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *p.* 100.

intituled, *philoſophy founded upon oracles*, in all likelihood the ſame work with that which *Euſebius* elſewhere ſtyles *a collection of oracles*. This work conſiſted at leaſt of three books (32). St. *Auſtin* is of opinion, that moſt of the oracles related by *Porphyrius* in that treatiſe were feigned by himſelf (33). He publiſhed, by the advice of *Plotinus*, a book againſt the heretics called *gnoſtics*, to ſhew, that a treatiſe on magic, which they peruſed and aſcribed to *Zoroaſter*, was a ſuppoſititious piece, and written by ſome of them (34). He publiſhed an incredible number of other books, which are mentioned by the ancients, and have been long ſince intirely loſt. But none of his works have rendered him ſo famous as that which he wrote againſt the chriſtians, to whom he bore an irreconcileable hatred, and whoſe religion he endeavoured to diſcredit with the blackeſt calumnies. He read with great attention the ſcriptures, not to ſeek the truth, but to find arms wherewithal to impugn it, ſays *Theodoret* (35). He pretended to have diſcovered in the ſacred books a great many contradictions, which were, it ſeems, the ſubject of his firſt book; for the whole work was divided into fifteen (36). He found the prophecies of *Daniel* ſo clearly and evidently fulfilled, that he employed great part of his twelfth book in endeavouring to ſhew, that the prophecies aſcribed to *Daniel* had been publiſhed under his name by one who lived in the time of *Antiochus*, and wrote when the things ſuppoſed to have been foretold, had already happened (37). As *Porphyrius* was a man of great learning and highly eſteemed by the pagans, many were by his writings diverted from embracing the chriſtian religion, which, however, triumphed in the end over this, as it had done over all its other enemies. The emperor *Conſtantine*, after he had embraced the chriſtian religion, publiſhed ſome ſevere edicts, either againſt the perſon of *Porphyrius*, if he was ſtill alive, which is not at all likely, or againſt his memory and writings, which he cauſed to be publicly burnt (38). Some authors think, that this puniſhment extended to all his writings; but *Conſtantine*'s words need not be taken in ſo general a ſenſe (39). That prince, to ſhow his averſion to the *Arians*, ordered them to be called *Porphyrians* (40). The chriſtians did not fail to anſwer the ill-grounded calumnies and ſophiſtical reaſonings of their crafty and malicious enemy. The holy biſhop *Methodius* confuted him in a very learned piece, which he publiſhed before the perſecution of *Dioclefian*, in which he was crowned with martyrdom. Some are of opinion, that he wrote it during the perſecution (41); but we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that he was then at leiſure to compoſe ſuch a long and elaborate work, the biſhops being, in times of perſecution, wholly taken up in relieving, comforting, and encouraging the diſtreſſed chriſtians under their care. *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, a man of great learning and erudition, publiſhed, ſoon after *Methodius*, an anſwer to the calumnies of *Porphyrius* in thirty books; and *Apollinaris* wrote the ſame number of books againſt him about ſixty years after *Euſebius*. But all theſe works, as well as that of *Porphyrius*, which they confuted, have been long ſince loſt. *Julian* the apoſtate borrowed from *Porphyrius* what he wrote againſt the chriſtian religion; but he was fully anſwered by the pious and learned *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*. St. *Jerom*, St. *Auſtin*, *Euſebius*, and *Theodoret*, make uſe of ſeveral paſſages out of *Porphyrius*, in confuting the calumnies of the pagans; for that implacable enemy to the chriſtian religion, notwithſtanding all his hatred and malice, could not help uttering many things which redounded greatly to the honour of thoſe whom he intended to traduce and expoſe: hence the judicious obſervation of *Theodoret*, with which we ſhall cloſe this note; *viz. That as God obliged* Balaam *to bleſs his people, whom he was come with a deſign to curſe, ſo he turned the tongue of* Porphyrius *againſt himſelf, and employed him as a means to deſtroy the falſhood which he laboured to eſtabliſh* (42).

(32) *Porph vit. p.* 78. *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 15. *p.* 289. (33) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* xix. *c.* 23. *p.* 253. (34) *Plot. vit. p.* 10. (35) *Theodoret. de Græc. affect. l.* vii. *p.* 588. (36) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 19. *p.* 219 *Porphyr. vit. c.* 10. *p.* 81. (37) *Hier in Dan. p.* 567. (38) *Socrat. l.* i. *c.* 9. *p.* 32. (39) *Idem ibid.* (40) *Idem ibid.* (41) *P. Pagi, p.* 302. (42) *Theodor. de curand Græcor. affect. l.* iii. *p.* 117.

CHAP. XXV.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the reſignation of* Dioclefian, *to the removal of the imperial ſeat to* Conſtantinople, *by* Conſtantine the Great.

Conſtantius and Galerius acknowledged emperors.

UPON the reſignation of *Dioclefian* and *Maximian*, the two *Cæſars*, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, were univerſally acknowledged emperors. Of the latter we have ſpoken above, and ſhall here give a ſuccinct account of the birth, education, preferments, and qualities of *Conſtantius*, the father of the great *Conſtantine*, to whom the chriſtian religion is ſo highly indebted. *Conſtantius*, ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions, *Flavius Valerius Conſtantius* (D), was the ſon of *Eutropius*, one of the chief lords

Extraction and preferments of Conſtantius.

(D) *Conſtantius* is ſometimes called *Julius* by *Aurelius Victor*, to diſtinguiſh him from the other emperors of the ſame name (43). He probably aſſumed the name of *Valerius*, when he was adopted by *Maximian*, who had borrowed it of *Dioclefian*. As for that of *Flavius*, it was, according to ſome authors (44), peculiar to the family of the emperor *Claudius* II. whoſe great nephew he was. In ſome inſcriptions, *Conſtantius* is falſly ſtyled the grandſon of *Claudius*; and in one, *Conſtantine* is called the grandſon of *Claudius*, and the ſon of *Conſtantius* (45).

(43) *Aur. Vict. p.* 524. (44) *Vide Salmaſ. in Claud. p.* 331. (45) *Gruter. p.* 283.

a lords of *Dardania* in *Upper Mœſia*, by *Claudia*, the daughter of *Criſpus*, brother to the emperor *Claudius* [r]; ſo that he was not, as ſome have ſtyled him, grandſon [s], but great nephew, to that prince. He is commonly diſtinguiſhed from other emperors of the ſame name by the ſurname of *Chlorus*, borrowed perhaps from the *paleneſs* of his countenance, for ſuch is the import of that word in the *Greek* tongue. He was born, according to ſome writers [t], on the thirty-firſt of *March*, of what year we know not, being only told, that at the time of his death, which happened in 306, he was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, very old [u]. In his perſon he was well ſhaped; and in his aſpect there was ſomething extremely gracious and pleaſing [w]. He was not ſo well verſed in letters as in the military art, which he learnt under
b two great warriors, *Aurelian* and *Probus* [x]. An ancient anonymous writer tells us, that he ſerved ſome time in the guards, was afterwards made tribune, and at length appointed governor of *Dalmatia*. He ſignalized himſelf in war, and gained a great victory over the *Alemans* in *Campis Vindonis*, that is, in the neighbourhood of *Windiſch*, at preſent a ſmall village in the canton of *Bern*, the ſame year that *Conſtantine* was born, that is, in 274 [z]. He was made governor of *Dalmatia* in the year 282. or 283. by *Carus*, who had even ſome thoughts of creating him *Cæſar*, in the room of his debauched and wicked ſon *Carinus*, whom he deſigned to depoſe [a]. *Diocleſian*, judging him well qualified for the ſovereignty, agreed with *Maximian* to create him *Cæſar*, together with *Galerius*, on the firſt of *March* of the year 292. as
c we have related above. He received the purple at the hands of *Maximian*, who by that ceremony adopted him; and hence he is ſometimes called by the name of *Hercules* [b], which *Maximian* had aſſumed. He took place of *Galerius*, though created *Cæſar* at the ſame time, on account of his more noble extraction [c]. Upon his being made *Cæſar*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain* fell to his ſhare. We have related, in the foregoing reign, the exploits he performed in *Gaul* and *Britain*, while he was only *Cæſar*. When he attained to the empire, he governed the ſame provinces with ſuch juſtice, equity, and moderation, as gained him the hearts of his people, and made them look upon him rather as their common father, than their ſovereign. He is extolled, not only by *Euſebius* and *Lactantius*, whoſe teſtimony might be ſuſpected,
d but by all the pagan writers, as the moſt equitable, pious, prudent, humane, and generous prince, that ever ſwayed a ſceptre [d]. He was not ſolicitous, ſays *Eutropius* [e], about inriching the exchequer, but pleaſed that his people ſhould enjoy the fruit of their labour and induſtry. He was often heard to ſay, it was better the wealth of a country ſhould circulate among the people, than be locked up in the coffers of the prince. For fear of loading his people, he was extremely ſparing in his diet, furniture, equipage, and retinue. When he entertained his friends, and the officers of his court, he was obliged to borrow plate for the uſe of his table. What *Eutropius* writes is confirmed by *Euſebius*, who relates the following remarkable ſtory, paſſing over in ſilence, ſays he, many others no leſs remarkable, but
e generally known: As the moderation and mildneſs with which *Conſtantius* governed were every-where mightily applauded, and it was generally ſaid, that he had no money by him, being unwilling to raiſe any upon his people, *Diocleſian* ſent perſons on purpoſe to reproach him with his neglect of the public, and the poverty to which he was reduced by his own fault. *Conſtantius* heard theſe reproaches with patience; and having perſuaded thoſe, who made them in *Diocleſian*'s name, to ſtay a few days with him, he ſent word to the moſt wealthy perſons in the provinces, that he wanted money, and that they had now an opportunity of ſhewing whether or no they truly loved their prince. Upon this notice, every one ſtrove who ſhould be foremoſt in carrying to the exchequer all their gold, ſilver, and valuable effects; ſo that in a
f ſhort time *Conſtantius*, from the pooreſt, became by far the moſt wealthy, of all the four princes. He then invited the deputies of *Diocleſian* to viſit his treaſury, deſiring them to make a faithful report to their maſter of the ſtate in which they ſhould find it. They obeyed; and while they ſtood gazing on the mighty heaps of gold and ſilver, *Conſtantius* told them, that the wealth, which they beheld with aſtoniſhment, had long ſince belonged to him; but that he had left it, by way of depoſitum, in the

His excellent qualities.

An inſtance of the affections of the people to him.

[r] Zonar. vit. Dio. p. 243. Ammian. anonym. p. 471. Spon. p. 193. Claud. vit. not. Salmaſ. p. 331. [s] Byzantinor. familiæ, p. 43. [t] Bucher. de cycl. p. 276. [u] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 18. [w] Paneg. 5. p. 126. & 9. p. 192. [x] Aur. Vict. p. 524. Prob. vit. p. 241. [y] Anonym. Ammiano ſubjunctus, p. 471. [z] Paneg. 9. p. 192. [a] Car. vit. p. 235. [b] Paneg. 4. p. 115. [c] Lact. perſ. c. 20. p. 18. [d] Panegyr. 5. p. 126. 6. p. 136, 137. 9. p. 192, 219. [e] Eutrop. p. 587.

the hands of his people; adding, *That the richeſt and ſureſt treaſure of the prince was* a
the love of his ſubjects. The deputies were no ſooner gone, than the generous prince
ſent for thoſe who had aſſiſted him in this exigency, commended their zeal, and
returned to every one what they had ſo readily brought into his treaſure [f]. *Suidas*
writes, that, for his contempt of riches and grandeur, he was ſurnamed *the poor* [g].
Libanius too extols his tender and paternal regard for the people, who were bleſſed
with ſo good a prince; and adds, *No prince ever loved money leſs; no prince was*
His piety. *ever more loved by his ſubjects* [h]. *Euſebius* frequently commends the piety of *Conſtan-*
tius; and not only tells us, that he was inclined to the true religion, but that he
acknowledged only one God, the Supreme Being; that he had honoured him all
his life, had conſecrated to him his whole houſe, and condemned the many gods b
adored by the impious [i]. This is in a manner telling us, that he was a chriſtian;
and nevertheleſs, neither *Euſebius*, nor any other writer, affirms that, at leaſt in expreſs
terms; nay, it appears from *Euſebius*, that he eſteemed and countenanced, but never
profeſſed, the chriſtian religion. When *Diocleſian*, in the year 303. at the inſtiga-
tion of *Galerius*, began to perſecute the church, he ſent his bloody edicts to *Maxi-*
mian and *Conſtantius*, injoining both to ſee them put in execution in their reſpective
provinces. *Maximian* obeyed with great readineſs and joy; and *Conſtantius*, that
he might not ſeem to oppoſe his collegues, ſuffered ſome churches to be pulled down;
He favours but was ſo far from encouraging that, or any other violence, that, on the contrary,
the chriſtians. he preſerved the chriſtians in his provinces exempt from all the evils which they c
ſuffered in thoſe of the others; inſomuch, that the church enjoyed under him a pro-
found tranquillity and intire liberty of worſhip [k]. *Euſebius* relates of him the fol-
lowing memorable action: While his collegues, ſays he, were perſecuting the chriſtians
with fire and ſword, he politically pretended to perſecute them too; and declared
to ſuch officers of his houſhold and governors of provinces, as were chriſtians, that
he left it to their choice either to ſacrifice to the gods, and by that means maintain
themſelves in their employments, or to forfeit their places and his favour, by con-
tinuing ſteady in their religion. When they had all declared, the emperor diſco-
vered his real ſentiments, reproached in moſt bitter terms thoſe who had renounced
their religion, highly extolled the virtue and conſtancy of ſuch as had deſpiſed the d
wealth and vanities of the world, diſmiſſed with ignominy the former, ſaying, *That*
thoſe who had betrayed their God, would not ſcruple to betray their prince; and retaining
the latter, truſted them with the guard of his perſon, and the whole management
of public affairs, as perſons on whoſe fidelity he could depend, and in whom he
might repoſe an intire confidence [l]. Thus he filled his palace, continues *Euſebius*,
with the pious adorers of the true God, while the other princes exerted all their
power to extirpate the chriſtian name; nay, many miniſters of God daily offered up
prayers and vows for the happineſs and preſervation of ſo good a prince in his very
palace, which ſeemed rather a church, or oratory, than the habitation of an empe-
ror [m]. Tho' *Conſtantius* thus countenanced and honoured the chriſtians, yet he never e
embraced himſelf, which is altogether ſurpriſing, the true religion; at leaſt we are
His iſſue. no-where told, that he did, By his firſt wife, *Helena*, he had but one child, *viz.*
Conſtantine, ſurnamed *the Great*, of whom, as well as of his mother, we ſhall ſpeak
anon. He was obliged, in the year 292. to divorce her, and marry *Flavia Maxi-*
miana Theodora, daughter to the wife of *Maximian*, by a former huſband. He had
by her three ſons, *Dalmatius* or *Dematius*, *Julius Conſtantius*, and a third, named by
ſome *Annibalianus*, and by others *Conſtantine*; and as many daughters, *viz. Conſtantia*,
Anaſtatia, and *Eutropia* [n]. *Dalmatius*, who was honoured with the cenſorſhip, died
before *Conſtantine*, and left two ſons, *viz. Dalmatius* the younger, who, after having
been conſul in 333. with *Zenophilus*, was created *Cæſar* on the eighteenth or twenty- f
fourth of *September* in 335. and *Annibalianus*, king of *Pontus* and *Armenia*. *Julius*
Conſtantius was conſul with *Albinus* in 335. and killed with one of his brothers ſoon
after the death of *Conſtantine the Great*. He had by his firſt wife *Galla*, *Gallus Cæſar*,
and another ſon, whoſe name is unknown; and by his ſecond wife, *Baſilina*, *Julian*,
ſurnamed *the apoſtate*. *Valeſius*, who calls the third ſon *Conſtantine*, takes him to
have

[f] Euseb. l. viii. c. 13, 17. p. 309, 317. & vit. Conſtan. l. i. c. 13. p. 414. [g] Suid. π. p. 466. [h] Liban. orat. 3. p. 104. [i] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 13. & hiſt. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. [k] Euseb. l. viii. c. 13; 18. p. 309, 317. & Conſt. vit. l. i. c. 13. p. 413. Optat. mil. l. i. p. 44. Lact. c. 15. p. 13. [l] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 15. p. 415. [m] Idem ibid. c. 17. p. 416. [n] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. Eutrop. p. 586. Ammian. p. 2. Byzan. famil. p. 44. Goltz. p. 125.

have been conſul in 327. with *Maximus*, whoſe collegue is ſtyled in the faſti *Conſtantine*. As to *Conſtantius*'s three daughters; *Conſtantia*, ſtyled on the ancient coins *Fl. Valeria Conſtantia*, was married to *Licinius* in 513. *Anaſtatia* married *Baſſianus*, who, at the inſtigation of *Licinius*, betrayed *Conſtantine* in 314. though he had then ſome thoughts of creating him *Cæſar*. *Eutropia* was mother to *Nepotianus*, who uſurped the empire in 350. and is ſuppoſed to have been married to *Nepotianus*, who was conſul in 301.

BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of the reign of *Conſtantius*, it will be neceſſary to give the reader a ſuccinct account of the birth, education, and extraordinary qualities of his ſon *Conſtantine*, whoſe actions are inſeparably interwoven with thoſe of his father. *Conſtantine*, ſtyled in the ancient inſcriptions, *C. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Conſtantinus* [o], was born on the twenty-ſeventh of *February*, about the year 274. for at his death, which happened on the twenty-ſecond of *May* in 337. he was about ſixty-four [p]. As for the place of his nativity, the anonymous writer of his life, publiſhed in 1636. by *Henricus Valeſius*, and ſubjoined to the fifteen books of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Stephanus* the geographer [q], *Julius Firmicus* [r], who, according to the beſt-grounded opinion, wrote in the reign of *Conſtantine*, and *Cedrenus* [s], tell us in expreſs terms, that *Conſtantine* was born in the city of *Naiſſus* in *Dardania*, called alſo *Naiſus* and *Naſſus*, and now known by the name of *Niſſa*. It is certain, that the father and anceſtors of *Conſtantine* were natives of *Dardania*; that *Conſtantine* himſelf frequently reſided at *Naiſſus*, as appears from the many laws which he enacted there; and that he ever ſhewed himſelf partial to that city, inriching it with many privileges, and embelliſhing it with a great number of ſtately edifices; whence it is ſtyled by *Stephanus*, *the birth-place and work of the emperor* Conſtantine [t]. However, moſt modern writers of all nations, not excepting ſuch as are moſt jealous of the glory of ours, do us the honour to acknowledge this great emperor, this deliverer of the church, as *Euſebius* ſtyles him, a native of *Britain*, ſome of them ſuppoſing him to have been born in the city of *Colcheſter*, where *Coellus*, the father of *Helena*, reigned; others in *York*, where the *Roman* governors uſually reſided. We heartily wiſh, an opinion, which reflects ſo much glory on our iſland, were better grounded. But to ſpeak our ſentiments, unbiaſſed by any national prejudice or partiality, though we have had from abroad, and peruſed with great attention, the elaborate work, publiſhed at *Antwerp* in 1641. by the learned jeſuit father *Alford* on this ſubject, under the title of *Britannia Illuſtrata*, yet we cannot ſay, that his arguments weigh down with us the above-mentioned authorities. The moderns have been led into this opinion by a paſſage in a panegyric pronounced before *Conſtantine*, wherein the orator, addreſſing the emperor, told him, that he had ennobled *Britain*, *illic oriendo*, which words equally import *by being born there*, and *by being there made emperor*. In the latter ſenſe they are underſtood by *Lipſius* [u], and *Livineius* in his comments on thoſe ancients panegyriſts; but by father *Alford* and above ſeventy other authors of different nations, whom he quotes, in the former [w]; nay, both he and *Baronius* [x] think the above-mentioned words can admit of no other ſenſe. For *Conſtantine*, ſay they, was made *Cæſar* at *Rome*, and emperor at *Treves*: but that he was created *Cæſar* in *Britain*; that he was there firſt ſaluted *Auguſtus*; and conſequently, that the words of the panegyriſt may, and perhaps ought to, be underſtood in the ſenſe of *Lipſius* and *Livineius*, will evidently appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory from *Libanius*, *Euſebius*, the emperor *Julian*, *Lactantius*, and *Eumenius*, whom we ſhall quote hereafter. *Aldhelmus*, who flouriſhed in the ſeventh century, was the firſt who wrote in expreſs terms, that *Conſtantine* was born in *Britain* [y]: thoſe who came after copied from him, and, as it generally happens, from one another; by which means that opinion univerſally prevailed. *Aldhelmus* probably held it upon the authority of ſome tradition, or was perſuaded by the ambiguous paſſage of the above-mentioned panegyriſt. *Euſebius*, who relates the moſt minute particulars of the life of *Conſtantine*, never once mentions, which is very ſurpriſing, the place of his nativity.

The birth, education, and extraordinary qualities of his ſon Conſtantine.

The birth-place of Conſtantine.

Whether born in Britain.

Conſtantius had *Conſtantine* by the celebrated *Helena*, ſo much extolled, and not undeſervedly, by all the chriſtian, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtic, writers. Moſt modern authors,

[o] GOLTZ. p. 126, 127. [p] BUCH. cycl. p. 276. Byzant. fam. p. 214. LACT. p. 411, 412. Anonym. p. 471. [q] STEPH. in Naiſo. [r] JUL. FIR. matheſ. l. i. c. ult. [s] CEDREN. hiſt. p. 221. [t] STEPH. ibid. [u] LIPS. de mag. Rom. l. iv. c. ult. [w] Vide ALFORD. Britan. illuſtrat. p. 140—155. [x] BARON. ad. ann. 306. [y] BUCHER. de Belg. l. 6. c. 15. ALDHELM. de laude virg. c. 23.

Whether his mother Helena *was born in* Britain.

authors, whether natives of this island or foreigners, suppose her to have been the a
daughter of *Coellus*, a *British* king, and to have married *Constantius*, who was charmed
with her beauty, when he first came into *Britain*, in the reign of *Aurelian*. But this
opinion is no better grounded, than the former relating to the birth-place of *Constan-*
tine, there being a profound silence among the ancients, if we except *Nicephorus*,
with respect to the country of this pious, as *Eusebius* styles her, and venerable prin-
cess. As for *Nicephorus*, he gravely tells us, that *Helena* was the daughter of an
inn-keeper at *Drepanum* near *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*; that *Constantius*, being seized
with a lustful desire, while he lodged in her father's house, as he passed through
that place upon an embassy to the king of *Persia*, acquainted therewith his landlord,
who, to oblige the *Roman* embassador, offered him his daughter, a virgin in the b
flower of her age and of extraordinary beauty; that *Constantius*, terrified that night
with a dream, in which he saw the sun rising out of the western ocean, exhorted
his landlord next morning to preserve his daughter from any further pollution, and
earnestly recommended to him the child she should bring forth; that some time
after, other *Roman* embassadors, who happened to lodge in the same house, chiding
young *Constantine*, the fruit of that amour, and the child highly resenting that freedom,
the mother informed them whose son he was, and at the same time shewed them a
purple robe, the gift of *Constantius*. The embassadors, upon their return to *Italy*,
acquainted *Constantius* with what had passed, who thereupon ordered *Constantine* and
his mother to repair to *Rome*; but afterwards, not thinking them safe there, on account c
of the jealous temper of his lawful wife *Theodora*, he sent *Constantine* to *Nicomedia*,
to be brought up in the court of *Diocletian*, where he was instructed in the sciences,
and the truths of the christian religion, which he embraced [z]. Such is the account
Nicephorus gives us of the condition of *Helena*, of the birth and education of *Con-*
stantine; an account which contains, we may say, without exaggeration, as many
notorious blunders as periods. But we shall for the present only take notice of two;
the one in point of chronology, the other of history; which, with every judicious
reader, will be a sufficient apology for our rejecting, as altogether fabulous, the nar-
ration of that historian, though highly applauded by *Lipsius* [a], and adopted by some
modern writers of no mean character. To begin with the enormous anachronism d
contained in that account, it is evident from all the ancients, that *Constantine*, at
the time of his father's pretended embassy to the king of *Persia*, was twenty-nine, or
at least twenty-seven, years old. For *Constantius* was sent into *Persia*, according to
Nicephorus [b], after *Diocletian* had begun to persecute the christians; but his first edicts
against them were published, as we read in *Eusebius* [c], who lived at that time, on
the twenty-third of *February*, in the nineteenth year of his reign, that is, according
to all chronologers both ancient and modern, in the 303d of the christian æra. On
the other hand, *Eusebius* [d], *Epiphanius* [e], St. *Jerom* [f], *Victor* [g], *Nicephorus Constantino-*
politanus [h], &c. agree, that *Constantine* died in 337. being then sixty-four, or, as
some will have it, sixty-two; so that he must have been born in 274. or 272. and e
consequently was, at the time of his father's supposed embassy, twenty-nine or twenty-
seven years old. Besides, *Constantine* himself, in his oration annexed to the works of
Eusebius, tells us, that he was with *Diocletian* in the palace at *Nicomedia*, when the
memorable fire broke out there, of which we have spoken above; and that acci-
dent happened, according to *Eusebius* [i], a few days after the publishing of the first
edicts against the christians. 'Tis amazing, that *Lipsius* should, with other chrono-
logers, suppose *Constantine* to have been born about the year 272. and yet admit,
as an unquestionable truth, the fable of *Nicephorus*, which utterly destroys that sup-
position. As to the *Greek* historian's mistake in point of history, he tells us,
that the *Persians* having made an irruption into the *Roman* dominions, and threat- f
ening the empire with a destructive war, *Constantius* was sent with the character of
embassador, to try whether he could, by any means, even by the offer of a pension
to be paid yearly to the *Persian* king, prevail upon him to desist from hostilities, and
conclude a peace with the *Roman* emperors [k]. Now it is evident from *Eutropius* [l],
Eusebius [m], *Ammianus Marcellinus* [n], *Zonaras* [o], *Aurelius Victor* [p], *Festus* [q], *Lactantius* [r],
&c.

Nicephorus's account.

False and inconsistent with history and chronology.

[z] Niceph. l. vii. c. 17, 18. [a] Lips. de magnit. Rom. l. iv. c. 11. [b] Niceph. ibid. [c] Euseb. hist. l. viii. c. 7. [d] Euseb. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 53. [e] Epiphan. lib. de mens. [f] Hier. in chron. [g] Vict. in Const. [h] Niceph. Const. in chronol. c. 12. [i] Euseb. l. viii. c. 7. p. 292. [k] Niceph. ibid. [l] Eutrop. p. 586. [m] Euseb. p. 170. [n] Ammian. p. 109. [o] Zonar. p. 144. [p] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [q] Festus, p. 954. [r] Lactan. pers. c. 9. p. 9.

a &c. that the *Perſians* had, at leaſt ſix years before the time of this pretended embaſſy, been utterly overthrown by *Galerius*, and had purchaſed a peace of *Diocleſian*, by yielding up to him five provinces, as we have related above. This peace laſted, as the ſame writers aſſure us, for the ſpace of forty years, that is, till the year 337. the laſt of *Conſtantine*'s long reign. But after all, we muſt not imagine *Nicephorus* to have been the only writer who queſtioned the legitimacy of *Conſtantine*, and chaſtity of his mother *Helena*. For *Zoſimus* writes, that ſhe was not *Conſtantius*'s lawful wife[s]. The chronicle of *Alexandria* calls her ſon *Conſtantine*, in plain terms, a baſtard child[t]. St. *Ambroſe* gives us room to think, that this was a current report or tradition in his time; and that he himſelf did not diſbelieve it[u]. The ſame thing is

b aſſerted in the *Greek* text of *Euſebius*'s chronicle, publiſhed by *Scaliger*; and in that of St. *Jerom*, who has been followed by ſeveral eminent writers of a later date, namely, by *Proſper*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Aldhelmus*, biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the venerable *Bede*, who, ſpeaking of *Helena*, ſtyle her the concubine of *Conſtantius*. On the other hand, *Eutropius*[w] and both the *Victors*[x] tell us, that *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* were obliged, when created *Cæſars*, to divorce their former wives. *Conſtantius* therefore had a lawful wife before he married *Theodora*; and we are no-where told, that he had any beſides her and *Helena*. *Scaliger* indeed pretends, that he was married to *Minervina*, the mother of *Criſpus*, not appriſed, that *Criſpus* was *Conſtantine*'s ſon, and not his brother; a pretty conſiderable miſtake in a critic. The

c anonymous author of *Conſtantine*'s life, publiſhed by *Valeſius*, writes in expreſs terms, *that* Conſtantius *divorced* Helena *to marry* Theodora[y]; and *Eutropius*, that *Conſtantine* was *the fruit of an obſcure, but lawful, matrimony*[z]. At *Naples* is ſtill extant an inſcription, in which *Helena* is ſtyled *the wife of* Conſtantius[a]. In two others, to be ſeen in *Gruter*, ſhe is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *Auguſta*, which was never given, as is well known, to a concubine. The ancient panegyriſts ſupply us with preſumptions, of equal ſtrength with theſe authorities, in favour of *Helena*'s marriage with *Conſtantius*. One of them[b], in an oration which he pronounced before *Conſtantine* on occaſion of his marriage, addreſſes him thus: "You, O *Conſtantine*, make it your "ſtudy to imitate the continence of your father; treading in his footſteps, you prefer

d "in your early youth the ties of matrimony to an unreſtrained liberty, that you "may not be tempted to abandon yourſelf to looſe and unlawful amours." How prepoſterous and unſeaſonable would this addreſs have ſeemed, had *Conſtantine* been the fruit of an unlawful amour? By ſuppoſing *Helena* to have been the concubine, and not the wife, of *Conſtantius*, we at once turn the panegyric into a ſatire. For what can it be called but a ſatire, to cry up the continence of the father before a ſon, whoſe very birth is a proof of his incontinence; and to commend the ſon thus unlawfully begotten for imitating the continence of his father? *Helena* is ſtyled, not only by the panegyriſts, but hiſtorians, a moſt *pious*, *venerable*, *religious*, and *virtuous* woman; which epithets they would have hardly beſtowed upon her, had ſhe been

e *Conſtantius*'s concubine, and not his wife: neither would *Conſtantine*, we conceive, have dignified her with the title of *Auguſta*, had ſhe not been his lawful mother. The emperor *Diocleſian* ever diſtinguiſhed *Conſtantine* with particular marks of honour and eſteem, whereof *Euſebius* tells us, he himſelf was an eye-witneſs[c]; for he ſaw young *Conſtantine* on the emperor's right-hand, as they paſſed together through *Paleſtine*, either going to or returning from *Egypt*. He cauſed him to be brought up in the court with great care, took him with him whitherſoever he went, and, in the year 305. when two new *Cæſars* were to be created, named in the firſt place, no one, ſays *Eumenius*, calling in queſtion the right which he had to that dignity, as the ſon of *Conſtantius*[d]. *Euſebius*, ſpeaking of his father *Conſtantius*, ſays, that

f at his death he left the empire to his ſon *Conſtantine*, whoſe birth-right it was[e]. Illegitimate children were not, as is well known, thus treated and reſpected among the *Romans*. *Galerius* is ſaid to have alledged ſeveral reaſons to divert *Diocleſian* from naming *Conſtantine* to the dignity of *Cæſar*[f]; but among theſe we do not find the leaſt mention made of his birth, which, had it been unlawful, would have furniſhed him with a ſtronger and far more plauſible reaſon, than any he produced. Nay, we can by no means imagine, that *Diocleſian* would have ever thought of preferring *Conſtantine*,

Whether Helena *was* Conſtantius's *lawful wife.*

[s] Zos. l. ii. p. 672. [t] Chron. Al. p. 650. [u] Amb. div. 3. p. 123. Eutrop. p. 586. [x] Aur. Vict. p. 524. Vict. epit. p. 542. [y] Anonym. p. 471. [z] Eutrop. p. 587. [a] Gruter. p. 1086. [b] Panegyr. 5. p. 126. [c] Euseb. vit. Conſt. c. 15. p. 601. [d] Panegyr. 9. p. 191, 192. [e] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. 1. c. 19. p. 417. [f] Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 16.

Conſtantine, had he only been *Conſtantius*'s natural ſon, to that prince's lawful chil- a
dren by *Theodora*, for whom both he and his collegue *Maximian* had cogent motives
to intereſt themſelves. Theſe arguments are of ſuch weight with us, that, notwith-
ſtanding the above-mentioned authorities, we cannot entertain the leaſt doubt of
Conſtantine's legitimacy, unbiaſſed as we are by any prejudice or partiality with reſpect
Helena's *country and parentage.* either to him or his mother *Helena*. As for *Helena*'s country and parentage, no writer
before the ſeventh century mentions either: thoſe who flouriſhed after that time com-
monly ſuppoſe her to have been a native of this iſland, and the daughter of a king,
whom they call *Coelus* or *Coellus*. This opinion, grounded, as we conjecture, upon
tradition, or perhaps the authority of ſome hiſtorian, whoſe works have not reached
our times, obtained pretty early here, and produced the many churches and monu- b
ments which were erected throughout *Britain* to her honour.

But to return to *Conſtantine*. When his father was created *Cæſar* in 292. and
ſent into *Gaul*, *Diocleſian* kept him as an hoſtage, cauſed him to be brought up in
the court with great care, and raiſed him, long before the year 303. to the rank of a
Conſtantine's *excellent qualities.* tribune [g]. He already appeared capable of any degree of fortune, however elevated.
The lovelineſs of his countenance, blended with a certain air of majeſty; the tallneſs
of his perſon, extremely well ſhaped and regular; his life without blame or reproach;
his generoſity, good-nature, affability, and obliging behaviour, towards perſons of
all ranks, gained him the affections both of the people and ſoldiery to ſuch a degree,
that no one knew him, who did not wiſh to ſee him one day emperor, and was not c
ready to contribute, ſo far as lay in his power, to his preferment [h]. The anony-
mous writer of his life ſays, that he had no great learning: and truly learning
could not then be much in requeſt, ſince none of the four princes who governed
were men of letters. However, both *Euſebius* [k] and *Aurelius Victor* [l] aſſure us, that
Conſtantine was well verſed in moſt branches of literature; that he was a generous
encourager of learning; that after he was raiſed to the empire, he ſpent much of
his time in reading; that he compoſed, and pronounced in public, ſeveral orations;
and, that the many laws, which he publiſhed, were all drawn up by himſelf. One
of his orations has reached us, and is ſubjoined to the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory of *Euſebius* [m].
His courage and valour. But he chiefly ſignalized himſelf in war, and ſerved with great reputation under d
Diocleſian and *Galerius*, in their wars with the *Germans*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, and *Per-
ſians* [n]. He often grappled with the enemy hand to hand [o], and gave ſuch proofs
of his valour as raiſed ſome jealouſy in the other princes [p]. All authors, pagans
as well as chriſtians, agree in extolling, with the higheſt encomiums, his ſobriety,
His ſingular continence. continence, and the abhorrence he ſhewed from his early youth to unlawful plea-
ſures [q]. He never violated the laws of chaſtity, ſays an ancient panegyriſt [r]; but
ſubjected himſelf, when yet a youth, to the ties of matrimony, that he might not
be tempted to ſully himſelf with any kind of lewdneſs or impurity. He married
to his firſt wife *Minervina*, of whoſe parentage and condition no mention is made
by the ancients; and had by her *Criſpus*, who muſt have been born about the year e
300. for, twenty years after, he ſignalized himſelf in the wars againſt the *Franks* and
Licinius. *Diocleſian*, before he reſigned the empire, was for appointing *Conſtantine*
and *Maxentius*, the ſon of *Maximian*, *Cæſars*. But their election was oppoſed by
Severus *and* Maximinus *declared* Cæſars. *Galerius*, who at length prevailed upon the emperor to name in their room *Severus*
and *Maximinus*, who he knew would be intirely ruled by him, and blindly obey
his orders. The former was a native of *Illyricum*, deſcended of an obſcure family,
abandoned to all manner of vices, and in every reſpect unequal to ſo great a charge.
The latter was born in the ſame country, and no leſs meanly than the other; for
though he was nephew to *Galerius*, being his ſiſter's ſon, yet in his youth he had fol-
lowed the mean calling of a ſhepherd; and he proved, after his preferment, no leſs f
vicious than his collegue. He was yet a youth, and half barbarian, unknown to
the emperors, and quite unacquainted with ſtate affairs, when *Galerius*, who had
taken him a little before from his flocks, named him to *Diocleſian* for the dignity of
Cæſar [s]. The emperor, terrified with the menaces of *Galerius*, conſented, much
againſt his will, to the promotion both of *Severus* and *Maximinus*; and on the day
appointed

[g] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 12. p. 415. Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 17. [h] Euseb. ibid. l. i. c. 19. p. 417. Panegyr. 5 p. 125. [i] Anonym. p. 471. [k] Euseb. ibid. p. 418. [l] Aur. Vict. p. 524. [m] Orat. Const. ad ſanctor. cœtum, p. 567. [n] Euseb. ibid. p. 589. [o] Theoph. p. 6. [p] Euseb. ibid. p. 418. [q] Euseb. ibid. Panegyr. 7. p. 175. & 5. p. 126. [r] Panegyr. 6. p. 137. [s] Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 17. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Euseb. l. ix. c. 9.

a appointed for his reſignation, after having declared in a great aſſembly, that he yielded the empire to *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, who were more capable than he of bearing ſo great a weight, added, not without betraying ſome concern and reluctance, *I am likewiſe to name two new* Cæſars, *and theſe are* Severus *and* Maximinus. The whole aſſembly was greatly ſurpriſed to hear theſe two names, and began to aſk one another whether *Conſtantine* had changed his? Their ſurprize was doubled, when they heard *Galerius* command *Conſtantine* to deſcend from the throne on which he ſat with *Dioclesian*; and ſaw unexpectedly a young barbarian, who ſtood behind it, ſtep forth and receive the purple at the hands of the emperor. The numerous multitude was ſtruck with amazement; every one aſked, who *Maximin* was? whence b he came? for what demerit *Conſtantine* had been excluded from a poſt, to which he had ſo juſt a claim? but no one dared to oppoſe his promotion [t]. This happened at *Nicomedia*; and on the ſame day, that is, on the firſt of *May* of the year 305. *Maximian* reſigned the empire at *Milan* to *Conſtantius*, and declared *Severus Cæſar*. *Galerius* excluded *Conſtantine*, with a view of becoming ſoon ſole maſter of the empire; for he was well appriſed, that *Conſtantius*, who was ſubject to many infirmities, and quite worn out, could not live long; and beſides, he hoped eaſily to get the aſcendant over him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper. But he dreaded *Conſtantine*, on account of his courage, his experience in war, his addreſs, and other extraordinary qualities; and therefore reſolved to keep him in a private c condition, and allow him no ſhare in the government, that it might not be in the young prince's power to defeat his vaſt deſigns [u]. As for the two new *Cæſars*, he looked upon them as his own creatures, and perſons to be governed in every thing by him. Matters being thus ſettled, the empire was divided between *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*. To the ſhare of the former fell *Gaul*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; the latter had *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, *Egypt*, *Judæa*, *Syria*, and all the eaſtern provinces. *Conſtantius* yielded to *Severus*, *Italy* and *Africa*, as did *Galerius*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, to his nephew *Maximin* [w]. *Severus*, who was created *Cæſar*, to govern under *Conſtantius*, is always named before *Maximin*, who governed under *Galerius* [x]. As *Severus* was indebted to *Galerius* alone for d his promotion, that prince expected he ſhould obey him even againſt *Conſtantius* himſelf [y]. However, it is certain, that notwithſtanding the implacable hatred which *Galerius* had to the chriſtians, the perſecution ceaſed both in *Italy* and the other weſtern provinces, ſoon after *Conſtantius* was declared emperor [z]. In the mean time, *Conſtantine* continued at *Nicomedia*, in the heart of the provinces belonging to *Galerius*, who would not, though earneſtly intreated by his father *Conſtantius*, during a dangerous malady, with which he was ſeized, ſuffer him to depart; but pretending a great affection to him, kept him by way of hoſtage [a]. *Victor* the younger tells us, that he kept him with him at *Rome* [b]; but it is certain, that *Galerius* never came to that city [c]. As the extraordinary qualities of that prince gave the emperor great e umbrage, he only waited ſome opportunity of deſtroying him; but not daring, through fear of the ſoldiery by whom *Conſtantine* was greatly beloved, to make any open attempt, he had recourſe to treachery, and expoſed him, under various ſpecious pretences, to many dangers; from which he was happily delivered by the watchful providence of God, whoſe church he was to deliver from the perſecution, with which it had been cruelly oppreſſed for the ſpace of near three hundred years. *Praxogoras*, a pagan author, who compiled in two books the hiſtory of the firſt emperors, and wrote, according to *Voſſius*, in the time of *Conſtantine*, or his children, tells us, that *Galerius* often encouraged him to enter the liſts with wild beaſts, on which occaſion he once killed a lion of extraordinary fierceneſs and ſize [d]. The f ſame thing is related by *Zonaras*, who adds, that *Galerius*, in the *Sarmatian* war, obſerving one of the chiefs of the barbarians, who ſurpaſſed all the others in ſtature and the fierceneſs of his looks, ordered *Conſtantine* to engage him, which he did accordingly with great reſolution and intrepidity, overcame him, and throwing him to the ground, dragged him by the hair to the emperor's preſence, and laid him at his feet [e]. On another occaſion, *Galerius*, who ſought his deſtruction, having ordered him to croſs a marſh at the head of ſome troops, he entered it the firſt on

The empire divided between Conſtantius *and* Galerius.

Galerius *ſeeks the deſtruction of* Conſtantine.

[t] Lact. perſ. c. 19. p. 17, 18. [u] Lact. c. 18. p. 17. [w] Eutrop. p. 587. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. [x] Vide Spon. p. 192. [y] Lact. perſ c. 18, 20. p. 17---19. [z] Euseb. de martyr. Palæſtin. [a] Lact. perſ. p. 406. [b] Vict. p. 525. [c] Lact. perſ. c. 27. p. 25. [d] Phot. c. 67. p. 64. Voss. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 17. [e] Zonar. vit. Dioclef. p. 246.

on horſe-back; and being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the ſword, and gained a complete victory [f]. This too happened in *Galerius*'s war with the *Sarmatians*, which we muſt place in this, or in the beginnning of the next, year. a

The following year, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* being both conſuls the ſixth time, the latter, finding he could no longer detain *Conſtantine* without openly breaking with his collegue, gave him at length leave to depart, and ſigned a warrant for the officers of the poſt to ſupply him with the neceſſary horſes and chariots. This warrant he delivered to him in the evening; but at the ſame time ordered him not to make uſe of it till the next morning, when he deſigned to give him his final inſtructions [g]. In the mean time, he diſpatched an expreſs to *Severus*, injoining him, by all means, to ſtop *Conſtantine*, and prevent his arrival in the provinces governed by his father. That the expreſs might reach *Italy* before *Conſtantine*, he did not riſe that day, contrary to his cuſtom, till noon, when he ſent for *Conſtantine*. But he had ſet out the night before, as ſoon as *Galerius* had withdrawn; and travelling with all poſſible ſpeed, for ſeveral ſtages, hamſtringed or killed the horſes which he did not make uſe of, that no one might purſue or ſtop him while he croſſed the provinces of *Galerius* and *Italy*, where *Severus* ruled. This precaution ſaved him; for next morning, *Galerius*, being informed, that he had ſet out the night before, flew into a violent paſſion, and ordered ſeveral meſſengers to make what haſte they could after him; but he was told, that *Conſtantine* had diſabled all the poſt-horſes; which tranſported him to ſuch a degree, that, through grief and rage, he could ſcarce forbear burſting into tears [h]. *Euſebius*, *Lactantius*, and ſeveral hiſtorians, tell us, that *Conſtantine*, arriving in *Britain*, found his father at the point of death; but therein they muſt certainly be miſtaken, ſince *Eumenius*, in the panegyric which he pronounced before *Conſtantine* a few years after, writes, that he arrived while his father was weighing anchor with a deſign to paſs over into *Britain* [i]. With him agrees the anonymous writer, publiſhed by *Valeſius*, who ſays, that *Conſtantine* found his father at *Geſſoriacum*, or *Boulogne* [k]. He attended him into *Britain*, where he was going to make war, ſays *Eumenius* [l], upon the *Caledonians* and *Picts*. The latter people, now firſt mentioned in hiſtory, inhabited *Scotland*; but were thought, ſays *Bede*, to have come from *Scythia*, that is, according to the learned *Uſher*, from *Scandinavia*, or ſome other northern country [m]. *Conſtantius*, in the laſt days of his life, overcame the *Picts*, as the anonymous author quoted above informs us [n], being aſſiſted in this war, as we read in *Aurelius Victor* [o], by *Eroc*, or, as others ſtyle him, *Crocus*, king of the *Alemans*. Not long after this victory over the *Picts*, he died at *York* on the twenty-fifth of *July* in 306. the fourth year of the perſecution of *Dioclefian*, according to St. *Jerom* [p]; and the ſixteenth, or rather fifteenth, of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæſar*, that is, from the year 292. for he had enjoyed that dignity thirteen years and two months, and the empire one year, and near three months [q]. He died in his palace, ſurrounded by his children, and his body was with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence interred by his ſon *Conſtantine*. Some pretend, that he was buried at a place called *Caïr Segeint*, and by ſome *Caïr Cuſteint*, that is, the city of *Conſtantius* or *Conſtantine* [r]. In 1283. a body was found at a ſmall diſtance from that place, which *Edward* I. who reigned then, cauſed to be removed to a church, believing it to be the body of *Conſtantius*. This was not agreeable to the canons. Not long before, as ſome perſons were digging in a place at *York*, where *Conſtantius* was ſuppoſed to have been buried, they diſcovered a lamp that was ſtill burning [s]. After his death, he was ranked among the gods, as appears from ſeveral ancient coins, and among the reſt from one of his brother-in-law *Maxentius* [t]. *Conſtantius* bequeathed the empire to his ſon *Conſtantine* [u], who declared he would not accept it without the conſent of the other princes, to whom he immediately wrote, acquainting them with the death and laſt will of his father. But the ſoldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, impatient of delays, proclaimed him b c d e f

Conſtantine *eſcapes from* Galerius *to his father.*

Paſſes over with him into Britain *where* Conſtantius *overcomes the* Picts.

The death of Conſtantius

He bequeaths the empire to Conſtantine.

[f] Ammian. Anonym. p. 471. Lact. c. 24. p. 22. Euseb. Conſt. vit. l. i. c. 20 [h] Euseb. p. 418. Ammian. Anonym. p. 471. Lact. p. 21. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. Aur. Vict. p. 525. [i] Panegyr. 9. 194. [k] Ammian. Anonym. p. 472. [l] Panegyr. 9. p. 194. [m] Vide Usser. Brit. eccleſ. antiquit. p. 581, 578, 579. [n] Anonym. p. 471, [o] Vict. epit. p. 943. [p] Hier. chron. [q] Aur. Vict. p. 526. Euseb. chron. Goltz. p. 124. Eutrop. p. 587. Panegyr. 9. p. 194. [r] Usser. eccleſ Brit. antiq. p. 60. [s] Alford. ann. ad ann. 306. [t] Birag. p. 440. [u] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 21. p. 418. Julian. orat. 1. p. 13. Lact. perſ. c. 24. p. 21. Panegyr. 5. p. 127. & 9. p. 194.

a him emperor the ſame day in which his father died, and, the firſt time he appeared in public, ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, and forced him to accept the purple, knowing him, ſays *Zoſimus*, a writer no-ways biaſſed in his favour, to be truly worthy of the empire, and promiſing themſelves great things from his generoſity [u]. Thus was *Conſtantine* firſt declared emperor in *Britain*, the ſame day in which his father died; that is, on the twenty-fifth of *July* of the year 306. which, in an ancient calendar, is marked as the firſt day of his reign [w]. *Lactantius* tells us in expreſs terms, that, upon his father's death, he took the title of *Auguſtus* [x]; and *Euſebius* [y], that he performed his father's obſequies clad in purple; which is a plain proof, that he took, in *Britain* at leaſt, the title of *Cæſar*, which, however, thoſe muſt deny, who

b maintain him to have been born in *Britain*, as we have obſerved above. He afterwards ſent his image to the other emperors, adorned, according to cuſtom, with the marks of the imperial dignity. *Galerius* was long in ſuſpenſe whether or no he ſhould receive it; nay, tranſported with rage, he was upon the point of condemning both the image, and the meſſenger who brought it, to the flames; but his friends remonſtrating, that ſuch an affront would give riſe to a civil war, in which the ſoldiery would in all likelihood abandon him, and ſide with *Conſtantine*, he was prevailed upon to receive his image, and to ſend him the purple, that he might at leaſt ſeem to hold his authority of him [z]. However, he gave him only the title of *Cæſar*, and created *Severus* emperor, whoſe provinces, *viz. Italy* and *Africa*, he governed with

c as abſolute a ſway as his own, oppreſſing them with endleſs taxes, and practiſing unheard-of cruelties upon ſuch as were not in a condition to comply with his unjuſt demands. This occaſioned great diſturbances in all the cities of *Italy*, but eſpecially in *Rome*; which *Maxentius* laying hold of, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the diſſatisfied ſoldiery and people. *Maxentius* was, or at leaſt paſſed for, the ſon of *Maximian*; for ſome writers tell us, that he was a ſuppoſititious child, and that his mother, before her death, owned ſhe had impoſed him upon her huſband to gain his affection. However that be, he was quite deſtitute of every commendable quality, proud, arrogant, cruel, ill-ſhaped, or rather deformed, in his perſon, abandoned to all manner of vices, and univerſally abhorred, not only by his father's friends,

d but by his father himſelf, and much more by *Galerius*, whoſe daughter he had married. He had highly complained of *Galerius*, for excluding him in the year 305. from the dignity of *Cæſar*; but when he heard that *Conſtantine* had been raiſed to that high ſtation, and ſaw his image publicly expoſed in *Rome*, tranſported with rage, he reſolved at all events to do himſelf juſtice; and accordingly, having with large promiſes gained over the few prætorian guards that were then in *Rome*, and ſome of their officers, namely, *Lucianus*, *Marcellus*, and *Marcellinus*, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor on the twenty-eight of *October* of this year 306. and was acknowledged as ſuch by the *Roman* people, who hoped, by his means, to deliver themſelves from the inſupportable tyranny of *Galerius*. The news of his revolt no

e ſooner reached the eaſt, where *Galerius* then was, than he diſpatched a meſſenger to *Severus*, injoining him to haſten with all his forces to *Rome*, to ſurpriſe and ſuppreſs at once this new uſurper. On the other hand, *Maxentius* had recourſe to his father *Maximian*, who, either with a view to reſume the empire, which he had quitted much againſt his will, or to ſupport his ſon, haſtened to *Rome*, and thence wrote to *Diocleſian*, exhorting him to abandon his ſolitude, and remount the throne. *Diocleſian*, taken with the ſweets and tranquillity of a private and retired life, returned him the anſwer which we have related above. But *Maximian*, inſtead of following his example, ſuffered himſelf to be declared emperor a ſecond time by the ſenate and people of *Rome*; and receiving the purple at the hands of his ſon, was univerſally

f acknowledged for his collegue in the empire [a]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that his luſt of reigning, and deſire of ſupporting his ſon in his claim to the empire, prompted him to quit his ſolitude, and reſume the authority which he had unwillingly abdicated [b].

Who is ſaluted Auguſtus *by the ſoldiery.*

Galerius *grants him only the title of* Cæſar.

Maxentius *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.*

Maximian *reſumes the empire.*

While theſe things paſſed at *Rome*, *Conſtantine* was buſied in viſiting the provinces under his care, *viz. Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*, and defending them againſt the barbarians. His father *Conſtantius* had no ſooner left *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Picts*

[u] Zos. l. ii. p. 67. [w] Buch. cycl. p. 286. [x] Lact. perſ. c. 24, 25. p. 23. [y] Euseb. Conſt. vit. l. i. c. 22. p. 419. [z] Lact. perſ. c. 25. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. [a] Vict. epit. p. 543. Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 16, 17. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. Eutrop. p. 587. Euseb. vit. Conſt. p. 498. Panegyr. 5. p. 131. [b] Aur. Vict. p. 526.

The Franks *break into* Gaul, *but are overcome by* Constantine. *His severity towards the captives.*

Picts in *Britain*, than the *Franks*, forgetful of their oaths, had invaded *Gaul*, and committed there dreadful ravages. Against them therefore *Constantine* marched at the head of a powerful army, overcame them in a pitched battle; and having taken two of their kings prisoners, *Ascaric* and *Gaisus*, or *Regaisus*, he exposed them to be devoured by the wild beasts in the magnificent shews which he afterwards exhibited [c]. He thought himself obliged, says the panegyrist [d], to renew the severity of the ancient *Romans* towards their captive kings, in order to restrain, with the fear of punishment, a perfidious people, who made no account of the most sacred ties that awed other nations. *Eutropius* writes, that he treated in like manner the kings of the *Alemans*, who, it seems, were in confederacy with the *Franks*, and fell into his hands in this war [e]. After this victory, he passed the *Rhine*, and entering the country of the *Bructerians*, when least expected, made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many prisoners, whom he likewise condemned to be devoured by the wild beasts [f]. He repaired all the forts on the *Rhine*, placed numerous garisons in them, kept there a powerful fleet, and by that means struck such terror into the *Franks* and other *German* nations, that none of them dared to approach that river [g]. He even undertook to build a bridge over the *Rhine* [h], and accomplished, according to *Baudrand* [i], that great work; for he tells us, that it stood till the year 955. when it was broken down by bishop *Berno*'s orders. But *Valesius* [k] writes, that it was never finished, supposing, we imagine, (for he alledges no proof in favour of his opinion) that such a memorable work would have been more famous in history, had it ever been executed. *Bucherius* writes, that *Constantine*, to defend this bridge, built, or repaired, the castle of *Druitz* on the *Rhine*, over-against *Cologne* [l]. Be that as it will, *Constantine*, in memory of his victory over the *Franks*, appointed solemn sports, called from them *ludi Francici*, to be annually celebrated from the fourteenth of *July* to the twentieth [m]. Notwithstanding the severity he exerted towards the enemy, *Lactantius* [n] and *Eusebius* [o] assure us, that he governed his subjects with extraordinary mildness and moderation; that to all he shewed himself kind, affable, benevolent, and good-natured; that he made it his chief study to render those happy who lived under his administration, *&c.*

The mildness of his government.

The following year, *Severus* and *Maximinus* were created consuls by *Galerius*, and acknowledged as such in all the provinces of the empire, except those that obeyed *Maxentius*, where *Maximian* caused himself to be declared consul the ninth time. This is what we look upon as most probable; for the confusion which appears this year 307. in the consular tables, was the natural consequence of that which prevailed in the empire. *Constantine* was likewise consul this year, having, as we conjecture, been substituted in the room of *Severus*, who was killed before the year expired. Many writers, to avoid the confusion occasioned by such a number of consuls, have chosen to date this with the consuls of the preceding year, whereof we have not yet had any instance, but shall have frequently in succeeding times. This year *Severus*, in compliance with the orders he had received from *Galerius*, left *Milan*, and marched towards *Rome*, to drive from thence the usurper *Maxentius*. He had with him a powerful army; but consisting of troops which two years before had belonged to *Maximian*, the father of *Maxentius*, they were easily gained over by the latter, with *Anullinus*, who commanded them in quality of captain of the guards. Hence *Severus* no sooner approached *Rome*, with a design to besiege it, than they abandoned him, and joined his rival. Hereupon *Severus*, with a small body of troops that remained faithful to him, betook himself to flight, bending his rout towards *Milan*; but being closely pursued by *Maximian*, who met him at the head of some troops which he had raised in *Campania*, and was leading to *Rome*, he was obliged to shut himself up in *Ravenna*; which *Maximian* immediately invested. The place was well fortified, and supplied with great store of provisions; so that it might have easily held out till relieved by *Galerius*: but *Severus*, distrusting his own men, and relying upon the mighty promises and solemn oaths of *Maximian*, yielded up the place to him, and the purple with which he had been invested about a year and nine months before [p]. *Maximian*, unmindful of his oaths, carried him captive to *Rome*; and, after having kept him

Severus *marches against* Maxentius.

He is abandoned by his men, besieged in Ravenna, *and taken.*

[c] Paneg. 9. p. 190, 197. 5. 127. 7. 163. [d] Idem, 5. p. 126. [e] Eutrop. p. 587. [f] Paneg. 3. p. 197. [g] Idem, p. 198. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Baudr. p. 192. [k] Vales. rer. Franc. p. 18. [l] Buch. hist. Belg. l. viii. c. 2. [m] Eutrop. p. 587. [n] Lact. pers. c. 24. p. 23. [o] Euseb. vit. Const. l. i. c. 25. p. 420. [p] Aur. Vict. p. 525. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. Eutrop. p. 587. Anonym. p. 471. Hier. chron. Lact. pers. c. 26. p. 24.

a him some time confined to a place on the *Appian* way, about thirty miles from the city, called *Tres Tabernæ*, or the *Three Inns*, he caused him to be there put to death. The only favour he could obtain was that of dying by having his veins opened. His body was interred in the tomb of *Gallienus*, about eight or nine miles from *Rome* [q]. He left a son behind him, named *Severianus*, who was put to death by *Licinius* in 313 [r]. *Maximian*, well apprised, that *Galerius* would not suffer the death of *Severus* to pass unrevenged, resolved to strengthen himself with the alliance of *Constantine*, who, having conquered the *Franks*, enjoyed at that time a profound peace and tranquillity, and was wholly bent on promoting the happiness and welfare of his people. Having therefore fortified *Rome* with many new works, and put it in a condition of

His death.

b sustaining a long siege, he left *Italy*, and went to confer with *Constantine* in *Gaul*, where he persuaded him to marry his daughter *Fausta*, and at the same time changed the title of *Cæsar*, with which he had contented himself hitherto, as appears from several medals [s], and from a panegyric pronounced on occasion of his nuptials [t], into that of *Augustus*. *Constantine* is generally thought to have been declared emperor on the thirty-first of *March* of this year 307. *Fausta*, whom he married, is styled in the ancient inscriptions *Flavia Maximiana Fausta* [u]. *Lactantius* calls her *Maximian*'s second daughter [w]. Perhaps he looked upon *Theodora*, his wife's daughter, as his own; for we find no mention made of any other daughter of *Maximian*. She was born and brought up in *Rome* [x]. The emperor *Julian* commends her modesty and

Constantine *marries* Fausta *the daughter of* Maximian, *and is by him declared emperor.*

c blameless conduct [y]. *Minervina*, *Constantine*'s first wife, by whom he had *Crispus*, must have been dead at this time; for he is not said to have divorced her. By *Fausta* he had, besides *Constantius*, who is the best known of all his children, *Constantine* his eldest son, *Constans* his youngest, and two daughters, *Constantina* and *Constantia*, or rather *Constantina*, who was married, first to *Annibalianus*, and afterwards to *Gallus Cæsar*, her cousin-germans, and *Helena*, the wife of the emperor *Julian* [z]. The wife of *Gallus* is styled on an ancient coin *Flavia Julia Constantina Augusta* [a]. *Galerius* did not grant the title of *Augustus* to *Constantine* till about a year after, when he was obliged to bestow it on *Maximin* [b]. While *Maximian* was in *Gaul* with *Constantine*, *Galerius* entered *Italy* with a powerful army; but not sufficient, as he found by

His issue by Fausta.

d experience, to besiege *Rome*: for, as he had never seen the great capital of the empire, he imagined it to be only somewhat larger than *Antioch*, and some other cities of the east. He threatened to lay it in ruins, to put all the inhabitants to the sword, and utterly to extirpate the senate; but when he approached that immense metropolis, and viewed its fortifications, despairing to be able to carry it by assault, and not having with him a sufficient number of troops to invest it, he retired to *Interamna*, now *Terni*, and thence sent *Licinius* and *Probus* to exhort *Maxentius*, in his name, to demand the empire of his father-in-law, and not usurp it by force of arms [c]. But *Maxentius*, having found means to gain under-hand some of *Galerius*'s legions, was

Galerius *approaches* Rome *with a design to besiege it.*

But is obliged

e so far from hearkening to the deputies, that he would have marched out against *Galerius*, if he, distrusting his troops, and dreading the fate of *Severus*, had not hastened back into his own dominions. In his retreat he laid waste the country far and wide, to prevent the enemy from pursuing him, and allowed his soldiers to commit unheard-of disorders and cruelties [d]. *Maximian*, who was still in *Gaul*, being informed of the precipitous retreat of *Galerius*, did all that lay in his power to persuade *Constantine* to pursue him; but finding that prince no-ways inclined to engage in so dangerous a war, he repassed the *Alps*, and returned to *Rome*, where he reigned some time jointly with his son, but was less respected, and not so readily obeyed, as he. This piqued him to such a degree, that, divesting himself of all paternal affection, he resolved to deprive *Maxentius* of the empire, not doubting, but the troops

to retire with precipitation.

f that had abandoned *Severus*, as they had formerly belonged to him, would favour this attempt. Having therefore endeavoured under-hand to estrange them from his son, he assembled both the people and soldiery; and after a long descant upon the evils and misfortunes of the times, he turned unexpectedly to his son, who sat on the throne or tribunal with him, reproached him as the sole author of the present calamities, and, after many bitter and virulent invectives, stripped him of his purple robes,

Maximian *attempts to depose his son.*

and

[q] Vict. epit. p. 542. Zos. l. ii. p. 673, &c. [r] Lact. perf. c. 50. p. 45. [s] Goltz. p. 126. Birag. p. 459. Byzant. fam. p. 15. [t] Panegyr. 5. p. 127. [u] Goltz. p. 128. [w] Lact. c. 27. p. 25. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Julian. orat. i. p. 9. [z] Vide Anonym. p. 3. & Byz. fam. p. 46, 47. [a] Spanh. p. 640. [b] Lact. perf. c. 32. p. 29. [c] Idem ibid. c. 27. p. 25. Pan. 6. p. 136. Anonym. p. 472. [d] Lact. Anonym. ibid.

and tore them in pieces. *Maxentius*, leaping from the throne, implored the protection of the ſoldiery, who, being moved with his tears, but more with his promiſes, received him in their arms, loaded *Maximian* with injuries, and threatened him with preſent death [e]. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Maximian*, to appeaſe the ſoldiery, told them, that he was not in earneſt, but had made uſe of that artifice to try whether or no they were ſincerely attached to his ſon: but no one believing him, he thought it adviſeable to leave *Rome*, and accordingly haſtened back into *Gaul*, where he complained to *Conſtantine*, that his ſon had driven him from *Rome*. But *Conſtantine*, not ſeeming to be much affected with his complaints, about the month of *November* he repaired to *Galerius*, the declared enemy of his ſon, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs, but in reality to watch an opportunity of diſpatching him, and ſeizing his provinces [f]. But no favourable occaſion offered of putting in execution his wicked purpoſe. *Galerius* was not then at *Carnutum* in *Gaul*, now *Chartres*, as we read in *Zoſimus* [g], but at *Carnuntum*, or *Carnus*, on the *Danube* in *Pannonia*, with *Diocleſian*, whom he had invited thither to authorize with his preſence the election of *Licinius*, whom he intended to create emperor in the room of *Severus*. On this occaſion *Maximian*, in a private conference with his ancient collegue, did all that lay in his power to prevail upon him to reſume the empire, and deliver the people of *Rome* from ſo many tyrants [h]. *Victor* the younger writes, that *Galerius* himſelf preſſed *Diocleſian* to re-aſcend the throne [i]; which to us ſeems altogether improbable. Be that as it will, *Diocleſian* found ſuch delights in a retired life, that he would hearken to no propoſals of that nature. *Lactantius* aſſures us, that the deſign of *Maximian* was to re-inſtate *Diocleſian* and himſelf in the empire, and deſtroy the reſt one after another, his own ſon not excepted [k]. Some writers, and *Eutropius* among the reſt [l], ſeem to have believed, that *Maximian* only pretended to be at variance with his ſon, the better to deceive the other princes, and compaſs their ruin; but, inſtead of that, he was obliged to authorize with his preſence the promotion of *Licinius*, whom *Galerius* created emperor in the room of *Severus*, on the eleventh of *November* of this year 307. *Licinius* was a native of *New Dacia*, which lay on the *Roman* ſide of the *Danube*, and was, ever ſince the reign of *Aurelian*, accounted one of the provinces of *Illyricum*. He pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor *Philip*, but was in reality ſprung from a family quite mean and ignoble [m]. His education was ſuitable to his birth; for he was brought up without the leaſt knowledge of letters; nay he was not aſhamed to declare himſelf an open enemy to learning, calling the ſciences the peſt and bane of the ſtate [n]. He was naturally of a cruel, violent, and haughty temper [o], and addicted, even in his old age, to the moſt infamous debaucheries [p]. His inſatiable avarice prompted him, when raiſed to the empire, to fill his coffers by the moſt unjuſt, tyrannical, and iniquitous methods [q]. However, he was a brave and experienced officer, kept the ſoldiers to their duty, puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſions with the utmoſt ſeverity, and by that means revived in the army the diſcipline of the ancient *Romans* [r]. In the year 323. he was, according to *Victor* the younger, about ſixty. *Euſebius* ſpeaks of him as one at that time worn out with old age [s]; and *Lactantius* tells us, that *Galerius* did not create him *Cæſar* in 305. becauſe he was aſhamed to call him his ſon, but choſe to raiſe him to the empire at once, and ſtyle him his brother [t]. However, in 313. he married *Conſtantia*, the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, and had children by her [u]. *Galerius* and he had lived in great intimacy ever ſince they firſt entered into the army; and the emperor, repoſing an intire confidence in him, had, in all his expeditions, after he had attained to the dignity of *Cæſar*, ſuffered himſelf to be wholly governed by his counſels. The memorable victory, which *Galerius* gained over the *Perſians*, was in great meaſure owing to the valour and conduct of *Licinius* [w]. *Galerius* ſeems at firſt to have given him only the provinces of *Pannonia* and *Rhætia*; but at the ſame time he promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe that were held by *Maxentius*, as ſoon as he had driven out that uſurper [x]. Thus was the empire ruled at once by ſix princes, *viz.* *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Licinius*, *Maximin*, *Conſtantine*, and *Maxentius*.

But is obliged to retire to Gaul.

Licinius *created emperor.*

His extraction and character

a b c d e f

THE

[e] Panegyr. 6. p. 136 Eutrop. p. 687. Zos. l. ii. p. 674. [f] Lact. perſ. c. 29. p. 26. Eutrop. p. 687. [g] Zos. l. ii. p. 673. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Vict. epit. p. 542. [k] Lact. perſ. c. 43. p. 37. [l] Eutrop. p. 587. [m] Anonym. p. 473. Gord. vit. p. 165. Vict. epit. p. 543. [n] Vict. ibid. [o] Euseb. l. x. c. 8. p. 397. [p] Vict. epit. p. 544. [q] Euseb. p. 396, 397. Anonym. p. 474. [r] Eutrop. p. 587. Vict. epit. p. 543. [s] Euseb. l. x. c. 8. p. 397. [t] Lact. perſ. c. 32. p. 29. [u] Idem ibid. c. 20. p. 19. [w] Eutrop. p. 587. [x] Zos. l. ii. p. 674. Lact. perſ. p. 424.

a THE following year, *Maximian* was conſul the tenth time, and *Galerius* the ſeventh; but at *Rome* the year was dated *by the conſuls who ſhould be named*, *Maxentius*, who reigned there, refuſing to acknowledge the conſulſhip either of *Galerius* or his father *Maximian*. This continued till the twentieth of *April*, when *Maxentius* cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul with his ſon *Romulus*, ſtyled on the ancient coins *M. Aurelius Romulus* [y]. *Maxentius* gave him the title of *Cæſar* and *emperor*, created him conſul the following year, and ranked him among the gods after his death, which happened during his ſecond conſulſhip [z], being drowned, it ſeems, in the *Tiber* [a]. While the diſturbances and changes, which we have mentioned above, happened in the weſt, *Maximin* enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity in the eaſt, which he b governed with the title only of *Cæſar*. But when he underſtood, that *Licinius* had been declared emperor, he preſſed *Galerius* to raiſe him too to the ſame rank. The emperor could not be prevailed upon to grant him his requeſt, but, to content him, contrived a new title, appointing, that he and *Conſtantine* ſhould, for the future, be ſtyled *Filii Auguſtorum*, ſons of emperors; which title is ſtill to be ſeen on ſome of his and *Conſtantine*'s coins [b]. *Maximin* pretended to be ſatisfied with this new mark of diſtinction, but, in the mean time, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by his army; and in the letter which he wrote on that occaſion to *Galerius*, aſſured him, that the troops had, without his conſent or co-operation, ſaluted him *Auguſtus* [c]. This gave *Galerius* great uneaſineſs; but nevertheleſs, as he did not think it adviſec able to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had uſurped, he confirmed it, and at the ſame time granted it to *Conſtantine*, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowledged emperor through all the provinces of the empire [d]. This year, *Maximian*, thinking himſelf neglected by *Galerius*, left *Illyricum*, and privately withdrew to *Conſtantine* in *Gaul*, with a deſign to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to diſpatch him, and cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged in his room. The better to deceive him, he quitted the purple the ſecond time, declaring, that, in imitation of *Diocleſian*, he would lead a retired life, and no longer concern himſelf with public affairs. *Conſtantine* received him with the greateſt marks of honour and eſteem, aſſigned him an apartment in his own palace, and commanded all his ſubd jects to pay the ſame obedience to the orders of his father-in-law, as to his own. But the reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit of *Maximian* did not ſuffer him long to enjoy ſo happy a ſituation. *Conſtantine* was then buſied in building a bridge over the *Rhine*; which great undertaking ſtruck the neighbouring nations with ſuch terror, that they ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, offering to deliver up ſome of their chiefs as hoſtages and pledges of their ſincerity. However, ſome *Franks* ſtill continued in arms; and againſt theſe *Maximian* adviſed *Conſtantine* to march with a ſmall body of forces, and leave the reſt at *Arelatum*, now *Arles*. His deſign was to make himſelf maſter of *Conſtantine*'s forces, and ſeize his provinces, if any misfortune ſhould befall him, as there was room to believe there might, ſeeing he was attended only by a ſmall army. *Conſtantine*, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, followed the advice of his father-in-law, e who marched part of the way with him, and then returned to *Arles*, where the emperor had left the flower of his troops. When he thought him engaged in the enemy's country, he all on a ſudden reſumed the purple the third time, made himſelf maſter of the palace, ſeized on the treaſures there, diſtributed great part of them among the ſoldiers who were preſent, and wrote to thoſe who were abſent letters filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt *Conſtantine*, inviting them, with mighty promiſes, to follow the example of the troops at *Arles* [e]. *Conſtantine* was no ſooner informed of what had paſſed, than he led back his army by land from the *Rhine* to *Challon*, where he imbarqued his forces on the *Sône*; and landing them unexpectedly at *Arles*, f ſurpriſed *Maximian*, before he was in a condition to oppoſe him. The ſoldiers who had declared for *Maximian*, awed with the preſence of their lawful commander, returned to their duty, a ſmall number excepted, who being ſeduced by the preſents and promiſes of the uſurper, fled with him to *Marſeilles*, and ſhut themſelves up in that city. *Conſtantine* purſued them cloſe, and arriving before the place, would have carried it by aſſault, had not his ſcaling ladders unluckily proved too ſhort. This obliged him to ſound the retreat; but, in the mean time, ſome of the inhabitants having

Maxentius *and his ſon* Romulus *conſuls* at Rome.

Maximin *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.*

Conſtantine *acknowledged emperor by* Galerius.

Maximian *attempts to deſtroy* Conſtantine.

[y] BUCH. cycl. p. 238. IDAT. BIRAG. p. 450, 452. [z] Vide NORIS. de Dioclef. num. [a] Paneg. 6. p. 146. [b] BIRAG. p. 446. LACT. p. 23. EUSEB. p. 310. [c] LACT. perſ. p. 433. [d] Idem ibid. c. 43. p. 36. c. 44. p. 38. [e] LACT. p. 26. Panegyr. 9. p. 199, 200. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. VALES. rer. Franc. p. 21.

He is taken prisoner; but used with great clemency by Constantine.

having opened one of the gates to *Constantine*'s men, they entered the city, seized on the usurper, while he was uttering from the walls bitter invectives against the emperor, and carried him to *Constantine*; who, after having reproached him with his treachery and ambition, and obliged him to quit the purple, not only granted him his life, but suffered him, through an excess of clemency and good-nature, to continue with him in the same palace [f]. While these things passed in *Gaul*, the troops in *Africa* revolting from *Maxentius*, who was acknowledged there, declared *Alexander*, who commanded them in quality of lieutenant, emperor, and with the usual ceremonies gave him the purple at *Carthage* [g]. He was descended of an ignoble and mean family in *Phrygia* [h], or, as *Aurelius Victor* will have it, in *Pannonia* [i]. All authors paint him as one in every respect unequal to so great a charge, being stricken in years, and quite destitute of vigor, prudence, and courage. Besides, his troops consisted chiefly of new levies, unacquainted with the military discipline, and for the most part without arms. However, as he had a *Maxentius* for his rival, he maintained his usurped authority for the space of three years at least, some of his *Greek* coins, which have reached us, being dated the fourth year of his reign [k]. One *Nigrinianus*, who is represented on some ancient medals with rays round his head, and the title of *divus* or *deified*, is by most antiquaries thought to have been the son of *Alexander* [l].

Alexander *usurps the empire in* Africa.

The following year 309. *Maxentius* took upon him his second consulship at *Rome*, having his son *Romulus* for his collegue [m]. There were, it seems, no other consuls, in the other parts of the empire; for this year is commonly distinguished by the consuls of the preceding year thus, the year *after the tenth and seventh consulship*, viz. of *Maximian* and *Galerius*. Some, however, are of opinion, that *Licinius* was this year consul for the first time; and it is past all doubt, that he was consul before the death of *Galerius*. This year *Eumenius*, as is commonly believed, pronounced his panegyric on *Constantine*, in a city which stood on a great river that falls into the *Rhine* above *Cologne* [n]; that is, according to most interpreters, in *Treves*, which stood then, as it still does, on the *Moselle*, the river plainly pointed at in the above-mentioned description. The panegyrist tells us, that *Constantine* was then busied in repairing the walls of that city, which had been ruined, and in building there a great circus, a large square, basilics, and a magnificent palace for the administration of justice. He extols the generosity of the good-natured emperor, the effects whereof had been felt in all the places through which he had passed; and therefore he intreats him to visit the city of *Autun*, where the orator himself was born, and at that time taught rhetoric. In the close of his speech, he recommends to the emperor his five children, and all his disciples, some of whom already enjoyed the first employments in the state [o]. The following year, *Andronius* and *Probus* were named consuls by *Galerius*; but were not acknowledged as such at *Rome*, where *Maxentius* took upon him that dignity the third time without a collegue. In the consular tables this year is dated as the preceding, thus; *the second year after the tenth and seventh consulship* [p]. This year, *Maximian*, no longer able to lead a private and retired life, resolved at all events to attempt the recovery of his former condition; but being well apprised, that all his efforts would prove unsuccessful, so long as *Constantine* lived, he determined, in the first place, to murder him; and, in order to compass his wicked purpose, had recourse to his daughter *Fausta*, the wife of *Constantine*, using his utmost endeavours, and all manner of caresses and intreaties, to prevail upon her to betray her husband, and leave the door of the bed-chamber open; which she promised to do, but immediately revealed the whole to *Constantine*, who, unwilling to condemn his father-in-law without some undeniable proof of his guilt, placed one night an eunuch in his bed, and left the door of the chamber open. *Maximian* did not fail to lay hold of the opportunity, and entering the room about midnight, killed the eunuch, crying out as he retired, Constantine *is dead*; *I am emperor*. But *Constantine* appearing that instant, attended by a numerous guard, stopped him, and shewed him the body of the murdered eunuch. It is easier to conceive than express the terror and dismay that seized him, when he found himself thus convicted of the most detestable treachery imaginable, without being able either to excuse or deny it. As he had been chiefly prompted

Eumenius *pronounces his panegyric on* Constantine.

Maximian *attempts to murder* Constantine.

He is discovered and seized.

[f] Panegyr. 9. p. 200, 201, 202. Lact. perf. c. 29. p. 27. [g] Zos. l ii. p. 675. Vict. epit. p. 542. [h] Zos. & Vict. ibid. [i] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [k] Goltz. p. 125. [l] Birag. p. 445. [m] Buch. cycl. p. 238. Onuph. in fast. p. 263. [n] Panegyr. 9. p. 198. [o] Idem, p. 190, &c. [p] Buch. p. 238. & 249. Idat. Prosp. &c.

a prompted to this exceſs of wickedneſs by the mild treatment which he had hitherto met with, and ſtill promiſed himſelf, from *Conſtantine*, that prince thought himſelf obliged, in his own defence, to put an end to the life and crimes of ſuch an ambitious, implacable, and treacherous enemy. The only favour he granted him was the choice of his death, and he choſe of all deaths the moſt infamous and diſgraceful, which was hanging [q]. Such was the unhappy, but deſerved, end of *Maximian*, after having reigned with great glory at leaſt twenty years, and lived, according to *Victor* the younger [r], about ſixty (E). *Conſtantine* cauſed all his ſtatues to be pulled down, his images to be torn in pieces, and his inſcriptions eraſed, not ſparing even ſuch as were common to him with *Dioclefian* [s]. The ſame year, *Galerius* was ſeized with a moſt *His death.*

b dreadful diſtemper, an incurable ulcer in his privy parts. *Lactantius* [s] and *Euſebius* [t] deſcribe at length the miſerable condition to which he was reduced, and tell us, that, beſides the inexpreſſible torments with which he was racked night and day, without the leaſt reſpite, ſuch an inſufferable ſtench iſſued out of his body, as infected not only the palace, but the whole city. The diſtemper increaſed daily, in ſpite of all the art and ſkill of the beſt phyſicians and ſurgeons: his thighs putrified by degrees, his belly was conſumed, his bowels laid open, and the whole maſs of his blood corrupted. Notwithſtanding all the care that could be uſed, he was devoured alive with infinite ſwarms of worms and vermin. No longer able to bear ſuch unrelenting torments, he often attempted to lay violent hands on himſelf, and cauſed ſome of his

c phyſicians to be put to death, becauſe their remedies proved ineffectual. He had recourſe to *Apollo*, to *Æſculapius*, and all his gods, but to no effect; nay, the remedies which *Apollo*, or rather ſome impoſtor in his name, preſcribed to him, ſerved only to aggravate his raging diſtemper. He languiſhed in this painful and, beyond expreſſion, miſerable condition, a whole year and upwards, ſuffering every minute all the agonies of death [u]. The pagan as well as chriſtian writers take notice of this unaccountable malady of *Galerius* [w]. The latter aſcribe it to divine vengeance, as he had been the chief author of the perſecution and unheard-of cruelties ſuffered by the chriſtians. This year, *Conſtantine* waged war with the *Alemans*, the *Bructerians*, *Cheruſcans*, *Chamavians*, and ſeveral other *German* nations; who, after having

d attacked the *Romans* in ſeparate bodies, joined in the end all their forces, and formed a very numerous and powerful army [x]. *Conſtantine*, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured in diſguiſe into the midſt of their army, pretending to be a deputy ſent to them by the emperor. As he found, that not caring to engage him, they deſigned to ſeparate, which would have rendered the war more tedious, he aſſured them, that the emperor was not then with his army; which they no ſooner underſtood, than they diſmiſſed the pretended deputy, and without loſs of time marched with all their forces againſt the enemy. *Conſtantine* received them at the head of his army, put them to the rout at the firſt onſet, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them in their flight [y]. It was perhaps on account of this victory that he

e took the title of *Maximus*, which we find on ſome of his medals ſtruck this year 310. the fifth of his reign [z]. *Euſebius* tells us, that, after he had driven out of *Gaul*, or intirely ſubdued, the barbarians bordering on the *Rhine* and the ocean, he paſſed over into *Britain*, and there reduced ſuch of the inhabitants as had not yet ſubmitted to him [a]. But of this expedition no mention is made by the panegyriſts.

Galerius *is ſeized with a dreadful diſtemper*

Conſtantine *overcomes ſeveral* German *nations.*

The next conſuls were *Galerius*, the eighth time, and *Maximinus*, the ſecond; but *Maxentius* refuſing to acknowledge them, *Rome* was without conſuls till the month of *September*,

q Lact. perſ. c. 30. p. 27. Eutrop. p. 587. Zos. l. ii. p. 674. Vict. epit. p. 542. r Idem ibid. s Lact. perſ. c. 33. p. 30. t Euseb. l. viii. c. 16. p. 314, 315. u Idem ibid. Lact. c. 33. w Aur. Vict. epit. p. 525. Zos. p. 674. Anonym. p. 472 x Panegyr. 7. p. 163—165. y Idem, p. 164. z Birag. p. 462. a Euseb. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 25. p. 420.

(E) Some authors write, that *Maximian* died at *Marſeilles*, confounding perhaps his death with what happened to him there in 308. as *Zoſimus* confounds it with that of *Maximin* II. in telling us, that he died a natural death at *Tarſus* (46). In an ancient chronicle, quoted by *Du Cheſne* (47), we are told, that about the year 1054. his body was diſcovered at *Marſeilles* in a leaden coffin, incloſed in a tomb of white marble, ſo well embalmed, that it was ſtill intire, and appeared freſh. The author of the chronicle writes, that he learnt this of thoſe who had ſeen the body; and adds, that *Raimbaud*, archbiſhop of *Arles*, perſuaded the inhabitants to throw the carcaſe of ſuch an unmerciful perſecutor of the church into the ſea, with the coffin, tomb, and whatever elſe was found with it. St. *Ambroſe* had written long before, that *Maximian* was buried in a moſt beautiful tomb of marble (48).

(46) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 674. (47) *Du Cheſ. tom.* 3. *p.* 641. (48) *Ambroſ. epiſt.* lvii. *p.* 321.

September, when *Rufinus* and *Eufebius Volufianus* were honoured with that dignity [b]. a
As the diftemper of *Galerius* grew daily more raging and violent, he began at length
to afcribe it to the juft vengeance of heaven, for his cruelties to the innocent chrift-
Galerius *puts a ftop to the perfecution.* ians, and immediately publifhed an edict, ordering a ftop to be put to the perfecu-
tion. This edict was enacted in the name of three emperors, *viz. Galerius*, *Con-*
ftantine, and *Licinius*. *Maxentius* was looked upon by *Galerius* as an enemy, and had
never been acknowledged by him; and as for *Maximin*, he either would not agree
with the reft to put a ftop to the perfecution, or his name has been, through a miftake
of the tranfcribers, omitted in the edict, as that of *Licinius* has been left out in moft
editions of *Eufebius*, and even in the *Latin* tranflation by *Rufinus*. The edict was
dated the twentieth year of the reign of *Galerius*, and confequently muft have been b
drawn up after the firft of *March* of this year 311. It was publicly fet up at *Nico-*
media on the thirtieth of *April*, and the following month his death was known there;
His death. for he died, according to the moft probable opinion, at *Sardica*, the metropolis of
New Dacia, now known by the name of *Sofia*, or, as the inhabitants ftyle it, *Tria-*
dizza [c]. *Galerius* had reigned, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæfar*,
nineteen years, two months, and fome days. He had been emperor fix years and a
few days; for we find fome of his coins dated the feventh year of his reign [d]. Before
he expired, he earneftly recommended to *Licinius* his wife *Valeria*, the daughter of
Diocleftan, and *Candidianus* his natural fon [e]; which fhews, that *Licinius* was prefent
when he died. He was buried in the fame city where he was born, and afterwards c
deified with the ufual ceremonies [f]. *Maximin* was no fooner informed of the death
of *Galerius*, than he haftened from the eaft, where he then was, with a defign to
feize on his provinces, and entering *Bithynia*, made himfelf maftер of all the coun-
tries beyond the *Propontis*. On the other hand, *Licinius*, having drawn together his
forces, marched to oppofe him; and the two armies encamped over-againft each
other, the one on the coaft of *Afia*, and the other of *Europe*. However, they came
at length to an agreement; and in a private interview, which they had in the ftreights
of *Chalcedon*, they entered into an offenfive and defenfive alliance, which they con-
Licinius *and* Maximin *divide his provinces.* firmed with the moft folemn oaths [g]. *Maximin* remained maftер of *Bithynia*, and d
Licinius of *Thrace*, the ftreights of *Chalcedon* being the common boundary between
the two empires [h]. *Valeria*, the widow of *Galerius*, though earneftly recommended
by him at the point of death to *Licinius*, chofe to withdraw into the dominions of
Maximin, with her mother *Prifca* the wife of *Diocleftan*, *Candidianus* the natural fon
of *Galerius*, and *Severianus* the fon of *Severus*, put to death by *Maximian* in 307.
Maximin treated *Valeria* for fome time with the utmoft refpect, honouring her with
the title of mother; nay, he conceived a violent paffion for her, and even offered to
repudiate his own wife, and marry her. *Valeria*, not a little furprifed at this unex-
pected propofal, anfwered him with great freedom, That the ftate and habit fhe
was in, the time of her mourning for the death of her hufband not being yet expired,
did not allow her to think of marriage; that to her it feemed very ftrange he fhould e
put away a wife, who had not given him the leaft occafion of complaint; that fuch
a proceeding gave her room to expect the like treatment; and, in fhort, that it was
both unbecoming and unprecedented in a perfon of her rank to entertain the leaft
Valeria *enormoufly abufed by* Maximin. thought of a fecond marriage. *Maximin* was provoked to fuch a degree with this
frank and generous anfwer, that, changing his love into hatred and rage, he imme-
diately baniftied both her and her mother, feized on all her effects, confined her
domeftics, put her eunuchs to the rack, and, upon falfe accufations, fentenced to
death feveral illuftrious ladies who attended her, and among the reft two fenators
wives, and one, whofe daughter was a veftal at *Rome*. They were publicly executed
at *Nicea*, upon the depofition of a *Jew*, who falfly accufed them of adultery, hoping f
to efcape the puniftment due to his crimes by impeaching them. The people loudly
complained of fuch a bare-faced piece of injuftice, and, tranfported with rage, would
have torn in pieces *Eratineus* the governor of that province, while he fat on his tri-
bunal to condemn them, and fee his fentence put in execution, had he not been
furrounded by a numerous body of foldiers, who with much-ado protected him
againft the infults of the incenfed populace. The *Jew*, their accufer, being after-
wards

[b] Lact. perf. c. 35. p. 31. Buch. cycl. p. 238. [c] Lact. perf. c. 33. p. 30. Euseb. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. [d] Pagi, p. 311. [e] Lact. c. 35, 50. p. 32, 44. Euseb. l. viii. c. 17. [f] Vict. epit. p. 543. Birag. p. 444. Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. [g] Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. Lact. c. 45. p. 39. [h] Euseb. Lact. ibid.

a wards condemned to be crucified, acknowledged on the croſs their innocence, and his own guilt, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſuborned to accuſe them [i]. *Valeria*, though confined in the deſerts of *Syria*, found means to acquaint her father *Diocleſian* with the miſerable ſtate ſhe was in, who, moved with tenderneſs and compaſſion, ſent ſeveral perſons, and among the reſt a kinſman of his own, an officer of great diſtinction in the army, to intreat *Maximin*, by all the obligations he owed him, to releaſe his beloved daughter from her confinement, and allow him the ſatisfaction of enjoying her company in his old age. But the tyrant was deaf to all intreaties; which is ſaid to have haſtened the death of the old emperor [k].

Conſtantine, in the mean time, was buſied in viſiting the provinces under his govern-
b ment. He arrived this year, the ſixth of his reign, at *Autun*; and finding the inhabitants overloaded with taxes, he not only forgave them what they owed to the exchequer ever ſince his acceſſion to the empire, but remitted above a fourth part of all impoſts. In acknowledgment of this favour, the city of *Autun*, looking upon the generous and good-natured emperor as their founder, took the name of *Flavia*, which was the name of his family; and upon his return to the place of his reſidence, probably *Treves*, they ſent *Eumenius* to return him thanks for his extraordinary kindneſs to them; which the orator did in a ſpeech that is ſtill extant [l]. In the mean time, *Maxentius*, who reigned at *Rome*, undertook the reduction of *Africa*, which had revolted, as we have related above, in 308. and declared *Alexander* em-
c peror. Againſt him *Maxentius* diſpatched *Rufus*, or *Ruſius Voluſianus*, probably the conſul of this year, and one *Zenus*, a celebrated commander, who, in the firſt battle that was fought, put the troops of *Alexander* to the rout, took him priſoner, and cauſed him immediately to be ſtrangled [m]. Thus ended the war in *Africa*; but not the calamities of that unhappy province: for *Maxentius* cauſed ſuch of the *Africans*, as were conſiderable either for their birth or wealth, to be inhumanly put to death, and ſeized their eſtates, pretending they had favoured the uſurper; nay, he commanded the city of *Carthage*, at that time one of the moſt beautiful and flouriſhing cities in the world, to be laid in aſhes. Thus was the province of *Africa* utterly ruined, and the inhabitants reduced to beggary, and obliged, through fear of the
d tyrant, to abandon their native country, and take ſhelter in the provinces of the other princes [n]. *Maxentius* triumphed at *Rome* for the defeat of *Alexander*, or rather for the deſtruction of *Carthage*, and the ruin of *Africa*. But *Rome* and *Italy* were no leſs grievouſly afflicted by the lewd, inhuman, and avaricious tyrant, than *Carthage* and *Africa*. The unexpreſſible calamities, under which they groaned, are deſcribed at length by *Zoſimus* [o], *Euſebius* [p], *Aurelius Victor* [q], and the panegyriſts who flouriſhed in thoſe times [r]. His luſt ſpared not the moſt illuſtrious ladies of *Rome*, nor his avarice the chief men in the ſenate: he forced the former, by all manner of torments, to comply with his impure deſires; and condemned the latter, under various pre-
e tences, to death or baniſhment, in order to ſeize their eſtates. *Euſebius* [s] and *Rufinus* [t] tell us, that having by menaces forced the governor of the city to yield up to him his wife, by name *Sophronia*, ſhe, who profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and conſequently thought death a leſs evil than the defiling herſelf with any impurity, begged a few minutes to put on her beſt attire; which being granted, ſhe withdrew into her cloſet, and there, after a ſhort prayer, buried a dagger in her breaſt, and died on the ſpot. This action is mightily commended by *Euſebius* and *Rufinus*; and *Palladius* ſeems to approve it [u]. It ſhews a courage in *Sophronia* above her ſex, and a love of purity worthy of the religion which ſhe profeſſed; but nevertheleſs cannot, in the opinion of St. *Auſtin* [w], be commended, or even excuſed, unleſs done by a particular
f and extraordinary impulſe from heaven, ſuch as he ſuppoſes *Razias* to have had, of whom mention is made in the books of the *Maccabees*. *Maxentius* allowed his ſoldiers the ſame unreſtrained liberty, or rather licentiouſneſs, which he took himſelf, abandoning to them the honour, the lives, and the fortunes of the moſt innocent perſons. By this means *Rome* was in a ſhort time reduced to a moſt deplorable condition; the ſenators were ſtripped of their eſtates, and either baniſhed upon falſe accuſations, or publicly executed; and the people ſo loaded with taxes, that they had not where-

Conſtantine's *generoſity to the city of* Autun.

Maxentius *reduces and ruins the province of* Africa.

Rome *and* Italy *grievouſly afflicted by him.*

The reſolution and intrepidity of Sophronia, *a chriſtian lady.*

withal

[i] Lact. perſ. c. 39, 40. p. 35, 36. [k] Idem, c. 41. p. 36. [l] Paneg. 8. p. 188, &c. [m] Aur. Vict. p. 526. Zos. l. ii p. 675. Lactan. perſ. c. 43. p. 37. [n] Paneg. 6, 7. p. 145, 173. Aur. Vict. Zos. ibid. [o] Zos. l. ii. p. 675. [p] Euseb. l. viii. p. 310. [q] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [r] Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 137, 158. [s] Euseb. hiſt. l. viii. c. 14. p. 313. [t] Rufin. c. 17. p. 141. [u] Pallad. hiſt. Lauſiaca, c. 150. p. 105. [w] August. civ. Dei, l. i. c. 26.

withal to purchaſe the common neceſſaries, and great numbers of them died daily for want. He was greatly addicted to the ſtudy of magic, which prompted him to many unheard-of cruelties, as he hoped to learn future events from the entrails of women and innocent children [x]. A fire accidentally breaking out in the temple of *Fortune*, and the people flocking from all parts to extinguiſh it, a ſoldier uttered ſome words of raillery againſt the *unfortunate goddeſs*; which one of the populace hearing killed the ſoldier on the ſpot. His comrades, to revenge his death, fell ſword in hand upon the people; which occaſioned a dreadful tumult, in which an incredible number of perſons loſt their lives [y]. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Maxentius* immediately reſtrained the fury of his ſoldiers; but though he excuſes him on this occaſion, yet he owns, that his tyranny grew daily more inſufferable, and that the *Roman* people impatiently wiſhed for a deliverer [z]. *Prudentius* gives us a pathetic account of the evils which the city endured under ſo cruel a tyrant, who was not aſhamed to fill the public priſons with the moſt venerable and illuſtrious perſons in the ſenate [a]. Being elated with his ſucceſs againſt *Alexander*, tyrant of *Africa*, he began to entertain thoughts of deſtroying the other princes, one after the other; for he was often heard to ſay, That he alone was emperor, and that the others were only his lieutenants, employed by him to defend and guard the confines of the empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, that he might enjoy at *Rome* an undiſturbed peace and tranquillity. He reſolved to begin with *Conſtantine*, under the plauſible pretence of revenging the death of his father *Maximian*, though we are aſſured, that he was not in the leaſt affected with it [b]. He had then under his command an hundred and ſeventy thouſand foot and eighteen thouſand horſe, moſt of whom had ſerved under his father, and conſequently were enured to military toils and dangers. He had amaſſed by his extortions vaſt ſums to defray the charges of a war, and great ſtore of proviſions, having for that purpoſe drained *Africa* and the adjacent iſlands. He no ſooner began to aſſemble his troops, than *Conſtantine*, well appriſed of his deſign, wrote to him, and by laying before him the dreadful evils and calamities attending a civil war, endeavoured to divert him from it. *Nazarius* tells us, that *Conſtantine*, pitying the miſerable condition to which he ſaw, with the utmoſt concern, the metropolis of the empire reduced, burnt with a deſire of redeeming it from the tyranny under which it groaned; but not thinking that could juſtify his engaging in a war with his brother-in-law, he endeavoured to ſatisfy him as to the death of his father. But *Maxentius*, who wanted only a pretence for ſtripping *Conſtantine* of his dominions, without giving ear to his remonſtrances, cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down, and his images defaced, giving out, that he was determined at all events to revenge the death of his father. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, leaving a ſtrong body of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into *Gaul* during his abſence, ſet out on his march to *Italy*, at the head of an army, conſiſting, according to thoſe who magnify their number the moſt, of ninety-thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. Of theſe only twenty-five thouſand were *Romans*, and the reſt auxiliaries [c]. A panegyriſt, in an oration pronounced before him, ſays, that he engaged in this war with a ſmaller number of troops than *Alexander* had with him, when he went to attack the king of *Perſia* [d]; that is, not quite forty thouſand men. He endeavoured to gain over *Licinius*, by promiſing him his ſiſter *Conſtantia* in marriage; which gave ſuch jealouſy to *Maximin*, that he ſent deputies to court the friendſhip of *Maxentius*, and entered into an alliance with him; which, however, was kept ſecret; for *Conſtantine* was not appriſed of it till he became maſter of *Rome*, and ſaw there the ſtatue of *Maximin* placed cloſe to that of *Maxentius* [e]. We are not told, that *Maximin* ſent any ſuccours to *Maxentius*, or *Licinius* to *Conſtantine*. In this war providence had ſomething in view infinitely more important, than the reſcuing of *Rome* from the tyranny of *Maxentius*; nothing leſs than the delivering of the church from the cruel perſecution under which it had groaned for the ſpace of near three hundred years. *Conſtantine* had inherited of his father ſome love and eſteem for the chriſtians; for the firſt uſe he made of his authority was to put a ſtop to the perſecution in the provinces ſubject to him [f]. However, he had not yet ſhewn any inclination to embrace a religion which he both honoured and eſteemed;

The cruelty of Maxentius.

He reſolves to make war upon Conſtantine.

Conſtantine *begins his march to* Italy.

x Panegyr. 6. p. 136. y Euseb. p. 310. Aur. Vict. p. 52. z Zos. l. ii. p. 675.
a Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 219, 220. b Zos l. ii. p. 675. Aur. Vict. p. 526. c Zos. l. ii. p. 676. d Pan. 6. p. 137. e Lact. perſ. c. 43. p. 37. f Idem, c. 24. p. 23.

a eſteemed; but in the war with *Maxentius*, apprehending that he ſtood in need of an extraordinary aſſiſtance from heaven, he began ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf, what deity he ſhould implore as his guardian and protector. He revolved in his mind the fallacious anſwers given by the oracles to other princes, and the ſucceſs that had attended his father *Conſtantius* in all his wars, who deſpiſed the many gods worſhipped by the *Romans*, and acknowledged only one Supreme Being. At the ſame time he obſerved, that ſuch of his predeceſſors as had perſecuted the chriſtians, the adorers of this God, had miſcarried in moſt of their undertakings, and periſhed by an unfortunate and untimely end; whereas his father, who countenanced and protected them, had in all his wars been attended with uncommon ſucceſs, and ended his life in *He deliberates with himſelf what god he ſhould implore.*

b the arms of his children. Upon theſe conſiderations, he reſolved to have recourſe to the God of his father, and adhere to Him alone. To Him therefore he addreſſed himſelf with great humility and fervour, beſeeching Him to make himſelf known to him, and to aſſiſt him in his preſent expedition. Heaven heard his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous; which, however incredible it may appear to ſome, f *Euſebius* aſſures us, he received from the emperor's own mouth, who ſolemnly confirmed the truth of it with his oath. As he was marching at the head of his troops in the open fields, there ſuddenly appeared to him, and the whole army, a little after mid-day, a pillar of light above the ſun, in the form of a croſs, with this inſcription, *In this conquer.* The emperor was in great pain about the meaning of this wonderful *A miraculous apparition.*

c viſion, till the following night; when our Saviour appearing to him, with the ſame ſign that he had ſeen in the heavens, commanded him to cauſe ſuch another to be framed, and to make uſe of it in conquering his enemies. The next morning, *Conſtantine* imparted to his friends what he had ſeen; and ſending for the ableſt artificers and workmen, ordered them to frame a croſs of gold and precious ſtones, according to the direction which he gave them. This croſs is minutely deſcribed by *Euſebius* g who ſaw it g. *Baronius*, who has cauſed it to be engraved in his annals h, places the images of *Conſtantine* and his children on the ſtandard that was faſtened to the croſs-part of it, though *Euſebius* ſeems to place them below the ſtandard. In a crown of gold at the top of the croſs was a figure, conſiſting of the two firſt letters of the name

d of *Chriſt*, according to the *Greek* orthography i. This figure, on ſome medals, is formed thus ☧ and in others thus ☩. This cypher was probably ſhewn to *Conſtantine* with the croſs; for we are no-where told that he contrived it. Some are of opinion, that this cypher, in which the croſs is plainly repreſented, was the only thing *Conſtantine* added to the ancient ſtandard. This the pious emperor cauſed to be carried before him in all his wars, as an enſign of ſafety and victory k. *Socrates* ſeems to inſinuate, that in his time, about the year 430. it was lodged in the imperial palace at *Conſtantinople* l; and *Theophanes* tells us, that it was ſtill to be ſeen in the ninth century m. *Conſtantine* cauſed ſeveral other croſſes to be made after the *The croſs becomes the chief ſtandard.*

e ſame manner, and to be conſtantly carried at the head of his armies, inſtead of the figures of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Romulus*, &c. The name of *Chriſt* was not always at the top of the croſs, but ſometimes on the ſtandard n. When the troops in any part of the army began to give ground, the emperor cauſed the ſtandard with the croſs to be conveyed thither; and his faith, ſays *Euſebius* o, was rewarded with victory, which began on that ſide where the greateſt danger was apprehended. He choſe fifty of the moſt courageous, robuſt, and religious men among his guards to attend this ſtandard, and carry it in their turns. *Euſebius* aſſures us, that none of thoſe who carried it were ever wounded in battle; and adds, that, in one encounter, the perſon who held it, finding himſelf aimed at on all ſides by the enemy, and therefore delivering it to another, in order to avoid the danger by flight, was ſhot through with a dart

f the minute he parted with it; whereas the other eſcaped unhurt amidſt the ſhowers of arrows that flew round him. This *Euſebius*, as he aſſures us, learnt of *Conſtantine* himſelf p. In the year 416. *Theodoſius* the younger beſtowed great privileges on thoſe who carried the *labarum* or *laborum*; for ſo the ſtandard conſecrated, to uſe the expreſ- *The* labarum

ſion of St. *Ambroſe* q, with the name of *Chriſt*, is ſtyled by *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, *Prudentius*, and others. As to the etymology of that name, we are quite in the dark. The reader will find many conjectures concerning it in *Du Cange*, who is of *or* laborum.

opinion,

g Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 27---31. p. 421---423. h Baron. ad ann. 312. i Euseb. ibid. c. 31. p. 423. k Idem ibid. l Socrat. l. i. c. 2. p. 7. m Theoph. p. 11. n Nazar. orat. iii. p. 75. Sozom. l. i. c. 4. p. 405. Euseb. p. 535. o Euseb. ibid. l. ii. p. 447. p Idem ibid. p. 448. q Ambros. epiſt. xvii. p. 213.

opinion, that it was borrowed of the *Germans* [r]. At the ſame time, *Conſtantine* ordered a
the ſhields, helmets, and offenſive as well as defenſive weapons of the ſoldiers, to be
marked with croſſes, as appears from *Euſebius* [s], and various ancient monuments.
Sozomen tells us, that the emperor cauſed the name of our Saviour to be put upon
the *labarum*, that the ſoldiers, who, in all times, paid the utmoſt reſpect to the
imperial ſtandard, might, by degrees, be brought to forget their falſe deities, and
pay the ſame honours to Him, whoſe name they had conſtantly before their eyes [t].
Conſtantine had the above-mentioned viſion before he paſſed the *Alps* to make war
upon *Maxentius*, and conſequently in *Gaul*; but as to the preciſe place, we are quite
at a loſs. Some ſtand up for *Beſancon*; others for *Sinzic* on the *Rhine*, at a ſmall
diſtance from *Cologne*; and ſome for *Numegen*, a village on the *Moſelle*, about five b
miles below *Treves*; which *Auſonius* calls the illuſtrious camp of *Conſtantine* [u]; but
their conjectures are altogether groundleſs. *Baluſius* complains, and not without
reaſon, of the irreligious temerity of a modern writer [w], who is pleaſed to ſtyle the
whole account of this miraculous apparition, that is, the beſt atteſted fact in the hiſtory
of *Conſtantine*, a *pious fiction*, which, in other terms, is calling *Euſebius* an impious
impoſtor, and at the ſame time charging him with the greateſt folly imaginable, in
pretending to impoſe upon the world with ſuch an enormous falſhood, while many
thouſands of witneſſes were ſtill living, who would not have failed to diſprove what
he wrote, and give him the lye. To imagine a writer of *Euſebius*'s character guilty
of ſuch folly, impudence, and preſumption is, in our opinion, carrying ſcepticiſm c
and incredulity to too great a height. *Conſtantine* being, after the miraculous viſion,
immutably determined to adore that God alone who had appeared to him, ſent for
ſeveral biſhops, in order to be inſtructed by them in the myſteries of their religion,
and in ſeveral particulars of the late apparition. He hearkened to them with the
utmoſt reſpect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, croſs,
and death of our Saviour, reading with great attention the holy ſcriptures, and con-
ſulting in his doubts the biſhops, whom for that purpoſe he kept conſtantly about
him [x] *Euſebius* does not name them; but *Zoſimus* tells us, that an *Egyptian*, coming
from *Spain* to the place where *Conſtantine* was, prevailed upon him to abandon the
religion of the *Romans* [y]. This may be true, though no great ſtreſs is to be laid d
upon what *Zoſimus* writes touching the converſion of *Conſtantine*; for *Oſius*, the cele-
brated biſhop of *Corduba* and *Spain*, was by birth an *Egyptian*, and might, as he was a
man of great piety and learning, have been ſent for by the emperor. It is at leaſt certain,
that *Conſtantine* ſoon after appointed him his almoner, and treated him on all occa-
ſions with the utmoſt reſpect, eſteem, and veneration. The modern *Greek* writers
pretend, that one of the emperor's chamberlains, by name *Euphrates*, had a great
ſhare in his converſion; but of him no mention is made by the ancients. We may
well imagine what a great alteration the converſion of *Conſtantine* produced in the
church. The whole imperial family followed, it ſeems, his example,; we are well e
aſſured, that his mother *Helen* did: for though *Theodoret* writes, that ſhe inſpired her
ſon from his infancy with ſentiments of piety [z], yet *Euſebius* tells us in expreſs terms,
that ſhe knew not the true God, till ſhe was induced by her ſon to embrace the
truth, and adhere to it [a]. The zeal which *Conſtantia* ſhewed for the doctrine
of *Arius*, inclines us to believe, that ſhe profeſſed the chriſtian religion. *Euſebius*
tells us, that *Eutropia*, the widow of *Maximian* and mother-in-law of *Conſtantine*,
followed the example of the emperor; and *Valeſius* maintains the ſame thing of her
daughter *Fauſta*; which does not at all ſeem improbable, though not poſitively
aſſerted by any of the ancients. *Johannes Damaſcenus* writes, that *Conſtantine* cauſed
not only the croſs, but the image, of our Saviour, to be repreſented on his coins;
but no medals have been yet found to confirm his opinion. On his coins appear only f
the *labarum*, and on ſome of his ſon *Conſtantius* the ☧ with the A and Ω, the
emblem aſſumed by our Saviour in the *Revelations* [b]. The ſilence of the ancient
panegyriſts with reſpect to ſo public and remarkable an event as the apparition of the
croſs, which occaſioned the converſion of *Conſtantine*, would ſeem to us unaccountable,
were we not well appriſed of the great and almoſt invincible power of prejudice in
matters

Conſtantine is inſtructed in the chriſtian religion, and embraces it.

His example is followed by the imperial family.

[r] Cange diſſert. de inferior. ævi numiſmat. p. 18. & gloſſar. p. 190. [s] Euseb. ibid. l. iv. c. 21.
[t] Soz. l. i. c. 4. p. 405. [u] Buch. de Belg. l. vii. c. 6. p. 243. [w] Jacobus
Oiselius in theſaur. numiſ. antiquor. p 463. p. 535. [x] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 32. p. 423, 424.
[y] Euseb. l. ii. p. 685. [z] Theodoret. l. i. c. 17. p. 563. [a] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 47.
p. 506. [b] Vide Du Cange Byzant. famil. p. 31---33.

a matters of religion. The authors of thoſe panegyrics could not, even in their ſpeeches uttered before *Conſtantine*, forbear ſpeaking of their fabulous deities, as if the emperor had ſtill been a pagan. However, ſome of them ſeem to have hinted at that apparition, though in very dark and ambiguous terms; for one of the orators ſpeaks much at length of an extraordinary aſſiſtance, which, he ſays, all *Gaul* believed to have been ſent to *Conſtantine* from heaven [c]. Another ſays, that every one dreaded the war with *Maxentius*, on account of an evil omen [d]. This may be well underſtood of the croſs, than which nothing was more infamous, or more deteſted, among the *Romans*. But *Conſtantine* placed his chief confidence in it, and cauſing it to be carried at the head of his army, as the banner of victory, croſſed the *Alps* the following year, when he Conſtantine
b and *Licinius* were conſuls the ſecond time, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, *paſſes the* Alps
till he arrived at *Seguſium*, now *Suſa*; which, being fortified both by nature and art, *and makes*
and defended by a numerous gariſon, refuſed to ſubmit. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, *himſelf maſter*
having ordered a general aſſault, and at the ſame time cauſed fire to be ſet to the *of ſeveral*
gates, carried the place by ſtorm the ſame day; but would not give it up to be plun- *cities.*
dered, nor ſuffer the inhabitants to be any-ways injured in their lives or fortunes [e], though *Zoſimus* writes, that he laid in ruins all the cities that preſumed to oppoſe him [f]. From *Seguſium* he marched to *Auguſta Taurinorum*, now *Turin*, in the neighbourhood of which place he was met by a numerous army of the enemy, whoſe cavalry, armed cap-à-pé, fell upon him with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but
c *Conſtantine* ordering his ranks to open and receive them, they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and, unwieldy as they were, pulled off of their horſes and killed, without the loſs of a ſingle man on *Conſtantine*'s ſide. The reſt of the army was eaſily put to the r ut, and purſued with great ſlaughter to the gates of *Turin*; which the citizens ſhut againſt them, but opened to *Conſtantine*, whom they received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. All the cities between the *Po* and the *Alps* followed the example of this, ſending deputies with great ſtore of proviſions to the conqueror, and aſſiſting him to the utmoſt of their power againſt *Maxentius*, whoſe cruelties and tyranny they could no longer bear [g]. From *Turin* he marched to *Milan*, which city he entered without oppoſition; and having paſſed a few days there, he purſued his
d march to *Breſcia*, where he was met by a numerous body of horſe, who, being routed at the firſt onſet, retired in great confuſion to *Verona*, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all the troops of *Maxentius* diſperſed up and down the country. They were very numerous, and commanded by *Ruricius Pompeianus*, an experienced officer and captain of the guards to *Maxentius*, who, not thinking it adviſeable to venture a battle, ſhut himſelf up in *Verona*, with part of his troops. *Conſtantine*, having paſſed the *Adige* a great way above that city, inveſted it with his whole army. Verona *be-*
Pompeianus made a vigorous ſally; but being repulſed with great loſs, he ſtole away *ſieged.*
in the night, and ſoon after returned with a numerous army, which he had with incredible expedition drawn together from all parts. *Conſtantine*, receiving intelligence
e of his approach, left part of his troops to purſue the ſiege, and marched with the reſt to meet him. Hereupon an engagement enſued, which laſted almoſt the whole night; but in the end the troops of *Pompeianus* were utterly defeated, and the general himſelf Maxentius's
killed. *Conſtantine* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner, *army defeated*
grappling hand to hand with the enemy like a common ſoldier; inſomuch, that his officers, after the battle, conjured him with tears in their eyes to moderate his courage for the future, and not expoſe to ſuch dangers a life, on which depended the ſafety and welfare of the ſtate [h]. The city of *Verona* ſtill held out for ſome time; but was in the end taken by ſtorm and utterly ruined. The gariſon ſurrendered at Verona *taken*
diſcretion, and *Conſtantine*, contrary to their expectation, granted them their lives;
f but that his own men might not be employed in guarding them, as they were very numerous, he cauſed chains to be made of their ſwords, and confined them in two priſons [i]. During the ſiege of *Verona*, *Conſtantine* detached part of his troops to attack *Aquileia*, *Mutina*, and ſeveral other cities; which readily ſubmitted. By this means *And ſeveral*
he became maſter of all the places between the *Alps* and *Rome*, the deliverance of *other cities.*
which city from the tyranny of *Maxentius*, was what he had moſt of all at heart [k]. He therefore bent his march thither, and approached the city with all his forces. Conſtantine
His approach rouſed *Maxentius*, who had abandoned himſelf to eaſe, and wallowed *approaches*
in Rome.

[c] Paneg. 7. p. 161. [d] Iem, 6. p. 135. [e] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 37. p. 426. [f] Zos. l. ii. p. 676. [g] Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 138, 166. [h] Idem, 6. p. 141. & 7. p. 168, 169. [i] Idem, 6. p. 141, 142. [k] Idem, 7. p, 170, 171.

in all manner of pleaſures and debaucheries, ſtifling the tidings that were daily brought a
to him of the defeat of his troops, and the progreſs of *Conſtantine*. He cauſed a
bridge of boats to be laid over the *Tiber*, a little above the *Milvian* bridge, now
Ponte Molle, ſo contrived that it could be eaſily looſened, which he charged one of
his engineers to do as ſoon as *Conſtantine* was entered upon it with his army. But
the emperor choſe to encamp in a ſpacious plain, over-againſt the *Milvian* bridge,
hoping by that means to draw *Maxentius* out of *Rome*, and tempt him to venture
a general engagement, being well appriſed, that if he kept within the city, which
was ſupplied with great ſtore of proviſions, the beſieging him there would prove a
dangerous undertaking, and protract the war to a great length. But *Maxentius*
ordering his troops to encamp between the *Milvian* bridge and the city, in order b
to prevent *Conſtantine* from approaching the walls, did not ſo much as ſtir out of
his palace, till he was frightened from it by an inauſpicious omen, which obliged
him to repair with his wife and ſon to the houſe of one of his friends [i]. *Lactantius*
tells us, that the night preceding the twenty-ſeventh, or rather the twenty-eighth, of
His dream. *October*, *Conſtantine* was admoniſhed in a dream to cauſe the ſhields of his ſoldiers
to be marked with the ☧, and then give battle. The order was immediately exe-
cuted, and not only on the ſhields, but likewiſe on the helmets, as appears from an
ancient medal [k], of all the ſoldiers were diſplayed the croſs, and the name of our
Saviour [l]. The ſame day, the twenty-eighth of *October*, *Maxentius*, who then ended
the ſixth year of his reign, exhibited, notwithſtanding the danger that threatened c
him, magnificent ſhews in the circus; and having cauſed the ſibylline books to be
conſulted, had this anſwer, that *the great enemy of* Rome *was doomed to periſh that
very day*. This he underſtood of *Conſtantine*; and therefore, quitting the city without
delay, he croſſed the bridge, which he had cauſed to be laid over the *Tiber*, and choſe
for the field of battle a place called *Saxa rubra*, or *the red rocks*, about nine miles
from *Rome*, drawing up his numerous army between the enemy and the river. *Con-
ſtantine*, overjoyed to hear that *Maxentius* had marched out of the city, immediately
advanced againſt him; and having encouraged his men with certain hopes of victory,
ordered the ſignal to be given for the battle. At the firſt onſet, the *Romans* and
Italians in *Maxentius*'s army, out of hatred to the tyrant, gave way and retired; d
but the others, chiefly the prætorian guards, the miniſters of his tyranny, ſtood
their ground, and fought with great reſolution and intrepidity; ſo that the victory
remained doubtful, till *Maxentius*'s cavalry being broken, the tyrant abandoned
Maxentius *defeated, and drowned in the* Tiber. the field to ſave himſelf acroſs his bridge of boats, and return to the city [m]. *Lactan-
tius* writes, that the bridge broke down of itſelf during the battle [n]; but *Euſebius*
and *Zoſimus* tell us, that the engines which faſtened the boats together, giving way
under the great weight of the multitude that fled with or before *Maxentius*, the
boats parted, and he was puſhed into the river by thoſe who were flying with him [o].
Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken in the ſnare which he had
laid for *Conſtantine*; and that, falling into the *Tiber* with his horſe and armour, he e
was there drowned, with many of his men and ſome of his chief officers. His body
being with much ado found the next day, buried in the mud, *Conſtantine* cauſed his
head to be ſtruck off, in order to ſhew it to the *Roman* people, who had not yet
ſhewed any joy for his death, apprehending it might be only a falſe report, ſpread
on purpoſe to diſcover their inclination and real ſentiments [p]. The ſame day, the
twenty-ninth of *October*, *Conſtantine*, cauſing the head of *Maxentius* to be carried
Conſtantine *enters* Rome. upon a pole before his army, made his public entry into the city, attended by the
ſenate in a body, and by infinite crowds of people, who flocked from all parts to
behold and welcome, with loud ſhouts of joy, their new prince and deliverer. In
the ſhews which were exhibited the following days, the people, neglecting the diver- f
ſions, kept their eyes immoveably fixed on *Conſtantine*, returning thanks to the
tutelar gods of the city and empire, for giving them, in the room of a cruel and
inhuman tyrant, a prince, of whoſe humanity, prudence, and moderation, fame had
proclaimed ſo many inſtances [q].

His clemency after victory. The battle was no ſooner over, ſays one of the panegyriſts [r], than *Conſtantine*
ſheathed his ſword, and not only pardoned, but received into favour, even his moſt
inveterate

[i] Idem, p. 145. [k] Baron. ad ann. 312. [l] Lact. perſ. c. 44. p. 37. [m] Zos. l. ii. p. 676. Anonym. p 473. Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 145, 170. [n] Lact. p. 38. [o] Zos. p. 677. Euseb. vit. Conſt. p. 427. [p] Zos. ibid. [q] Panegyr. 7. p. 146, 147. Lact. c. 44. p. 38. [r] Panegyr. 6. p. 148.

a inveterate enemies [c]; nay, and preferred ſuch of them as he found qualified for public employments. The people demanded with great importunity the death of ſome of the tyrant's chief miniſters, but could not prevail upon the good-natured emperor to comply with their demands, and humour their revengeful temper [d]. All the troops of *Maxentius* were immediately diſarmed; but *Conſtantine* reinſtated them ſoon after in their former condition, and employed them againſt the barbarians on the banks of the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. As for the prætorian guards, a corps ſo famous ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*, and ſo powerful as to raiſe to the empire, and depoſe, whom they pleaſed, he either diſbanded them, or reduced them to the rank of common ſoldiers, cauſing their camp, which had been begun by *Sejanus*, *The prætorian guards diſbanded.*
b in the reign of *Tiberius*, to be utterly demoliſhed [e]. *Aurelius Victor* ſeems to inſinuate, that he would not ſuffer any troops to remain in *Rome*, thinking them more apt to foment, than ſuppreſs, tumults and ſeditions [f]. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Conſtantine* puniſhed ſome, though very few, of thoſe who had been moſt attached to the tyrant [g]; and *Nazarius*, that he cut off his whole race [h], that is, his ſon, for he had no other iſſue; and of him no mention is made from this time forward, tho' he was alive when his father was drowned. Upon the death of *Maxentius*, incredible numbers of informers ſtarted up to accuſe ſuch as had adhered to him. But *Conſtantine*, treading in the footſteps of other good princes, put a ſtop to their accuſations, and the evils that thence threatened the ſtate, by a law enacted this year, in which he declared all *He enacts a*
c informers, and ſuch as attempted to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of private *ſevere law againſt in-* perſons with unjuſt ſuits, guilty of death [i]. He reſtored the ſenate to its former *formers.* luſtre and authority, filling it with perſons of the greateſt merit, choſen out of all the provinces ſubject to him. He recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed by *Maxentius*, ſet thoſe at liberty whom he had confined, and, by a general edict, remitted to all without diſtinction whatever puniſhment had been inflicted upon them by *Maxentius* [k]. Not ſatisfied with delivering them from the evils under which they groaned, he exerciſed his generoſity and good-nature to all in ſuch a manner, as to make full amends, in the ſpace of two months, for the calamities they had ſuffered during the tyrant's ſix years reign [l]. As he was now maſter of all *Italy*, the people crouded
d from every quarter to *Rome*, to ſee their benefactor and deliverer, and were received by him with ſuch marks of kindneſs and unfeigned affection, that they returned home with a far greater opinion of his affability, good-nature, and moderation, than fame, which delights in exaggeration, had raiſed in them [m]. The ſenate, out *Honours con-* of gratitude, decreed him the firſt place among the emperors, tho' claimed by *Maxi-* *ferred upon* *min*, and a triumphal arch, which is ſtill ſtanding, and was raiſed, as we read in *him by the* the inſcription, in honour of *Conſtantine*, for having, by divine inſtinct, and with *ſenate.* extraordinary courage, delivered, in one combat, the republic from the tyrant and his whole faction. In the ſame inſcription, *Conſtantine* is ſtyled the deliverer of *Rome*, and the author of the public tranquillity. This arch is thought not to have been
e ended and dedicated before the ſolemnity of the tenth year of *Conſtantine*'s reign, that is, before the year 315 [n]. *Baronius* obſerves, that it was adorned with ſeveral ſtatues, taken from monuments erected to the honour of *M. Aurelius* and other princes, which far excelled in workmanſhip ſuch as were done at this time [o]. The ſenate conſecrated likewiſe to *Conſtantine* ſeveral magnificent edifices, which had been raiſed at a vaſt charge by *Maxentius*. *Baronius* obſerves, that the panegyriſts, in deſcribing the triumphal entry of *Conſtantine* into *Rome*, tells us, that he went to the palace and to the ſenate, but take no notice of his viſiting the capitol, though that was one of the chief ceremonies of the ſolemnity [p]. *Zoſimus* writes, that the court being, on occaſion of a certain ſolemnity, obliged to go to the capitol, *Con-*
f *ſtantine* was ſo far from complying with the ancient cuſtom, that he openly deſpiſed and derided both that and the other ceremonies of the religion of the *Romans* [q]. As he aſcribed the late victory, and all his other ſucceſſes, not to his own conduct or ſtrength, but to God alone, ſoon after his entry into *Rome*, he cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to himſelf, holding a croſs in the right hand, with an inſcription, *Pays great* importing, that under the influence of that victorious and ſalutary ſign, he had deli- *reſpect to the* vered *croſs.*

[c] Liban. orat. 12. p. 262. [d] Panegyr. 6. p. 148. [e] Zos. l. ii. p. 677. Aur. Vict. p. 526. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Zos. p. 677. [h] Paneg. 7. p. 157. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. 3. p. 430, 431. [k] Panegyr. 6. p. 137. & 7. p. 175. Eusеb. l. i. c. 41. p. 409. [l] Panegyr. 7. p. 174. [m] Idem, p. 173. [n] Noris. de Licin. num. c. 3. p. 49, 50. [o] Baron. ann. 312. Aur. Vict. p. 526. [p] Baron. ibid. [q] Zos. l. ii. p. 686.

vered the city from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned, and reſtored the ſenate and people of *Rome* to their ancient liberty and ſplendor. About the month of *November* of this year 312. an edict was iſſued in his name, and in the name of *Licinius*, putting a ſtop to the great perſecution which had been begun by *Dioclesian*, and had raged with incredible fury in moſt provinces of the empire for the ſpace of ten years. This edict was ſent by the two emperors to *Maximin*, the moſt implacable enemy the chriſtians ever had, accompanied by a letter from *Conſtantine*, wherein the pious emperor acquainted him with the miraculous aſſiſtance he had received from heaven, and the victory he had by that means gained over the tyrant *Maxentius*. As *Maximin* yet pretended to live in friendſhip and amity with *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, (for the letter was ſigned by both princes) notwithſtanding his hatred to the chriſtians, he publiſhed in their favour the decree, which is related at length by *Euſebius* [r], and ſeems to have been enacted this year. That writer, in ſpeaking of the conduct of *Conſtantine* at this time, tells us, that he treated with the utmoſt reſpect the miniſters of the true God, kept ſeveral of them conſtantly with him, entertained them at his own table, and paid an entire deference to their counſels. He ſeems to have honoured above the reſt *Melchiades*, biſhop of *Rome*; for to him he appeals in ſpeaking of the veneration he had for the catholic church, and his ſincere deſire of ſeeing unity reign in it without the leaſt ſchiſm or diviſion [s]. *Theophanes* mentions ſome conſtitutions ſaid to have been addreſſed by *Conſtantine* to that holy biſhop, but thought by *Theophanes* to be ſpurious pieces forged by the *Arians* [t].

Causes a ſtop to be put to the perſecution.

Pays great reſpect to the biſhops and clergy.

It is certain, that the emperor beſtowed great privileges on the clergy of the city of *Rome* [u]. We are not told what privileges theſe were; but moſt writers ſuppoſe the emperor to have exempted them from the payment of taxes, from the diſcharging of public offices, not ſuitable to their calling, and ſuch-like burdens. *Baronius* pretends, that this year, 312. *Conſtantine* gave the *Lateran* palace to the biſhop of *Rome* [w]. But *Optatus Milevitanus* writes, that in the year 313. a council was held there in the apartment of the empreſs *Fauſta* [x]; whence ſome conclude, that it ſtill belonged to the emperor. However, as it is certain, that it appertained to the ſee of *Rome* in the fourth century, and that the church adjoining to it was even then ſtyled *the baſilic of Conſtantine*, we cannot think it improbable, that the palace was a gift of *Conſtantine* to the biſhops of *Rome*, and that the church was built by him, as we read in *Anaſtatius* [y]. As for the famous donation, by which *Conſtantine* declared the *pope* prince and ſovereign of *Rome*, it is now looked upon by the *Roman* catholic, as well as the proteſtant, writers, as a forgery of a later date. *Baronius* is aſhamed to maintain it as a genuine piece, and yet declines declaring it a forgery. It is commonly believed to have been forged in the eighth century by the noted impoſtor *Iſidorus* [z].

Builds a great number of churches.

Euſebius tells us, that *Conſtantine* built a great number of churches, ſupplied them with vaſt riches, and adorned the altars with magnificent offerings [a]. There are ſeveral churches at *Rome*, and in other places, ſaid to have been founded by *Conſtantine*; but the authority of *Anaſtatius* and ſuch-like writers is not of ſufficient weight with us to aſcribe that glory to any in particular. What he writes of the church of St. *Peter* on the *Vatican* is confirmed by two verſes, that were formerly to be ſeen in the vault of that church, importing, that it had been founded by *Conſtantine* [b]. In demoliſhing the ancient church, to build that which is at preſent looked upon as the moſt magnificent ſtructure in the world, the name *Conſtantine* was diſcovered in ſeveral places. In ſome monuments, thought to be of the ſixth century, we read, that *Conſtantine* built at *Rome* the baſilic of the *Seſſorian* palace, in which he placed the true croſs, about the year 326. whence it was called *the church of the holy croſs* [c]. In ſome ancient inſcriptions, the church of St. *Agnes* is ſaid to have been built by *Conſtantine*, at the requeſt of his daughter *Conſtantia*, or rather *Conſtantina*, who is ſuppoſed to have been buried there in 354 [d]. *Theophanes* writes, that *Conſtantine* no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of *Rome*, than he cauſed the reliques of the holy martyrs to be carefully gathered and honourably interred [e]. He received, continues *Euſebius* in deſcribing his conduct, all ſtrangers with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and made them rich preſents. Not thinking it enough to relieve the common beggars with money, he cauſed them to be maintained and cloathed at his own

His generoſity and good-nature to all.

[r] Euseb. l. ix. c. 9. p. 360. [s] Euseb. hiſt. l. x. p. 391. [t] Theoph. p. 14. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. 16. t. 2. l. xiv. p. 40. [w] Baron. ann. 312. [x] Optat. l. i. p. 44. [y] Anast. c. 34. p. 13. [z] Vide P. Pagi, p. 324. [a] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 4. p. 429. [b] Baron. ann. 324. Anast. c. 34. p. 15. [c] Boll. 18. Feb. p. 69. [d] Idem, p. 70. [e] Theoph. p. 11.

a own expence. To ſuch as were come of noble, but decayed, families, he was rather magnificent than liberal, beſtowing upon ſome of them eſtates, and profitable employments upon others. He took under his protection orphans and widows, ſupporting them with great generoſity and, eſtabliſhing rich funds for their maintenance. He married to wealthy citizens, and perſons of diſtinction, many young women, who were deſtitute of friends and relations, allowing them fortunes out of the exchequer proportionable to the eſtates of their huſbands. In ſhort, all who had the good fortune to live under him, felt the effects of his generoſity and good-nature. No one ever implored his aſſiſtance in vain; no one ever departed diſſatisfied from his preſence. He was often heard to ſay, that whoever was allowed to approach his
b prince, ought to receive ſome favour or other at his hands; that it was incumbent upon the prince to make it his chief ſtudy to content all who applied to him: hence to thoſe, againſt whom juſtice obliged him to pronounce in the judging of cauſes, he uſually gave large ſums, or by ſome other means made good the loſſes they ſuſtained; ſo that his generoſity was no leſs extolled and commended by thoſe who loſt their ſuit, than his juſtice was by ſuch as carried it. Thus far *Euſebius* [e].

THE *indictions*, that is, a cycle or revolution of fifteen years, made uſe of in reckoning time, are ſuppoſed to have begun about the end of the preſent year 312. The origin of this cycle, and the etymology of its name, has occaſioned great diſputes among modern writers. The reader will find in *Du Cange* a liſt of the authors who
c have written on this ſubject [f]. *Conſtantine* having reduced the time, which the *Romans* were obliged to ſerve, to fifteen years, ſays *Baronius*, he was conſequently obliged every fifteen years, to impoſe, or *indicere*, according to the *Latin* expreſſion, an extraordinary tax for the paying of thoſe who were diſcharged; and hence came this new cycle, which, from the *Latin* word *indicere*, was ſtyled *indiction* [g]. The opinion of *Baronius*, though in reality a bare conjecture, ſeems to *Petavius* more probable than any thing that has been ſaid by others on the ſame ſubject [h]; for we know nothing for certain touching the origin, name, or author of this cycle. There are three kinds of indictions, *viz.* the *Cæſarean* or *imperial* indictions, which begin on the twenty-fourth of *September*, and were long made uſe of in *France* and *Germany* [i]; the *Conſtan-*
d *tinopolitan* indictions, beginning with the year of the *Greeks*, on the firſt day of *September*; and the papal indictions, or indictions of the popes, who, ſome centuries ſince, reckon from the firſt of *January* of the year 313. *Petavius* ſeems to think, that the *Conſtantinopolitan* indiction was generally uſed among the *Greeks* as early as the reign of the emperor *Anaſtatius*, and perhaps of *Theodoſius* the younger; nay, he is inclined to believe, that the indiction originally began on the firſt of *September* [k]. And truly, from various paſſages of the hiſtory of the fifth century, it appears, that the emperors of *Conſtantinople* followed this ſtyle, and that it prevailed all over *Syria*, and even at *Rome* [l]. Some have reckoned the indictions from the year 314. or from
e *September* of the year 313. but *Petavius* [m] and cardinal *Noris* ſhew, that we ought to count them from the month of *September* of 312. though we have no certain proof that they firſt began then; for ſome pretend, that they were in uſe in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, or *Auguſtus* [o]; which we can hardly believe, ſince no mention is made of indictions by any author who flouriſhed before the reign of *Conſtantine*. The firſt thing we find dated by them is the council of *Antioch*, held, as we read in *Athanaſius* [p], if that paſſage is genuine, which *Petavius* queſtions [q], in the year 341. and in the fourteenth indiction. However, it is certain, that St. *Ambroſe* mentions the indiction in a letter of the year 386. and obſerves, that it began in the month of *November* [r]. From that time forward it is common in the code, where mention is made of the indiction of the year 367. and in other monuments both of ſacred and profane hiſtory;
f but the indictions, as cardinal *Noris* obſerves, are ſeldom marked right [s]. *Onuphrius* quotes a book on the indictions, by one *Chyrius Fortunatianus*, whom he takes to be the biſhop of *Aquileia* of that name, ſo famous in the time of *Conſtantine*'s children [t]. But *Petavius* thinks there never was any ſuch book; and likewiſe rejects, as quite groundleſs, the opinion of thoſe who tells us, that the council of *Nice* commanded

The indiction.

[e] EUSEB. l. i. c. 43. p. 429, 430. & l. iv. c. 4. p. 528. [f] Vide Chron. Paſchale, ſeu Alexandrin. ex edit. Cangiana, Pariſ. ann. 1688. [g] BARON. ann. 312. [h] PETAV. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 40. p. 365, [i] Vide JOHAN. FORBES, inſtitut. hiſtorico-thealogic. l. v. c. 20. p. 268. & P. PAGI, ann. 312. [k] PETAV. p. 564. [l] NORIS, epoch. p. 340—342. [m] PETAV. p. 363. [n] NORIS ibid. [o] Vide PETAV. c. 39. p. 360—362. & NORIS, epoch. p. 169, 171. [p] ATHAN. de ſyn. p. 894. [q] PETAV. p. 363. [r] Idem, p. 364. [s] NORIS, epoch. p. 342. [t] ONUPH. p. 265.

manded all bishops to mark the indiction in their letters [u]: He even suspects the council of *Rome*, said to have been held under pope *Julius*, and dated the sixth indiction [w]. The reader must observe, that the first year of this cycle is called the first indiction; the second year the second indiction, and so of the rest, till the fifteenth; after which, the cycle is begun anew, and the years counted in the same manner. a

During the war between *Constantine* and *Maxentius* in the west, *Maximin*, who had enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the east ever since his agreement with *Licinius*, began anew the persecution, which the edict of *Galerius*, in favour of the christians, had obliged him to interrupt for some time. In a rescript addressed to the inhabitants of *Tyre* he had bragged of the happiness of his reign, which, he said, had never been interrupted or disturbed by wars, storms, dearth of provisions, contagions, or earthquakes. This exemption from the evils that afflicted other parts of the empire, he ascribed to the great care he took in promoting the worship of the gods, and persecuting with fire and sword their enemies the christians [x]. But providence did not fail to humble his pride, and punish, in a very remarkable manner, his cruelty to those who deserved it the least. For the very next winter proving exceeding dry, the drought produced a famine when no-ways expected, and the famine a dreadful plague, attended with nauseous sores, which breaking out in the face, and especially about the eyes, deprived of sight an infinite number of men, women, and children. This *Eusebius*, with a great deal of reason, looks upon as a punishment from heaven upon *Maximin*, who sparing, out of his great mercy, to use his expression, the lives of several christians, caused their right eyes to be put out, in order to distinguish them by that mark of infamy from his other subjects [y]. To the famine and plague, that ravaged the dominions of *Maximin* with a fury hardly to be expressed, was added a destructive war. For the tyrant, attempting to oblige the *Armenians*, who had embraced the true religion, to offer victims to his false deities, forced them to take arms in their own defence, and from ancient friends and allies, to become enemies of the *Roman* people and empire [z]. This must be understood of *Armenia Major*; for the people of *Armenia Minor* were not allies, but subjects, of the empire. This is the first instance we find in history of a religious war, or a war for the sake of religion. As to the issue of it, we are only told, that, in the course of this war, *Maximin* and his army suffered much, our historian being wholly taken up in describing the inexpressible miseries that attended the plague and the famine, in all the provinces subject to *Maximin*, and the charitable conduct of the christians towards their greatest enemies, during the time of their distress [a]. *Maximin* was obliged, as we have related above, by the decree of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, to put a stop to the persecution this year, not daring yet openly to oppose them.

Maximin *persecutes the christians.*

His dominions afflicted with many dreadful calamities.

b c d

The next consuls were *Constantine* and *Licinius*, both for the third time. The former did not, it seems, stay at *Rome* above two months, as appears from a law which he published at *Milan*, dated the tenth of *March* [b]. He was met in that city by *Licinius*, and there he married to him his sister *Constantia*, whom he had betrothed to him before his war with *Maxentius* [c]. They both wrote to *Diocletian*, inviting him to assist at that solemnity; but he begging to be excused on account of his age, they highly resented it, and sent him a second letter, filled with menaces, which hastened his death; for he died soon after, in the month of *July* of this year 313 [d]. The two emperors, in this interview, enacted an edict in favour of the christians, which is related at length by *Eusebius* [e]. *Constantine* was soon obliged to leave *Milan*, and hasten into *Gaul* to make head against the *Franks*, who, forgetful of the treaty which they had made with him a few years before, were assembling their forces with a design to invade the *Roman* dominions. The emperor arrived while they were preparing to pass the *Rhine*; but finding they withdrew, awed by his presence, he gave out, that the *Germans* too were ready to break into *Gaul*; and leaving some troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river, retired with the rest. The *Franks* no sooner heard of his departure, than they passed the *Rhine*; when the *Romans*, rising unexpectedly out of their ambuscade, fell upon them before they

Constantine *marries his sister* Constantia *to* Licinius.

e f

[u] Petav. p. 365. [w] Concil. tom. ii. p. 527. [x] Euseb. l. ix c. 7. p. 353, 354. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem, p. 355. [a] Euseb. ibid. p. 553--557. [b] Cod. Theodos. t. 5. p. 114. [c] Lact. pers. c. 45. p. 38. Vict. epit. p. 545. Zos. l. ii. p. 677. Anonym. p. 473. [d] Vict. epit. p. 542. [e] Euseb. l. x. c. 5. p. 388.

they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the river in the utmoſt confuſion. *Conſtantine*, not allowing them time to recover themſelves from their conſternation, entered their country, laid waſte their lands, burnt their habitations, and, having taken an incredible number of captives, expoſed them all to be devoured by the wild beaſts, in the ſhews which he exhibited on account of his victory [f]. This ſeverity towards a perfidious and faithleſs enemy, whom no ties could bind, is commended by his panegyriſt; but whether it anſwers the character of a mild, generous, and good-natured prince, which all the writers of thoſe times give him, is what we leave our readers to judge. Cruelty, even towards an enemy, however treacherous, was not, at leaſt, countenanced by the religion which he profeſſed. For this victory he took the title of *Francicus* [g]. *Conſtantine* was, as appears from the date of ſeveral laws [h], in the months of *November* and *December* of this year, at *Treves*; during which time the panegyric of the anonymous writer is thought to have been pronounced [i], in which the orator extols the victory, which he had lately gained over *Maxentius*; and in the end of his ſpeech addreſſes himſelf to the *great and only true God*; but at the ſame time plainly ſhews, that he had not yet wholly renounced the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the gentiles. He obſerves, that certain barbarians, who inhabited a diſtant country, had ſubmitted to *Conſtantine*; but as to this particular, there is a profound ſilence among hiſtorians. This year, *Conſtantine* granted great privileges to catholic churches in *Africa*, which province had ſubmitted to him upon the news of the death of *Maxentius*. In a reſcript addreſſed to *Anulinus*, whom he had appointed proconſul of *Africa*, he commands him to exempt the clergy belonging to the catholic church there, of which *Cæcilianus*, biſhop of *Carthage*, was the head, from all civil employments, that they might not be diverted from the ſacred functions of their office. Nothing, ſays he in that reſcript, ſpeaking of the clergy, will more contribute to the welfare of the ſtate, than their applying themſelves wholly to the worſhip of God [k]. This ordinance was notified by *Anulinus* to *Cæcilianus*, as appears from his anſwer to *Conſtantine*, dated the fifteenth of *April* of this year 313 [l]. As this exemption was granted only to the catholic clergy, the heretics, probably the *Donatiſts*, attempted to diſturb them in the enjoyment of it; which obliged *Conſtantine* to confirm the privileges he had granted them by a new edict, dated the twenty-firſt of *October* of this year. His exempting the clergy thus from the public offices in the cities, proved very burdenſome to the other inhabitants, and many entered themſelves among them on purpoſe to enjoy that privilege: the emperor therefore, by another edict, put a ſtop to the increaſe of the clergy, ordaining, that none ſhould be admitted among them but to ſupply the places of others deceaſed; and that thoſe, who were admitted, ſhould be perſons not qualified by their birth or wealth for the firſt and moſt chargeable employments. In virtue of this edict, ſeveral cities attempted to oblige ſuch of the clergy as were qualified for thoſe offices to diſcharge them, though they had been ordained before it was enacted; which *Conſtantine* prohibited by a reſcript, dated the eighteenth of *July* of the year 320. But after all, his forbidding perſons of rank and eſtates to enter themſelves among the clergy, in order to eaſe the laymen, was afterwards looked upon by other emperors, ſome ſay by *Conſtantine* himſelf, as an affront and injury offered to the church; and therefore that edict was annulled, and perſons of the higheſt rank were allowed to enter into holy orders, but upon condition of their reſigning to others, either their whole eſtates, or the greateſt part of them; which was deemed ſuitable to that diſintereſtedneſs which the church requires in her miniſters [m]. Some writers are of opinion, that *Conſtantine* at the ſame time exempted the church-lands from all taxes and burdens whatſoever, there being mention made of this immunity, as already eſtabliſhed, in a law of the year 315; but others pretend this law to be of a later date, and aſcribe the above-mentioned exemption to *Conſtantius*, the ſon of *Conſtantine* [n]. We have a letter written this year by *Conſtantine* to *Cæcilianus*, biſhop of *Carthage*, acquainting him, that he deſigned to put into the hands of the miniſters of the catholic church a conſiderable ſum, to be diſtributed by them among the indigent chriſtians in *Africa*, *Numidia*, and *Mauritania*; and that with this deſign he had ordered *Urſus*, his receiver in *Africa*, to pay to him a certain ſum, to be diſtributed

Overcomes the Franks.

He beſtows great privileges on the clergy and the church.

Gives ſums to the clergy to be diſtributed among the indigent chriſtians.

[f] Vales. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 23. [g] Idem, p. 25. [h] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 7. [i] Paneg. 6. [k] Euseb. l. xx. c. 6. p. 392. [l] Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 21. [m] Idem, t. 6. p. 23, &c. [n] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 11.

buted according to the tickets which he ſhould receive from *Oſius:* he adds, that if the ſum he mentions was not by him thought ſufficient, he might recur to *Heraclides*, another of his receivers, whom he had injoined to ſupply him with what monies he wanted for ſo pious an uſe [o]. *Oſius*, mentioned in this letter, is, without all doubt, the great *Oſius*, biſhop of *Corduba*, to whoſe counſels *Conſtantine* ever paid the utmoſt regard in whatever related to the affairs of the church. In the ſame letter he acquaints *Cæcilianus*, that, by word of mouth, he had ordered *Anulinus*, proconſul of *Africa*, and *Patricius*, lieutenant in that province, to check and ſuppreſs thoſe who diſturbed the peace of the catholic church there, meaning, we ſuppoſe, the *Donatiſts*, who had formed a powerful party againſt *Cæcilianus* himſelf. Not ſatisfied with the orders he had given to his officers, in order to put an end to the diſturbances raiſed by thoſe obſtinate ſchiſmatics, and maintain the unity of the church, he aſſembled, on the ſecond of *October* of this year, a council at *Rome*; and another, far more famous, the year following, at *Arles* in *Gaul* [p].

His zeal for the unity of the church.

When *Conſtantine* left *Milan* to oppoſe the *Franks*, threatening to invade *Gaul*, *Licinius* returned to *Illyricum*, where he was ſoon after attacked by *Maximin*, who, taking umbrage at his marrying the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, and jealous of the good underſtanding that paſſed between thoſe two princes, reſolved to deſtroy them, and to begin with *Licinius*, whoſe ruin he hoped to compaſs, while the other was employed in *Gaul* againſt the *Franks* and *Germans*. With this view, he aſſembled in great haſte his forces; and, leaving *Syria*, marched in the depth of the winter into *Bithynia*; and from thence paſſing into *Thrace*, laid ſiege to *Byzantium*, which, after having held out eleven days, was obliged to ſubmit. He attacked *Heraclea* next, which made a vigorous defence, but was in the end taken by ſtorm. In the mean time, *Licinius*, having drawn together what forces he could, took the field, not with a deſign to venture an engagement, (for he had with him only thirty thouſand men, whereas *Maximin*'s army was twice that number) but to ſtop the progreſs of his conqueſts. However, the two armies meeting between *Heraclea* and *Adrianopolis*, *Licinius*, if we may give credit to *Lactantius* [q], was admoniſhed in a dream to give the enemy battle, and aſſured of victory, provided he implored the aſſiſtance of the true God, by a prayer which was ſuggeſted to him in his ſleep. *Licinius* remembered it when he awaked, dictated to his ſecretary, and cauſed many copies of it to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, whom he took care to acquaint with his dream; which inſpired them with new courage and an eager deſire of engaging the enemy, over whom they promiſed themſelves certain victory, ſince heaven had declared in their favour. This prayer is related at length by *Lactantius* [r]. *Licinius* deſigned to give battle on the firſt of *May*, the day on which *Maximin* ended the eighth year of his reign. But *Maximin* having drawn up his army in battle-array on the laſt day of *April*, *Licinius* could no longer put off the engagement. When the two armies were in preſence of one another, the officers and ſoldiers of *Licinius*, quitting their ſhields and helmets, with their hands lifted up to heaven, repeated three times the above-mentioned prayer. Afterwards the two princes had an interview; but *Maximin* hearkening to no terms, they parted, and ordered the ſignal for battle to be given [s]. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Licinius*'s men at firſt gave ground and retired; but ſoon after returned to the charge and carried the day [t]. But *Lactantius* [u] and *Euſebius* [w] tell us, that the army of *Maximin* was put to flight at the very firſt onſet, and purſued with great ſlaughter by the conqueror. Moſt of his troops, eſpecially the legions, were cut in pieces, and the reſt, his guards not excepted, abandoning him, ſubmitted to *Licinius*. *Maximin* himſelf, quitting his purple robes, fled in the diſguiſe of a ſlave, and, croſſing the *Boſporus*, reached *Nicomedia* on the firſt of *May* about ſun-ſet, having in the ſpace of twenty-four hours travelled an hundred and ſixty miles. He did not ſtop at *Nicomedia*; but, taking with him his wife and children, continued his flight into *Cappadocia*, where he halted, and reſumed the purple, being met there by ſome troops that were marching from *Syria* to his aſſiſtance [x]. *Licinius* entering *Bithynia* a few days after the battle, was received every-where with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, eſpecially at *Nicomedia*, where he cauſed ſolemn thanks to be returned to the Almighty for the ſucceſs with which he had bleſſed his arms; and then ordered the edict, which had been enacted

War between Licinius *and* Maximin.

Licinius's dream or viſion.

He gains a complete victory over Maximin.

Licinius becomes maſter of all Bithynia.

[o] Euseb. l. x. c. 6. p. 393. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Lact. perſ. c. 46. p. 39. [r] Idem ibid. p. 40. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Zos. l. ii. p. 677. [u] Lact. p. 41. [w] Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 363. [x] Euseb. Lact. Zos. ibid.

a enacted by him and *Conſtantine* at *Milan*, in favour of the chriſtians, to be publiſhed; which was done accordingly on the laſt day of *June* of this year 313. that is, about ten years and four months after the edict, which gave riſe to this long and bloody perſecution, had been firſt publiſhed in the ſame city, by *Diocleſian* and *Galerius* [y]. *Licinius* had no ſooner put a ſtop to the perſecution by this edict, than he left *Nicomedia*, and purſuing *Maximin*, arrived at the ſtreights of mount *Taurus*, where he had reſolved to make a ſtand; but his courage failing him at the approach of the victorious army, he retired with great precipitation to *Tarſus*, propoſing to paſs from thence into *Egypt*, and raiſe a new army there. But diſtruſting the troops he had with him, and apprehending they deſigned to deliver him up to *Licinius*, he
b altered his mind, and reſolved, ſince he found no means of making his eſcape, to put an end to his life with poiſon; which, however, had not the deſired effect, but brought upon him a dreadful diſtemper, whereof the unaccountable ſymptoms are deſcribed at length by *Euſebius* [z] and *Lactantius* [a], who aſcribe it to divine vengeance. He was tormented night and day with inexpreſſible pains; his eyes and tongue putrefied, a puniſhment juſtly inflicted upon him for the blaſphemies he had uttered againſt heaven, and his cauſing the eyes of many chriſtians to be put out; an inviſible fire, to uſe the expreſſion of *Euſebius* [b], was kindled in his bowels, which, being attended with unrelenting torments, reduced him in a few days to a ſkeleton; his whole body was covered over with a kind of leproſy, and devoured by ſwarms of vermin: He could not be prevailed upon to take any nouriſhment, but greedily
c ſwallowed handfuls of earth, as if he had hoped by that means to aſſwage his pains, and allay the hunger, which tormented him without intermiſſion [c]. *Euſebius* tells us, that reflecting in this condition on his unjuſt conduct towards the chriſtians, and aſcribing the agonies he ſuffered to his cruelty towards them, he cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, more favourable to them than that which he had been forced by *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* to enact the year before. But as his repentance, ſays *Euſebius*, was not ſincere, it obtained no eaſe to his torments, which at length put an end to his life at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, about the middle of *Auguſt*, after he had reigned nine years with the title of *Cæſar*, and five years and ſix months with that of *Auguſtus* [d]. *The unaccountable diſtemper of* Maximin.

His death.

d He left ſeveral children behind him, whom he had created *Cæſars*, as appears from ſeveral ancient coins [e]; but their names are not mentioned by hiſtorians. By his death, *Licinius* became maſter of all the eaſtern provinces; ſo that the whole empire was now divided between him and *Conſtantine*. *Maximin* was declared by the edicts of the two ſurviving princes a public enemy, and treated as ſuch; for his ſtatues were pulled down, his images defaced, his name razed out of all public inſcriptions, and ſuch monuments as had been erected to his honour overturned and levelled with the ground. His children and relations were ſentenced to death and publicly exe-
e cuted; his wife was thrown into the *Orontes* at *Antioch* and drowned; all his miniſters and favourites were involved in his ruin, and among the reſt *Culcianus*, who had put a great number of chriſtians to death in *Egypt*; *Firmilianus*, who had ſignalized his hatred againſt them in *Paleſtine*; and *Peuceces*, whom the tyrant had favoured above the reſt, and created three times conſul. *Licinius* cauſed likewiſe a celebrated magician, by name *Theotechnes*, and all his aſſociates to be publicly executed at *Antioch*, after having obliged them to diſcover and own the impoſtures, with which they had led aſtray the ignorant populace, and ſtirred them up againſt the chriſtians [f]. *Candidianus*, the ſon of *Galerius*, being introduced to *Licinius* at *Nicomedia*, was received by him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and treated for ſome time in a manner ſuitable to his rank; but when he thought himſelf ſafe, he was, by the order of *Licinius*, murdered with *Severianus*, the ſon of *Severus*, killed, as we have related above, in the year 307. *Valeria*, the daughter of *Diocleſian* and widow
f of *Galerius*, who had adopted *Candidianus*, was no ſooner informed of his death, than ſhe withdrew from *Antioch* with her mother *Priſca*, and wandered about in diſguiſe and undiſcovered for the ſpace of fifteen months; but being at laſt known at *Theſſalonica*, ſhe was ſeized there, and by *Licinius*'s order publicly executed with her mother, and both their bodies thrown into the ſea [g]. Thus were the families of theſe three cruel perſecutors of the church, *Diocleſian*, *Galerius*, and *Maximin*, utterly cut

All his friends, relations, and favourites, put to death by Licinius.

The death of Valeria *and* Priſca.

[y] Lact. perſ. c. 48. p. 41. [z] Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 361. [a] Lact. perſ. c. 49. p. 43. [b] Euseb. p. 365. [c] Euseb. ibid. Lact. p. 44. Hier. in Zachar. xiv. ver. 12. [d] Chron. Alex. p. 456
[e] Noris de Licin. c. 2. p. 48. [f] Euseb. l. ix. c. 11. p. 366, 367. & de Pall. c. 18. p. 342.
[g] Idem, c. 50, 51. p. 44, 45.

cut off and exterminated. *Zosimus* tells us [h], that the secular games ought to have been celebrated at *Rome* this year, but were neglected by *Constantine*; which was noways pleasing to the pagans, who looked upon them as one of the chief supports of the empire, and a powerful preservative against plagues, wars, earthquakes, and other calamities, though the last, celebrated by *Severus* an hundred and ten years before, in the consulate of *Chilo* and *Libo*, had not, as we have seen, kept off these evils.

The next consuls were *Rufius Volusianus*, the second time, and *Annianus*. *Constantine* passed the first months of this year at *Treves*, as appears from the dates of several laws [i]. By one, which was published at *Rome* on the twenty fourth of *April*, he declared all those free, who had been condemned to slavery by *Maxentius*, commanding, under the severest penalties, such as held them in captivity to restore them forthwith to their ancient liberty [k]. From *Treves* the emperor passed to *Arles*, where he ordered a general council to meet of all the bishops of the west, in order to suppress the *Donatists*, who raised great disturbances in the church. The letter he wrote to the council is a manifest proof of his piety, of his respect for the clergy, and his zeal for the unity of the church [l]. He was obliged to leave *Gaul* before the bishops met, a war breaking out this year between him and *Licinius*, of which historians give us but a confused account, some blaming *Licinius* as the author of it, and others *Constantine*. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, lays the whole blame on *Licinius*. According to him, *Constantine* had married his sister *Anastasia* to *Bassianus*, whom he designed to create *Cæsar*, and appoint governor of *Italy*; but not caring to take this step without the approbation of *Licinius*, he dispatched one *Constantius* to acquaint him with his design and obtain his consent. But having discovered at the same time, that *Licinius* attempted to stir up *Bassianus* against him by means of *Senecio*, the brother of *Bassianus*, he wrote a letter to *Licinius*, upbraiding him with treachery, and insisting upon his delivering up to him *Senecio*, who had taken refuge in his court. *Licinius* was so far from complying with his request, that, resenting the letter he had written to him, he caused his statues to be pulled down in *Æmona*, a city of *Upper Pannonia*. Hereupon *Constantine*, having drawn together in great haste a body of twenty thousand men, marched into *Illyricum*, hoping to surprise *Licinius*. But he found him already in the field, with an army far more numerous than his own. However, he advanced into *Pannonia*; and the two armies meeting in the neighbourhood of *Cibalæ*, an engagemcnt ensued, in which *Licinius* was utterly defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand of his best troops. It appears from *Zosimus*, who relates the most minute particulars of this battle, that it was fought on the eighth of *October* of this year, 314 [m]. *Licinius* fled to *Sirmium*, and from thence, with his wife, his children, and treasures, into *Dacia*, where he raised to the dignity of *Cæsar* one of his officers, by name *Valens*. From *Dacia*, he passed into *Thrace*, and there assembled a second army, far more numerous and powerful than the former. In the mean time, *Constantine* made himself master of *Cibalæ* and *Sirmium*; and having caused the bridge over the *Save* to be repaired, which *Licinius* had ordered to be broken down, he pursued the enemy into *Thrace*. Upon his arrival at *Philippopolis*, he was met by a deputation from *Licinius*, with proposals for an accommodation; but *Constantine* insisting upon his deposing *Valens*, and *Licinius* obstinately refusing to comply with that article, a second battle was fought in the plains of *Mardia* in *Thrace*, which lasted from morning to night, when both armies retired, according to *Zosimus*, without any considerable advantage on either side [n]. *Aurelius Victor* [o] and the anonymous author of *Constantine*'s life [p] write, that *Constantine* would have gained a complete victory, had not night intervening saved *Licinius*'s army from utter destruction. The next day, *Licinius* sent one *Mestrianus*, who is styled *comes* or *count*, to *Constantine*, to negotiate a peace, which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That *Valens* should be forthwith deposed, and reduced to his former condition. 2. That *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Asia*, *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, and the lesser *Scythia*, should remain in the possession of *Licinius*; but that *Illyricum*, *Dardania*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Mæsia*, should be yielded to *Constantine* [q]. *Mæsia* is named in both divisions, there being then two provinces of that name, the one, known at present by the name of *Servia*, belonging to

War between Constantine *and* Licinius.

Licinius *defeated in* Pannonia.

And in Thrace.

The articles of their agreement.

[h] Zos. l. ii. p. 671. [i] Cod. Theodos. chronol. p. 8, 9. [k] Cod. Just. 7. t. 22. leg. 3. p. 665. [l] Concil. tom. i. p. 1431. [m] Annonym. p. 473. Zos. l. i. p. 678. Eutrop. p. 588. Eusеb. p. 210. Vict. epit. p. 543. [n] Zos. p. 679. [o] Aur Vict. p. 526. [p] Annonym. p. 474. [q] Idem ibid. Sozom. l. i. c. 2. p. 403. Zos. p. 779.

a to *Illyricum*, and the other, now *Bulgaria*, to *Thrace*. Peace being thus concluded, the two emperors entered the following year, 315. on their fourth conſulſhip. *Conſtantine*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, paſſed the beſt part of this year in *Illyricum* and *Greece*, which had been yielded to him by the late treaty. By one of theſe laws, dated the firſt of *Auguſt*, he forbids the crucifying of criminals, and intirely aboliſhes that ſort of puniſhment, though common among the *Romans* till his time, eſpecially with reſpect to ſlaves. This prohibition is generally looked upon by the fathers as an inſtance of his reſpect for the croſs and paſſion of our Saviour [r]. By another law, enacted at *Naiſſus* on the thirteenth of *May*, he commands the officers of the revenue to receive, and educate, at his expence ſuch children as ſhall be brought

b to them by their parents, as not being in a condition to provide for them by their own labour and induſtry [s]. He ordered this law to be engraved on braſs, and to be publicly hung up in all the cities of *Italy*. In the year 322. he extended it to *Africa*, injoining the proconſuls, governors, and receivers of the revenue there, to ſupply with corn out of the public granaries ſuch parents as they ſhall find incapable of maintaining their children. By a third law publiſhed this year at *Sirmium*, and dated the ſecond of *June*, he forbids, on pain of death, the attaching for debt either ſlaves or cattle employed in tilling the ground [t]. From *Illyricum*, *Conſtantine* went to *Aquileia*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he was on the twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* and the thirteenth of *September*, as appears from a law addreſſed to *Probinus*,

c or rather *Probianus*, proconſul of *Africa*, and from an edict addreſſed to the people of *Rome* [u]. On the eighteenth of *October*, he was at *Naiſſus* in *Dacia*; for the law bears that date, which he publiſhed there, forbidding, under pain of being burnt alive, the *Jews* and their patriarchs, to moleſt ſuch as ſhould abandon their ſect to embrace the true religion, and inflicting ſevere puniſhments on thoſe who ſhould embrace the *Jewiſh* religion [w]. *Conſtantine* paſſed almoſt the whole year enſuing, when *Sabinus* and *Ruſinus* were conſuls, in *Gaul*; for on the eleventh of *January* he was at *Treves*, on the fourteenth of *May* at *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, and on the thirteenth of *Auguſt* at *Arles*, where his wife *Fauſta* was delivered of a ſon, whom ſome take to be *Conſtantine* his eldeſt ſon, and others to be his youngeſt ſon *Conſtans*.

d This year, the emperor enacted a law, dated the eighth of *June*, and addreſſed to a biſhop, by name *Protogenes*, probably the celebrated biſhop of *Sardica*, by which he gave leave to all maſters to infranchiſe their ſlaves in the preſence of the chriſtian people aſſembled with their biſhops or paſtors in the church, without recurring, as was preſcribed by the *Roman* laws, to the prætors and conſuls. Thus the manumitting of ſlaves, which before was attended with great difficulties and no ſmall expence, became eaſy and no-ways chargeable, the maſters being no longer obliged to recur to the prætors and conſuls at *Rome*, but only to their own biſhops and clergy [x]. In the month of *October* of this year, the emperor was at *Milan*, and there heard the complaints of the *Donatiſts* againſt *Cæcilianus* biſhop of *Carthage* [y];

e and on the fourth of *December* at *Sardica*, where he enacted a law, commanding perſons even of the greateſt diſtinction, when guilty of rapes, extortions, or other crimes of that nature, to be tried by the governors of the provinces and executed, without being allowed to appeal to the governor of *Rome*, or the emperor [z]. This ſeverity was judged neceſſary to check the inſolence of the nobility, who began to oppreſs the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, eſpecially in the remote provinces. The following year 317. when *Gallicanus* and *Baſſus* were conſuls, *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* agreed to create three *Cæſars*, viz. *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, the ſons of the emperor *Conſtantine*, and *Licinius* or *Licinianus*, the ſon of *Licinius* by *Conſtantia*, the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*. This promotion was made, according to the beſt chrono-

f logers, on the firſt of *March*, and was afterwards notified to the armies, and publiſhed in all the cities of the empire [a]. The ſon of *Licinius* is ſtyled on the ancient coins *Valerius Licinianus Licinius*, and alſo *Licinius the younger* [b], and was but an infant, about twenty months old, when raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar* [c]. *Criſpus*, *Conſtantine*'s ſon by his firſt wife, was born, according to ſome, in the year 300. according to others in 296. ſo that he was at this time in the ſeventeenth or twenty-

Several laws enacted by Conſtantine.

Fauſta *delivered of a ſon at* Arles.

Criſpus, Conſtantine, *and young* Licinius *created* Cæſars

firſt

[r] Vide Auguſt. ſerm. 88. c. 9. p. 473. [s] Cod. Theod. 11. t. 27. l. i. p. 188. [t] Cod. Theodoſ. l. i. p. 224, 225. [u] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 10. [w] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 1. p. 214. [x] Cod. Juſt. l. i. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 111. Sozom. l. i. c. 9. p. 414. [y] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 13. [z] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 3, 4. [a] Anonym. p. 474. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 679. Hier. chron. Liban. orat. 3. p. 111. [b] Goltz. p. 130. Noris de Licin. c. 1. p. 39, 40. [c] Vict. epit. p. 543.

first year of his age [d]. *Constantine* had committed the care of his education to the celebrated *Lactantius*, a person equally capable of instructing him in the sciences, and inspiring him with sentiments of piety. *Eusebius* styles him *an excellent prince, a prince beloved of heaven, a son in no respect inferior to his father* [e]. He is called in the ancient inscriptions *Flavius Valerius Julius Crispus* [f]. This year was born, according to the common opinion, on the seventh, or, as others will have it, on the thirteenth, of *August*, in *Illyricum*, and according to some in the city of *Sirmium*, *Constantius*, *Constantine*'s second son by *Fausta* the sister of *Maxentius* [g]. *Constantine* passed the following year, when *Licinius* was consul, the fifth time, with *Crispus*, partly in *Illyricum*, and partly in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and revived the ancient *Roman* law against parricides, which had been abrogated by *Pompey the Great*, comprehending under the name of parricide the murder, not only of a father and mother, but likewise of a son [h]. The next consuls were *Constantine*, the fifth time, and *Licinius Cæsar*. *Constantine* passed this and the three following years in *Illyricum*; and by several laws enacted there, and addressed to the governors of *Rome* and to the *Roman* people, endeavoured to reform the many abuses which had long prevailed in the metropolis of the empire. By one of these laws, published at *Rome* on the first of *February*, he gives the pagans leave to consult the aruspices, that is, those who pretended to foretel events from the entrails of victims; but forbids the aruspices, as well as the other pagan priests, to enter the houses of private persons, though their friends or relations, upon pain of being burnt alive: such as received them were by this law to forfeit their estates, and be banished for life; the informers were not to be punished in this, as in other cases, but amply rewarded for their zeal [i]. The end of this law was to prevent all private sacrifices and consultations. By another law, dated the seventeenth of *December*, he commands those, who shall consult the aruspices or other diviners, to send their answers to him [k]. The emperor continued this year at *Sirmium* till the twenty-second of *June*, as appears from the dates of his laws; was at *Naissus* on the fifteenth of *July*, at *Milan* on the seventeenth of *September*, at *Aquileia* on the twelfth of *October*, at *Sardica* on the twenty-sixth of *November*, and again at *Sirmium* on the first of *December* [l]. The following year, *Constantine* entered upon his sixth consulship, having his son *Constantine* for his collegue. This year he abrogated the *Papian* and all other laws against celibacy; but suffered those who had children to enjoy the privileges granted them by those laws [m]. He annulled another law, impowering the creditors to seize on the estates and effects of their debtors; and at the same time declared, that such as had forfeited their estates by that law, might redeem them by paying the sums they owed [n]. By a law dated the first of *February*, he forbids the officers of the revenue to punish with rods, or confine to the public prisons, such as were backward in paying the common taxes; but orders them to be secured in places where every one might see and visit them [o]. This law must have been unknown to *Zosimus*, who tells us, that rods and all sorts of torments were used by the officers of *Constantine* in exacting what was due to the exchequer [p]. Two other laws were enacted by *Constantine* this year, the one forbidding married men to keep concubines [q], and the other commanding all judges to dispatch the causes of criminals, and the goalers to treat them, however guilty, with humanity, to keep them in open and wholesome places, and not to confine them, at least in the day-time, to dungeons: he declares such as shall by ill usage extort money from their prisoners, guilty of death; and threatens with his indignation the magistrates who shall wink at such disorders [r]. This year *Crispus* gained a victory over the *Franks*, the particulars of which are not mentioned in history: *Nazarius* in his panegyric only tells us, that he overcame the *Franks*, granted them a peace, and then returned to his father [s].

Const. born.

Laws against the aruspices.

Constantine revokes the Papian and other laws against celibacy.

Laws in favour of prisoners.

The following year, when *Crispus* and *Constantine*, the emperor's two sons, were consuls, *Constantine* published an edict on the seventh of *March*, forbidding all manner of work on sundays [t]. *Sozomen* writes, that, out of respect to the cross, he likewise ordered fridays to be kept holy [u]. But of this edict no mention is made either

And for keeping holy sundays.

[d] Zos. p 679. Panegyr. 7. p 177. [e] Euseb. l. x. c 9. p. 398. [f] Goltz. p. 129. [g] Cod. Theodos. chronol. p. 13. Du Cange Byzant. famil. p. 47. [h] Cod. Theodos. l. ix. tit. 15. p. 112, 113. [i] Cod. Theodos. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 1, 2. p. 114, 115. [k] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 257. [l] Cod. Theodos. chronol. p. 16—27. [m] Sozom. l. i. c. 9. p. 413. Euseb. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 26. Cod. Theod. p. 643 644. [n] Idem, p. 251, 252. [o] Idem, p. 68, 69. [p] Zos. l. ii. p. 691. [q] Cod. Theodos. p. 70, 71. [r] Idem, p. 33. [s] Panegyr. 7. p. 177. [t] Euseb. vit. Const. l. iv. c. 18. p. 534. Cod. Just. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 250. [u] Sozom. l. i. c. 8. p. 412.

a either by *Euſebius*, or any other hiſtorian. However, the authority of *Sozomen*, who lived at *Conſtantinople*, was by profeſſion a pleader, and ſhews himſelf every-where thoroughly acquainted with the laws, is of great weight with us. The following year 322. *Petronius Probrianus* and *Anicius Julianus* being conſuls, *Conſtantine* gained a great victory over the *Sarmatians* [w]. *Optatianus* writes, that they were overcome in ſeveral battles with the *Carpi* and the *Getæ*, that is, the *Goths* [x]. Theſe battles were fought, according to that writer, at *Campona*, *Marga*, and *Bononia*, all three cities of *Illyricum* on the *Danube*, the firſt in *Pannonia* or *Valeria*, near the preſent city of *Buda*, and the other two in *Upper Mœſia* [y]. *Rauſimodes*, king of the *Sarmatians*, had, as we read in *Zoſimus* [z], beſieged a city, which he does not name; but *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantine defeats the Sarmatians.*

b haſtening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and having obliged thoſe who had made their eſcape to repaſs the *Danube*, purſued them croſs that river, defeated them a ſecond time with great ſlaughter, their king being killed among the reſt, and returned with an incredible number of captives. *Euſebius* does not ſpeak of this victory in particular; but tells us in general terms, that heaven rewarded with many victories over the different clans of barbarians the emperor's zeal for the propagation of the goſpel [a]. The *Sarmatian* games, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of *November*, probably took their riſe from this victory [b]. The next conſuls were *Severus* and *Rufinus*. *Conſtantine*, after his victory over the barbarians, marched with his army to *Theſſalonica*; but while he was buſied there in making

c a port, the *Goths*, notwithſtanding their late defeat, entered *Thrace* and *Mœſia*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Conſtantine* marched againſt them with incredible expedition; and having gained a complete victory over them, purſued them with great ſlaughter into the dominions of *Licinius*; which that prince highly reſenting, complained of it as an open breach of the treaties ſubſiſting between them. *Conſtantine* endeavoured to appeaſe him; but as *Licinius*, diſſatisfied with the late partition of the empire, waited only a plauſible pretence to break with *Conſtantine*, *And the Goths.*

after ſeveral embaſſies and unſucceſsful negotiations, both princes began to prepare for war. *Conſtantine* diſpatched expreſſes into all the provinces, ordering his troops to haſten into *Illyricum* and join him [c]. *Zoſimus* writes, that his army was an hundred *War between Conſtantine and Licinius.*

d and thirty thouſand men ſtrong, and that he aſſembled at the port of *Athens* a fleet conſiſting of two thouſand two hundred veſſels of different rates and ſizes; whereas *Licinius* had with him but an hundred and fifteen thouſand men, and three hundred and fifty gallies [d]. *Conſtantine* was ſtill at *Sirmium* on the twenty-fifth of *May* [e], and a few days after at *Theſſalonica*, whence he marched into *Thrace*, and found *Licinius* encamped there on the banks of the *Hebrus*, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. The two armies continued ſome days encamped over-againſt each other, being parted by the river. *Conſtantine* was for laying a bridge croſs the *Hebrus*; but, in the mean time, having diſcovered a ford at ſome diſtance, he paſſed it at firſt with twelve horſemen, who being followed by a few more, kept the enemy in play, till the

e whole army croſſed the river. Both princes drew up their forces in battle-array, and prepared for the enſuing engagement, which was likely to prove deciſive. *Euſebius* writes, that the author of the war, that is, *Licinius*, gave the ſignal for the onſet, and that *Conſtantine*, having firſt with a fervent prayer invoked the Almighty, and given for the parole *God our Saviour*, ordered the croſs, in which he confided more than in the number and bravery of his ſoldiers, to be diſplayed at the head of his army. His confidence, ſays the ſame writer, was not ill-grounded; for victory attended the royal banner where-ever it appeared [f]. *Conſtantine*'s men behaved with incredible bravery, animated by the example of their leader, who, though he expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, eſcaped

f only with a ſlight wound in the thigh. But of the enemy thirty-three thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt, though advantagiouſly poſted upon a riſing ground, obliged to betake themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight. *Licinius* eſcaped in the night, with what forces he could rally, to *Byzantium*; and the next morning ſuch of his men as had remained in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, ſubmitted to *Conſtantine*, who, tranſported with joy for ſo ſignal a victory, granted a diſcharge to many of his veterans [g]. This memorable battle was fought on the *Licinius entirely defeated at* Adrianople, third

[w] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 680. [x] Optat. c. 23. [y] Baud. [z] Zos. l. ii. p. 680. [a] Euseb. vit. Conſtant. p. 431. [b] Cod. Theon. Chronol. p. 22. [c] Anonym. p. 474. [d] Zos l. ii. p. 680. [e] Cod. Theod. p. 23. [f] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 3. & 6, p. 445, 447. [g] Euseb. ibid. Anonym. p. 475. Zos. l. ii. p. 681.

third of *July* of this year 323. *Euſebius* tells us, that *Licinius*, before the battle, a
retired to a neighbouring wood to ſacrifice to his gods; and, when the ceremony was
over, told thoſe who attended him, that he had offered victims to the gods, whom
both his and their anceſtors had ever adored, but the enemy had forſaken, to embrace
a religion unknown to the *Romans*, whoſe ſtandards he diſhonoured with the igno-
minious ſign of a croſs. He added, that as *Conſtantine*, tranſported with a blind
zeal for his new religion, had declared himſelf an enemy rather to his gods than to
him, it was incumbent upon them to defend and protect him, that the world might
conclude from the ſucceſs of the approaching engagement, how powerful were the
gods of the *Roman* empire, how weak the unknown God adored by *Conſtantine*.
" If we are overcome, continued he, we muſt deſpiſe thoſe deities whom we now b
" adore, and adore that deity whom we now deſpiſe. But if our gods bleſs our
" endeavours with ſucceſs, as I am confident they will, we muſt with an eternal
" war purſue their enemies, and utterly extirpate the chriſtian name." *Euſebius*
tells us, that he learnt this ſpeech, ſoon after the battle, of thoſe who were with
Licinius when he made it [h]. *Sozomen* likewiſe writes, that *Licinius* had reſolved,
if his gods had granted him the victory, to purſue with fire and ſword their enemies
the chriſtians; and therefore that writer looks upon his defeat as a glaring inſtance to
prove, that the chriſtians were, in a ſpecial manner, favoured by heaven, and that
their religion was not a human contrivance, but the work of the Almighty [i]. As
Licinius had fled to *Byzantium*, *Conſtantine* purſued him thither without loſs of time, c
ordering his fleet, commanded by his ſon *Criſpus*, to repair to the ſame place. *Criſ-*
pus immediately put to ſea, and ſailing along the coaſts of *Macedon* and *Thrace*,
entered the ſtreights of *Gallipoli*, where the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of two hundred
veſſels, under the command of *Abantus*, or, as others call him, *Amandus*, waited for
him. As the place was very narrow, *Criſpus* thought it adviſeable to engage him
only with eighty of his beſt ſhips. Victory was long doubtful, both fleets fighting
with great obſtinacy and reſolution: but in the end the enemy being encumbered by
the great number of their ſhips running foul of one another in ſo narrow a place, were
And his fleet by Criſpus *in the ſtreights of* Gallipoli. utterly defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men, and one hundred and thirty
ſhips. *Amandus*, the enemy's admiral, with the utmoſt difficulty ſaved himſelf d
aſhore [k]. *Zoſimus*, who deſcribes all the particulars of this battle, tells us, that even
the winds fought for *Conſtantine*, in order to render the victory of the ſon by ſea no
leſs glorious than that of the father had been by land [l]. *Criſpus* himſelf haſtened to
his father with the joyful tidings of the total defeat of the enemy's fleet, and was by
him received with the moſt tender expreſſions of paternal affection and eſteem. *Con-*
ſtantine had already laid ſiege to *Byzantium*, after having gained ſome new advantages
over the enemy; but, before his fleet arrived, *Licinius* made his eſcape by ſea, and
taking with him the flower of his troops, and his treaſures, paſſed the ſtreights, and
ſhut himſelf up in *Chalcedon*, with a deſign to raiſe a new army in *Aſia*. In that city
Licinius *creates* M. Martinianus Cæſar. he preferred to the dignity of *Cæſar* one *M. Martinianus*, the chief officer of his e
houſhold, and diſpatched him with a conſiderable force to *Lampſacus*, to make head
againſt *Conſtantine*, in caſe he attempted to enter the *Helleſpont* [m]. But *Conſtantine*,
leaving *Byzantium*, embarqued his troops, and croſſing over into *Aſia*, landed in the
neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*; and finding *Licinius* encamped on a riſing ground not
far from that city with a numerous army, which he had drawn together with incre-
dible expedition, he began to prepare for a ſecond engagement. But, in the mean
time, deputies arriving from *Licinius*, with propoſals for an accommodation, *Conſtan-*
An agreement between Licinius *and* Conſtantine, *which is broken by the former.* *tine* hearkened to them with great joy, and complied with the terms they propoſed,
which were, ſays *Euſebius* [n], no leſs advantagious to *Licinius*, than to the whole em-
pire. But this agreement was ſhort-lived; for *Conſtantine* being ſoon after informed f
that *Licinius* was drawing together forces from all parts, and had even invited the
barbarians to join him, advanced to *Chalcedon*, with a deſign to inveſt the place, and
oblige *Licinius* to comply with the terms of their agreement. But as he approached
Chryſopolis, the port of *Chalcedon*, he was there, to his great ſurprize, met by *Licinius*
at the head of a very numerous army. *Zoſimus* writes, that he had with him above
an hundred and thirty thouſand men, counting the troops commanded by *Martinia-*
nus, whom he had ordered to leave *Lampaſcus* and join him [o]. *Conſtantine* drew up
his

[h] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 5. p. 445, 446. [i] Sozom. l. i. c. 7. p. 409. [k] Zos. l. ii. p. 681, 682. Anonym. p. 475. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Zos. p. 683. Anonym. p. 475. [n] Euseb. ibid. l. ii. c. 15. p. 451. [o] Zos. l. ii. p. 683.

a his men in battle-array; but, ſcrupling to break the treaty, waited till the ſignal was given by the enemy; which was no ſooner done, than he fell upon them with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, that, not able to withſtand him, they immediately gave way and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. In this battle *Licinius* loſt, according to the anonymous writer of *Conſtantine*'s life, twenty-five thouſand men [p]; but, according to *Zoſimus*, above an hundred thouſand [q]. It was fought on the eighteenth of *September*; and a few days after the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* opened their gates to the conqueror. *Licinius* fled, with what forces he could rally, to *Nicomedia*, whither *Conſtantine* purſued him, and immediately inveſted the place; but, on the ſecond day of the ſiege, his ſiſter *Conſtantia* intreating him with many tears, by the tenderneſs he had ever ſhewn to her, to forgive her huſband, and grant him at
b leaſt his life, he was prevailed upon to comply with her requeſt; and the next day *Licinius*, finding no means of making his eſcape, preſented himſelf before the conqueror, and, throwing himſelf at his feet, yielded to him the purple and the other enſigns of ſovereignty. *Conſtantine* received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, entertained him at his table, and afterwards ſent him to *Theſſalonica*, aſſuring him, that he ſhould live unmoleſted, ſo long as he raiſed no new diſturbances [r]. However, he was ſoon after ſtrangled by *Conſtantine*'s orders, who, on that account is highly blamed by *Zoſimus* and *Aurelius Victor*. St. *Jerom* has copied the very words of the latter in his chronicle. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, tells us, that the ſoldiers, having demanded the death of *Licinius*, *Con-*
c *ſtantine* complied with their requeſt, fearing he might, in imitation of *Maximian*, one day reſume the empire. *Zonaras* writes, that upon the complaints brought againſt *Licinius* by the ſoldiery, *Conſtantine* referred the whole affair to the ſenate, who ſentenced him to death [s]. *Socrates* ſays in expreſs terms, that *Licinius* began privately to make new preparations for war, and to invite the barbarians to his aſſiſtance; which *Conſtantine* no ſooner knew, than he ordered him to be put to death, and by that means prevented a new civil war [t]. *Conſtantine* cauſed all his ſtatues to be pulled down, and by two laws, the one dated the ſixteenth of *May* 324. the other the twelfth of *February* 325. annulled all his acts, and repealed the laws which had been publiſhed by him or his officers in his name [u]. As for *Martinianus*, *Zoſimus* writes, that *Con-*
d *ſtantine* abandoned him to the fury of the ſoldiery [x], as ſoon as he fell into his power. But the anonymous writer and *Victor* the younger aſſure us, that *Conſtantine* at firſt granted him his life; but afterwards ordered him to be put to death, as having been privy to the deſigns of *Licinius* [x]. All thoſe who had prompted him to perſecute the chriſtians, underwent the ſame fate [y], and among the reſt his ſon *Licinius*, who was this year degraded from the dignity of *Cæſar*, and two years after, that is, in 325. according to St. *Jerom*, ſentenced to death. *Licinius* had been created emperor on the eleventh of *November* 307. and conſequently had reigned near ſixteen years. We have not thought it neceſſary to take notice of the miracles, which *Zonaras* and *Nice-*
e *phorus* have inſerted in their account of the defeat of *Licinius*, as things not vouched by any ancient writer. For this victory *Conſtantine*, and after him his ſon and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, aſſumed the title of *Victorious*, which we find ſtill prefixed to ſome of his letters [z]. Not long after the defeat of *Licinius*, he preferred *Conſtans*, at that time his third ſon and ſix years old, to the dignity of *Cæſar*.

Licinius utterly defeated.

He ſubmits to Conſtantine.

He is by his order put to death.

Conſtantine, now maſter of all the eaſtern provinces, made it his chief ſtudy to eſtabliſh there the worſhip of the true God, as he had already done in the weſt, and to aboliſh all remains of idolatry, which had been no leſs countenanced by *Licinius*, than the chriſtian religion perſecuted and oppreſſed. He began with two edicts, whereof both *Greek* and *Latin* copies were ſent into all the provinces of the empire,
f ſigned with the emperor's own hand, and addreſſed, the one, *To the churches of God*, the other, *To the people of each province*. By theſe edicts he reinſtates in their former condition all, who, on account of their religion, had been condemned to exile, to the mines, or any other puniſhment; orders their goods and eſtates to be forthwith reſtored to them or to their heirs; gives leave to ſuch as had been deprived of their military employments to reſume them, if they pleaſed; and commands the officers of the revenue, as well as private perſons, of what rank or condition ſoever, to deliver up to

Conſtantine *orders whatever had been taken from the churches, &c. to be reſtored to them.*

[p] Anonym. p. 475. [q] Zos l. ii. p. 683. [r] Idem, p. 684. Vict. epit. p. 543. [s] Zonar. vit. Conſt. p. 4. [t] Socrat. l. i. c. 4. p. 8. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 1. p. 404, 405. [w] Zos. p. 685. [x] Anonym. p. 475. Vict. epit. p. 543. [y] Euseb. vit. Conſt. p. 452. Anonym. ibid. [z] Euseb. ibid. p. 452. Optat. p. 284.

to the churches, upon the publication of the edict, without waiting the ſentence of the magiſtrates, what houſes, tenements, gardens, orchards, &c. had ever belonged to them, but more eſpecially the places where the holy martyrs had been interred. He threatens with his indignation ſuch as ſhall not yield immediate obedience to this ordinance, which, he ſays, compriſes thoſe too who may have purchaſed ſuch lands, houſes, &c. of the emperor, or received them as a preſent, or by way of reward for their paſt ſervices. Theſe, however, he encourages to depend upon his generoſity; but requires of them, as well as of the reſt, an immediate compliance with his edict [y]. a

He enacts ſeveral edicts againſt the worſhipping of idols.

Theſe ordinances were followed by others, forbidding the offering of ſacrifices to idols, the conſecrating of any new idol, and the conſulting, either in public or in private, the aruſpices, ſoothſayers, oracles, &c. He had no ſooner cauſed theſe laws to be publiſhed, than he enacted another, ordering the churches, which had been pulled down during the perſecution, to be rebuilt at his own expence, injoining his receivers in the different provinces to furniſh the neceſſary ſums for that purpoſe; and thoſe whom he appointed to overſee ſuch buildings, to take care that they were capable of containing all the inhabitants; for we hope, added the pious emperor, that they will all embrace the faith of the true God. He wrote upon the ſame ſubject to all the metropolitan biſhops, ſtyling them his *beloved brethren*, and among the reſt to *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, who relates his letter at length, and tells us, it was the firſt he had received from him [z]. Not long after, he publiſhed an edict drawn up by himſelf, and addreſſed to all the people of the empire; wherein he exhorts them to renounce their ancient ſuperſtition, to adore but one God, the Creator of the univerſe, and to place all their hopes in Jeſus Chriſt. This edict is related at length by *Euſebius*, who tranſlated it out of the original *Latin* into *Greek* [a]. *Conſtantine*, not thinking yet adviſeable to pull down the temples of the idols, ordered them to be ſhut up in all the places where that might be done without tumults and bloodſhed; to be ſtripped of their riches and ornaments, and even of their idols; and all the lands, houſes, and revenues belonging to them to be applied to pious uſes. In virtue of this ordinance, the *Pythian* and *Smynthian Apollo*, the tripod of *Delphos*, the muſes of *Helicon*, the famous *Pan*, whom all the cities of *Greece* had conſecrated after the *Perſian* war, and whatever miſled antiquity had for many ages revered and adored, were publicly dragged through the ſtreets, and either daſhed in pieces, or made uſe of as maſter-pieces of art to adorn the ſquares, villas, palaces, public galleries, &c [b]. From the ſeveral laws enacted this and the following year 324. when the emperor's two ſons, *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, were conſuls, it appear, that *Conſtantine* continued in the eaſt, reſiding for the moſt part at *Nicomedia*. The next year, *Paulinus* and *Julianus* being conſuls, the emperor, to put a ſtop to the diſturbances and diviſions that rent the church, aſſembled the famous council of *Nice*, at which he aſſiſted in perſon, and afterwards condemned to baniſhment the refractory hereſiarch *Arius*, with *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, and ſeveral others, who could not be prevailed upon to renounce his impious tenets. On the twenty-fifth of *July* of this year, the emperor ſolemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence the twentieth year of his reign, and on that occaſion made a great entertainment in his palace, to which he invited all the biſhops of the council, treated them with the utmoſt reſpect, made them ſeveral preſents, and cauſed large ſums to be diſtributed among the poor, diſpatching at the ſame time orders to all the governors of provinces to ſupply yearly the ſacred virgins, widows, and eccleſiaſtics in each city of their reſpective diſtricts with a certain quantity of corn [c]. *Conſtantine* paſſed this year partly at *Nice*, partly at *Nicomedia*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws. By one publiſhed at *Nicomedia* on the ſeventeenth of *October*, and addreſſed to all the ſubjects of the empire, he encourages ſuch as had been, or ſhould be, oppreſſed, or any ways injured by his miniſters, counſellors, governors of provinces or cities, &c. to apply to him for redreſs, aſſuring them, that they ſhould be well received, and amply rewarded, for undeceiving him, ſince he had employed none but ſuch as he believed to be men of integrity. But the beſt princes, adds he, are liable to be deceived and impoſed upon by wicked miniſters; if therefore thoſe in whom I repoſed an intire confidence, have deceived me by a falſe appearance of integrity, and injured the meaneſt of my ſubjects, let the perſon thus injured lay his complaints before me, and accuſe b c d e f

Orders the temples to be ſhut.

Aſſembles a council at Nice.

He encourages all his ſubjects to recur to him

[y] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 19---28. p. 453, 458. [z] Idem ibid. c. 44, 45. p. 464, 465. [a] Idem ibid. c. 47, 48. p. 465, 466. [b] Idem, 10, 511. Sozom. p. 449. [c] Euseb. p. 491. Soz. p. 438.

a accuſe me as the author of the injuries he has ſuffered, if I do not revenge them[d]. In the beginning of *November* he enacted another law, forbidding throughout the whole empire the combats of gladiators, and ordering, that criminals, inſtead of being obliged to fight in the arena, ſhould, for the future, be condemned to work in the mines[e]. The following year, *Conſtantine* entered upon his ſeventh conſulſhip, having his third ſon *Conſtans* for his collegue. The emperor paſſed the winter in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; for he was on the third of *February* at *Heraclea*, and on the fifteenth of *March* at *Sirmium*. From thence he went to *Milan*, and from *Milan* to *Rome*, where he was on the eighth of *July*; but he did not ſtay long there, being, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, in the beginning of *October* at *Spoletum*, on the twenty-

b third of the ſame month at *Milan*, and on the laſt day of *December* at *Sirmium*[f]. *Zoſimus*, a declared enemy to *Conſtantine*, writes, that the whole *Roman* people loaded him with injuries and curſes, for having abandoned the religion of his anceſtors, and promoted with great zeal the worſhip of an unknown God; and adds, that the diſreſpect and averſion which the *Romans* ſhewed him prompted him to transfer the ſeat of the empire to *Byzantium*[g]. *Libanius* tells us, that he bore with great patience the ſatires and lampoons, that were daily publiſhed againſt him during his ſtay at *Rome*. He left the city, highly diſſatisfied with the diſreſpectful behaviour of the *Roman* people, and was never after prevailed upon to return to it[h]. But the moſt remarkable event of this year was the death of *Criſpus*, *Conſtantine*'s eldeſt ſon.

He is inſulted by the Roman *people.*

c The empreſs *Fauſta*, jealous of the great reputation he had acquired, and piqued to ſee him preferred to her own children, falſly accuſed him of having ſolicited her to inceſt. Some ſay, that ſhe charged him with aſpiring at the ſovereignty. Be that as it will, *Conſtantine*, hearkening to the accuſation, and not only forgetting on this occaſion his uſual clemency, but acting contrary to all laws of juſtice and equity, without examining an accuſation of ſuch importance, without giving the accuſed prince room to clear himſelf, ordered him to be put to death. Some write, that he was diſpatched with poiſon; others, that by the emperor's orders his head was ſtruck off. He was, according to the moſt probable opinion, executed at *Pola* in *Iſtria*, on the firſt of *March*, being then in the thirtieth, or, as others will have it, only in the

d twenty-fifth, year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, had ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner againſt the *Franks* and in the war with *Licinius*, and was univerſally beloved by the people and ſoldiery, on account of his bravery, his obliging behaviour to perſons of all ranks, his generoſity, and other princely qualities. He had in all likelihood embraced the chriſtian religion, nay, and been baptized, according to *Baronius*; but the authority of *Nicephorus*, whom that writer quotes, is of no great weight with us. The death of *Criſpus* was followed by that of young *Licinius*, *Conſtantine*'s nephew, at that time in the twelfth year of his age[i]. St. *Jerom* ſtyles theſe executions the effect of an unheard-of cruelty[k]. *Fauſta* did not long out-live her ſon-in-law; for, being this very year convicted of having

He puts his ſon Criſpus *to death.*

And likewiſe his nephew Licinius, *and his wife* Fauſta.

e accuſed him falſly, and moreover of having proſtituted her honour to perſons of the meaneſt rank, *Conſtantine* cauſed her to be ſuffocated with the ſteam of a hot bath[l]. With *Fauſta* many perſons of diſtinction, ſuppoſed to have been acceſſory to her crimes, were condemned, and either privately diſpatched with poiſon, or publicly executed[m]. *Evagrius*, to excuſe *Conſtantine*, denies all theſe facts[n]; but they are too well atteſted, both by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians, to be denied, or even called in queſtion. *Euſebius*, in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, which he publiſhed before the death of *Criſpus*, beſtows the higheſt encomiums upon that prince, and tells us, that he had great ſhare in the victory gained over *Licinius*[o]; but, in the life of *Conſtantine*, he ſuppreſſes thoſe encomiums, and though he deſcribes at length that memorable

f victory, yet he does not ſo much as mention the name of *Criſpus*. This ſilence is, in our opinion, a ſtrong argument againſt *Evagrius*, who pretends the above-mentioned facts to have been feigned by the enemies of *Conſtantine*, becauſe he does not find them in *Euſebius*; but as they are ſufficiently atteſted by ſeveral other credible writers, we ought rather to infer from the ſilence of *Euſebius*, that he was well appriſed nothing could be alledged to excuſe *Conſtantine*, and therefore took no notice of thoſe executions,

d Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 25. e Cod. Theodoſ. tit. 5. p. 397. f Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 28. g Zos. l. ii. p. 686. h Liban. orat. xv. p. 412. i Zos. l. ii. p. 685. Aur. Vict. p. 527. Ammian. l. xiv. p. 29. Eutrop. p. 588. k Hier. chron. l Zos. p. 685. Vict. epit. Philostorg. hiſt. eccleſ. 470. Ammian. p. 56. Hier. chron. m Eutrop. p. 588. n Evag. l. iii. c. 41. p. 371. o Euseb. l. x. c. 9. p. 398, 399.

tions, chuſing rather to incur the cenſure of having tranſgreſſed the known laws of a hiſtory, than to take upon him the juſtifying of facts, which all the world but too juſtly condemned. This inexcuſeable cruelty and injuſtice in *Conſtantine* drew down upon his family divine vengeance; for his brothers, his nephews, and his favourite miniſters, were, ſoon after his death, all maſſacred by *Conſtantius*, his ſecond ſon by *Fauſta*, whom he loved and cheriſhed above the reſt. *Conſtantine* his eldeſt ſon was killed by *Conſtans* the youngeſt, *Conſtans* by *Magnentius*, *Gallus* their couſin by *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtantius* by *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*. *Julian* periſhed in a moſt miſerable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of *Conſtantine*, which, every one expected, would have furniſhed the empire with princes for many ages, the emperor having three brothers, four ſons, ſeveral ſiſters and daughters, and nine b nephews [p]. *Conſtantine* ſeems to have paſſed the following year 327. when *Conſtantius* and *Maximus* were conſuls, in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; for on the twenty-ſeventh of *February* he was at *Theſſalonica*, on the eighteenth of *May* at *Sardica*, and at *Heraclea* on the fifth of *Auguſt*. He probably paſſed the following winter at *Nicomedia*; for he was in that city on the firſt of *March* [q]. This year, *Conſtantine* granted the privileges of a city to the village of *Drepanum* in *Bithynia*, ſtyling it, from the name of his mother, *Helenopolis*. This honour he beſtowed upon the place out of reſpect to the holy martyr *Lucianus*, who had ſuffered under *Maximin* in the year 312. and was interred there [r]. About this time the empreſs *Helena* is ſaid to have diſcovered the ſepulchre and croſs of our Saviour, which induced *Conſtantine* to build at *Jeruſalem* c the famous church *of the reſurrection*, which was conſecrated in the year 335 [s]. The pious princeſs died ſoon after in the arms of her ſon, who cauſed her body to be conveyed with great pomp to *Rome*, and to be interred in the burying-place of the emperors [t]. To honour her memory, he gave the name of *Helenopolis* to a city of *Paleſtine* [u], and that of *Helenopontus* to a part of the *Euxine* ſea [w], and cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to her honour at *Daphne* near *Antioch*. From this ſtatue the ſtreet in which it ſtood took the name of *Auguſtal* [x]. The following year, *Januarius* and *Juſtus* being conſuls, *Conſtantine* was, as we have hinted above, on the firſt of *March* at *Nicomedia*, and on the thirteenth of *July* at a place in *Mœſia* called *Oiſcos* and *Eſcos* [y]; whence ſome conjecture, that he was waging war with the barbarians in d thoſe parts: and indeed we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria* [z], that this year the emperor paſſed the *Danube* ſeveral times, and that he even laid a bridge over that river. Both the *Victors* mention this bridge amongſt his other great works; and on ſeveral ancient coins of this and the following years, notice is taken of a bridge, of his paſſing the *Danube*, and his defeating the *Goths* [a]. According to the chronicle of *Alexandria* [b], he began this year the city of *Conſtantinople*; but, according to others, on the twenty-ſixth of *September* of the following year 329. Notwithſtanding his zeal for the catholic faith, he recalled this year from baniſhment the two biſhops *Euſebius* and *Theognis*, great ſticklers for the doctrine of *Arius*, and ſuffered them to gain a great aſcendant over him. The next year, *Conſtantine* took upon him his eighth e conſulſhip, having his eldeſt ſon, the fourth time conſul, for his collegue. He paſſed this whole year in the neighbourhood of the *Danube*; for on the nineteenth of *June* he was at *Sardica* in *Dacia*; on the twenty-ſecond of *July* at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month at *Naiſſus* in *Dardania*; on the third of *Auguſt* at *Heraclea* in *Thrace*; on the eighteenth of the ſame month, and twenty-ninth of *September*, at *Sardica*; and on the twenty-fifth of *October* at *Heraclea* [c].

His cruelty and injuſtice puniſhed by heaven.

Makes Drepanum *a city.*

The empreſs Helena *dies.*

The emperor recals from baniſhment two Arian *biſhops.*

Conſtantine *undertakes the building of a new city.*

THE following year 330. when *Gallicanus* and *Symmachus* were conſuls, is remarkable for the dedication of the city of *Conſtantinople*, the greateſt of all *Conſtantine*'s works. Authors are divided in their opinions with reſpect to the motives that prompted *Conſtantine* to undertake the building of that city. *Zoſimus* writes, that he f did it out of hatred to the *Romans*, ſeeing himſelf ſcorned and inſulted by them for having embraced and introduced a new religion [d]. He had, according to *Eutropius* [e], nothing elſe in view but to diſplay his power, and ſhew, that, in a few years, he could build a city equal to *Rome*, which, for ſo many ages, had been not undeſervedly

[p] JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 497, 498. [q] Cod. Theod. p. 29. [r] HIER. chron. p. 662. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 18. p. 49. [s] PHILOSTORG. hiſt. eccleſ. l. ii. c. 12. p. 474. [t] THEODORET. l. i. c. 17 p. 564. EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506. [u] SOZOM. l. ii. c. 1. p. 443. [w] Cod. Juſt. p. 235. [x] SUID. p. 448. [y] Cod. Theod. p. 30. [z] Chron. Alexand. p. 662. [a] BIRAG. p. 467. [b] Chron. Alex. p. 602. [c] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 30, 31. & l. xi. tit. 30. leg. 15. p. 236, 237. [d] Zos. l. ii. p. 686.

a vedly looked upon as the wonder of the univerſe [e]. Others only tell us, that *Conſtantine*, diſliking *Rome* for motives unknown to them, reſolved to build a city elſewhere, and reſide there. That he diſliked *Rome*, whatever his motives were, is very plain; for though he had been maſter of that metropolis near twenty years, yet he had never made any long ſtay in it, but paſſed moſt of his time in *Gaul*, and, after his victory over *Licinius*, in *Thrace*. *Sozomen* writes, that *Conſtantine*, ſeeing himſelf abſolute maſter of the whole empire, and not being diſturbed by any domeſtic tumults or foreign wars, undertook the building of a new city, as a work worthy of a great prince, and reſolved, as he did not care to reſide at *Rome*, to ſettle the imperial ſeat there [f]. The firſt place he choſe for executing his deſign was between b *Troas* and ancient *Ilium*, on the coaſt of *Aſia*; but afterwards changing his mind upon a viſion which he had, or imagined to have had, he reſolved to inlarge the ancient city of *Byzantium*, and make it the ſecond, or, if he could, the firſt, of the empire. This pretended viſion is much ſpoken of by the modern *Greek* and *Latin* writers [g]; and *Conſtantine* himſelf, in one of his laws, declares, that, in the choice of the place, he followed the directions of heaven [h]. He began with extending the walls of the ancient city from ſea to ſea; and while ſome of the workmen were buſied in rearing them, others were employed in raiſing within them a great number of ſtately buildings, and among the reſt a palace no-ways inferior in magnificence and extent to that of *Rome*. As he deſigned to fix his own court there, and was deſirous, c that the ſucceeding emperors ſhould follow his example, and honour his new city with their ordinary reſidence, he ſpared no coſt or labour to render it both beautiful and convenient. With this view he built a capitol and amphitheatre, made a circus maximus, ſeveral forums, porticoes, and public baths, and divided the whole city into fourteen regions, ſecuring the inhabitants with many wholſome laws, and granting them great privileges and immunities. By this means *Byzantium* became in a ſhort time one of the moſt flouriſhing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all parts, eſpecially from *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Aſia*, *Conſtantine* having appointed by a law enacted this year, that ſuch as had lands in thoſe countries, ſhould not be able to diſpoſe of them, nor even leave them at their death to d their heirs, unleſs they had a houſe in his new city. The common people were enticed thither from the different and moſt diſtant provinces, and even from *Rome* itſelf, by the emperor's largeſſes, and the great quantities of corn, oil, and meat, which were daily diſtributed among them [i]. But however deſirous the emperor was to ſee his new city filled with people, yet he did not care it ſhould be inhabited by any but chriſtians; and therefore cauſed all the idols to be pulled down, and their temples to be conſecrated to the true God. He built beſides an incredible number of churches, and cauſed croſſes to be erected in all the ſquares and public places. When moſt of the buildings were finiſhed, the emperor, on the eleventh of *May* of the year 330. the twenty-fifth of his reign, cauſed his new city, by a very ſolemn e dedication, to be conſecrated, according to *Cedrenus*, to the virgin *Mary* [k]; but, according to *Euſebius* [l], to the God of martyrs. Some modern *Greek* writers tell us, that this ceremony was performed by the fathers of the council of *Nice*, that the ſolemnity laſted forty days, and that *Conſtantine*, during the whole time, cauſed an immenſe quantity of all ſorts of proviſions to be daily diſtributed among the populace [m]. It was on this occaſion that *Conſtantine* ſtyled the new city from his own name *Conſtantinople*, or the city of *Conſtantine*, and likewiſe *Second*, or, as others will have it, *New*, *Rome* [n]. At the ſame time he equalled it to ancient *Rome*, granting it the ſame rights, immunities, and privileges enjoyed by that metropolis [o]. He eſtabliſhed a ſenate and other magiſtrates, with a power and authority equal to that of f the *Roman* ſenate [p], and declared *New Rome* the metropolis of the eaſt, as *Old Rome* was of the weſt. *Conſtantine*, having accompliſhed this great work, according to ſome in five, according to others in two, years, fixed his reſidence in the new city, and never more returned to *Rome*. The removal of the imperial ſeat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, happened in the year of the chriſtian æra 330. the twenty-fifth of *Conſtantine*'s

He inlarges the city of Byzantium.

Adorns it with many new buildings.

And ſolemnly conſecrates it, and equals it to Rome.

[e] Eutrop. p. 488. [f] Soz. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. [g] Vide Du Cange urb. Conſtantinop. deſcript. l. i. p. 23, &c. [h] Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 64. [i] Zos. l. ii. p. 687. Soz. p. 444. Socrat. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90. [k] Vide Du Cange de Conſtantinop. l. i. p. 27. [l] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 48. p. 507. [m] Vide Georg. cod. in antiq. Conſtantinop. p. 25. [n] Socrat. p. 45. [o] Sozom. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. [p] Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 220, 223.

Conſtantine's reign, and 1078. after the foundation of *Rome.* By this removal the a
Roman empire received a fatal ſtroke, and ſhrunk by degrees into nothing, as the reader will find in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the removal of the imperial ſeat to* Conſtantinople, *to the death of the emperor* Julian.

CONSTANTINE having fixed his court at *Conſtantinople*, continued there, b
as appears from three dates of ſeveral laws [q], great part of the enſuing year 331.
when *Baſſus* and *Ablavius* were conſuls, being chiefly employed in building new churches, and adorning with other ſtately monuments the city he deſired might be honoured with the reſidence of the ſucceeding emperors. The next year, *Pacatianus* and *Hilarius* being conſuls, the *Sarmatians* having implored the aſſiſtance of *Conſtantine* againſt the *Goths*, who had made an irruption into their country, and committed every-where unheard-of cruelties, the emperor, either in perſon, or, as ſome write, by his ſon *Conſtantine*, gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of *April*. Near an hundred thouſand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or periſhed after the battle with hunger and cold; inſomuch, that the barbarians were c
obliged to ſue for peace, and deliver up hoſtages to the emperor, among whom was the ſon of their king, *Ariaric* or *Araric* [r]. *Sozomen* and *Socrates* write, that the *Goths* acknowledging the power of the God adored by *Conſtantine*, who had miraculouſly aſſiſted him in this war, great numbers of them embraced the chriſtian religion, which had been firſt preached among them about ſeventy years before [s]. The *Sarmatians*, unmindful of the aſſiſtance they had received from *Conſtantine*, as ſoon as he withdrew with his victorious army, began to ravage the provinces of *Mœſia* and *Thrace*; but the emperor, returning with incredible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and forced the reſt to ſubmit to what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them [t]. The next conſuls were *Dalmatius*, either the d
brother or nephew of *Conſtantine*, and *Xenophilus*, or *Zenophylus*. This year *Conſtantine* created *Conſtans*, his youngeſt ſon, *Cæſar*, who was born in 320. and is ſtyled in all the ancient inſcriptions *Flavius Julius Conſtans* [u]. The ſame year, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Thrace* were grievouſly afflicted with a peſtilence and famine, which ſwept off incredible numbers of people. *Theophanes* tells us, that at *Antioch*, the wheat was ſold at four hundred pieces of ſilver the buſhel [w]. During this calamity, *Conſtantine* ſent to the biſhop of *Antioch* thirty thouſand buſhels, and an incredible quantity of corn, oil, and all ſorts of proviſions to the other churches, to be divided among the widows, orphans, eccleſiaſtics, *&c.* Towards the cloſe of this year, embaſſadors arrived at *Conſtantinople* from the *Blemyes*, the *Indians*, the *Ethiopians*, and *Perſians*, e
with rich preſents for the emperor, whoſe friendſhip they courted, acknowledging him, ſays *Euſebius* [y], for their ſovereign, and declaring, that they coveted nothing ſo much as to live in peace and amity with ſo great a prince, ſo renowned a warrior. The *Perſian* embaſſadors, in the name of *Sapor* their king, renewed the ancient treaties between the two empires. *Conſtantine* received them with extraordinary marks of honour; and being informed that the chriſtians were very numerous in *Perſia*, he was tranſported with joy; and looking upon himſelf as their general protector, he wrote

Conſtantine gains a complete victory over the Goths,

And the Sarmatians.

The emperor's generoſity during a famine.

Embaſſadors ſent to him from the moſt diſtant nations

[q] Cod. Theod. p. 353, & ſeq. [r] Ammian. p. 476. Jul. orat. i. p. 16. Euseb. vit. Conſtant. l. iv. p. 529. [s] Soz. p. 48. Socrat. p. 411. [t] Annonym. p. 476. [u] Euseb. ibid. p. 533.
[w] Theoph. p. 23. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Euseb. ibid. l. i. c. 8. p. 409. 410.

a wrote a letter in their behalf to *Sapor*, which is related at length by *Euſebius* [z] and *Theodoret* [a]. The letters from *Conſtantine* to the biſhops, begging their prayers, and thoſe both from him and his children to the great *Antony* for the ſame purpoſe, which we read in *Euſebius* [b], *Athanaſius* [c], *Sozomen* [d], and *Proſper* [e], are ſuppoſed to have been written this year. The following year, when *Optatus* and *Anicius Paulinus Junior* were conſuls, the *Goths*, under the command of *Geberic* their king, who had ſucceeded *Araric*, made new irruptions into the country of the *Sarmatians*, whom they defeated in a great battle fought on the banks of the *Mariſus*, in which their king, by name *Wiſimar*, and moſt of their chiefs, were cut in pieces. The *Sarmatians* in this extremity armed their ſlaves, and by their means gained a complete
b victory over the *Goths*; but the victorious ſlaves, ſenſible of their ſtrength, threw off the yoke, and turning their arms againſt their maſters, for whoſe defence they had been intruſted with them, drove them out of the country, and ſeized their houſes, lands, and effects for themſelves. St. *Jerom* [f] and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [g] call theſe ſlaves *Limigantes*; and the former tells us, that, in his time, the free-born among the *Sarmatians* were ſtyled *Arcaragantes*. The *Sarmatians*, thus driven from their habitations, fled for refuge to *Conſtantine*, who received them, to the number of three hundred thouſand, incorporated in his legions ſuch of them as were fit for ſervice, and gave ſettlements to the reſt in *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Macedon*, and *Italy* [h]. Another party of the fugitive *Sarmatians* had recourſe to certain barbarians, called by *Ammia-*
c *nus Victohales*, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame people with the *Quadi Ultramontani*. Theſe were re-eſtabliſhed in their ancient poſſeſſions by the *Romans* in the year 358. after they had driven out the *Limigantes* [i]. This year *Euſebius*, biſhop of *Cæſarea*, pronounced before *Conſtantine* his ſpeech *on the holy ſepulchre*; and returning afterwards to his dioceſe, wrote and inſcribed to *Conſtantine* a book *on the feaſt of* Eaſter; for which the emperor returned him thanks by a very kind and reſpectful letter, deſiring him at the ſame time to cauſe fifty copies of the holy ſcriptures to be tranſcribed, and ſent him for the uſe of the churches of *Conſtantinople*. *Euſebius* immediately complied with his requeſt, and, in his anſwer to him, acquainted him with the converſion of *Maiuma*, the port of *Gaza* in *Paleſtine*, of the city of *Conſtantina* in
d *Phœnicia*, and of ſeveral others; which gave *Conſtantine* an inexpreſſible pleaſure [k]. The learned cardinal *Noris* takes *Conſtantina* to be the city and iſland of *Aradus*; for a biſhop of that place, by name *Atticus*, ſtyled himſelf *biſhop of* Aradia Conſtantia; which the above-mentioned writer ſuppoſes to have been, through miſtake, put inſtead of *Aradus Conſtantina* [l]. *Conſtantine* was this year, on the ſeventeenth of *June*, at *Conſtantinople*, on the fifth of *July* at *Singidunum* in *Mæſia*, and on the twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* at *Naiſſus* in *Dacia* [m]. The next conſuls were *Flavius Julius Conſtantius*, the emperor's brother, and *Rufius Albinus*. As *Conſtantine*, on the twenty-fifth of *July* of this year 335. entered the thirtieth year of his reign, which had happened to no emperor ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*, he celebrated that day at *Conſtantinople*
e with extraordinary pomp and magnificence; and ſoon after aſſembled two councils, the one at *Tyre*, hoping by that means to appeaſe the diſturbances raiſed in the church by the followers of *Arius*; the other a few weeks after at *Jeruſalem*, to conſecrate the magnificent church which he had built there. But the council of *Tyre* condemned, for ſeveral pretended crimes, and depoſed, the great *Athanaſius*, biſhop of *Alexandria*; and that of *Jeruſalem* admitted *Arius* and his followers to the communion of the church. The emperor, miſled by the *Arians*, eſpecially by *Euſebius* biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and by a prieſt, whom his ſiſter *Conſtantia*, the widow of *Licinius*, had earneſtly recommended to him on her death-bed, conformed to the deciſions of both councils; and though the crimes laid to the charge of *Athanaſius* were evidently falſe,
f yet he was ſo far prepoſſeſſed againſt him, that, inſtead of examining the accuſations, when he appealed to his tribunal, he baniſhed him into *Gaul*, and at the ſame time depoſed and ſent into exile three other biſhops, *viz. Euſtathius* of *Antioch*, *Aſclepas* of *Gaza*, and *Lucas* of *Adrianople*, for zealouſly oppoſing the wicked and impious tenets of *Arius* [n]. The emperor, not ſatisfied with having created his three ſons, *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtans*, *Cæſars*, raiſed this year, on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth

He allots the Sarmatians *ſettlements in the dominions of* Rome.

The councils of Tyre *and* Jeruſalem.

Conſtantine *favours the* Arians.

z Idem ibid. c. 9—13. p. 350—535. a Theod. l. i. c. 24. p. 573—575. b Euseb. ibid. l. iv. c. 14. p. 533. c Athan. vit. Anton. p. 497. d Soz. p. 47. e Prosp. chron. f Hier. chron. g Ammian. l. xvii. p. 107. h Euseb. p. 529. Ammian. p. 478. Jornand. rer. Goth. p. 641. i Ammian. l. vii. p. 106. & l. xvii. p. 105—111. k Euseb. ibid. p. 542—545. l Noris. epoch. p. 363. Concil. tom. 4. p. 921. m Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 34. n Euseb. ibid. p. 545. & 510.

fourth of *September*, to the ſame dignity his nephew *Dalmatius*, ſon to his brother of the ſame name, and appointed *Annibalianus*, brother to young *Dalmatius*, king of *Pontus* [o]. Soon after their promotion, the emperor, to prevent any miſunderſtanding, jealouſy, or quarrels between his nephews and children, divided the government of the empire among them in the following manner: *Conſtantine*, the eldeſt, had *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; *Conſtantius*, the ſecond ſon, all the *Orient*; that is, *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and *Conſtans*, the youngeſt, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa*. To his nephew *Dalmatius* he gave *Thrace* and part of *Illyricum*; that is, *Macedon* and *Achaia*; and to king *Annibalianus*, his other nephew, *Armenia Minor* and the neighbouring provinces; that is, *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, with the city of *Cæſarea*, which he deſired might be the capital of his kingdom [p]. About this time one *Calocerus*, a man of great intereſt and authority in the iſland of *Cyprus*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor there, and made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. But *Dalmatius*, who was ſent with an army againſt him, defeated the rebel, took him priſoner, and carrying him to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, condemned him to be burnt alive in that city [q]. On an ancient medal quoted by *Spanhemius* [r], mention is made of one *Tiberius*, who uſurped the ſovereignty in the time of *Conſtantine*; but of him we find nothing in hiſtory. As for one *Azotus*, who was overcome by *Conſtantine*; as we read in *Suidas* and *Codinus*, it appears from ſeveral epigrams in the *anthology*, that both he and that *Conſtantine*, by whom he was overcome, were but drivers of chariots in the circus. *Athanaſius* was accuſed of having ſupplied with money a rebel, by name *Philumenes* [s]; but of him not the leaſt mention is made in hiſtory. The emperor was this year at *Conſtantinople* on the thirtieth of *March*, at *Viminacum* in *Mæſia* on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, and again at *Conſtantinople* on the twenty-ſecond of *October* [t]. The following year, *Nepotianus* and *Facundus* being conſuls, died the famous hereſiarch *Arius*, and ſoon after him *Alexander* biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, whom *Conſtantine* had ſolicited in vain to re-admit the anathematized heretic to the communion of the church. [u] The holy biſhop *Paul* was raiſed to the ſee of *Conſtantinople* in the room of *Alexander*; but the emperor was perſuaded by *Euſebius*, biſhop of *Nicomedia*, to baniſh him into *Pontus* [w]. Towards the cloſe of this year *Conſtantine* married his ſecond ſon *Conſtantius* to the daughter of *Julius Conſtantius* and *Galla*. *Julius Conſtantius* was brother to the emperor, and his wife *Galla* ſiſter to *Rufinus* and *Cerealis*, of whom hereafter. He had by *Galla* *Gallus Cæſar*, born in *Hetruria* in the year 325 or 326. another ſon, who was killed in 337. and one daughter, married this year to *Conſtantius*, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us. The emperor *Julian*, ſpeaking of this and other marriages between the nephews and nieces of *Conſtantine*, ſays, that a ſtrange confuſion reigned in the imperial family; that marriages were celebrated which were no marriages; and that the laws, both human and divine, were profaned and troden under foot [x]. But there were yet no laws forbidding marriages between couſin-germans. On occaſion of this marriage, *Conſtantine* cauſed large ſums, and great quantities of proviſions, to be diſtributed among the people in all the cities and provinces of the empire [y]. He had long before married his eldeſt ſon *Conſtantine*; but to whom, we are no-where told. The year enſuing, when *Felicianus* and *Titianus* were conſuls, the *Perſians*, after having lived in peace with the *Romans* for the ſpace of forty years; that is, ever ſince the year 297. began to commit hoſtilities in *Meſopotamia*, becauſe the emperor refuſed to reſtore to them the five provinces which they had been obliged to yield to *Galerius*. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, having drawn together a very numerous and powerful army, and made the other neceſſary preparations for a vigorous war, began his march, with a deſign to invade the *Perſian* dominions. But in the mean time the enemy, terrified at his approach, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, with propoſals of an accommodation; which ſeeming very reaſonable to the emperor, a peace was concluded, and both armies withdrew. Thus *Euſebius* [z]. But *Feſtus* and moſt other hiſtorians tell us, that *Conſtantine*, deſirous of triumphing over the *Perſians*, would not grant them a peace upon any terms, and that by death alone he was prevented from invading their dominions [a]. Be that as it will, *Conſtantine*, having celebrated this year with extraordinary ſolemnity the feaſt of *Eaſter*, which fell on the third of *April*, was ſoon after taken

Divides the empire amongſt his children and nephews.

Arius *dies.*

Conſtantius *married to the daughter of* Julius Conſtantius.

The Perſians *awed by the terror of* Conſtantine's *arms.*

o Eutrop. p. 588. Aur. Vict. p. 227. Chron. Alex. p. 668. Zos. l. ii. p. 692. p Euseb orat. in tricennal. Conſt. p. 609. Vict. epit. p. 544. Anonym. p. 476. q Theoph. p. 23. Aur. Vict. p. 296. r Spanh. l. vi. p. 601. s Athan. apol. 2. p. 779. t Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 35. u Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 49. p. 551. w Julian. orat. vii. p. 425. x Euseb. ibid. p. 551. y Euseb. ibid. p. 554, 555. z Fest. p. 57. Liban. orat. iii. p. 120, Eutrop. p. 117.

a taken ill, being then in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. He had recourſe to the warm baths of *Conſtantinople*; but his diſtemper increaſing, he removed, for change of air, to *Helenopolis* in *Bithynia*, and from thence to a caſtle at a ſmall diſtance from *Nicomedia*, called *Achyrona*, or *Aguyrona*. Being there appriſed, that his end approached, he declared in a ſpeech, which he made to the biſhops who attended him, his eager deſire of being baptized, adding, that he deſigned to have received that ſeal of ſalvation in the waters of the *Jordan*; but ſince God, in his infinite wiſdom, had otherwiſe diſpoſed of him, he acquieſced to his will. When the ceremony was over, he was clad in white, and would not afterwards ſo much as touch or ſee his purple robes, paſſing moſt of his time in pious meditations, and edifying diſcourſes with the biſhops
b on the immortality of the ſoul, and the rewards and puniſhments of another life. Some of the officers of the army, who were admitted into his room, expreſſing with a flood of tears their concern for the loſs of ſo good a prince, he told them, That they ought rather to rejoice than mourn, ſince he was going to exchange a ſhort and miſerable, for an eternal life, happy beyond conception or expreſſion [a]. St. *Jerom* writes, that he was baptized by *Euſebius* biſhop of *Nicomedia*; and that, by receiving baptiſm at his hands, he fell into the hereſy of *Arius* [b]. But *Athanaſius* and all other eccleſiaſtic writers, *Lucifer* alone excepted, aſſure us, that he held always inviolate the faith of the council of *Nice*, though, deceived and miſled by the *Arians*, he perſecuted thoſe who defended it againſt the tenets of that hereſiarch. As for *Euſebius*,
c though he held, yet he did not openly profeſs, the doctrine of *Arius*; nor was he cut off from the communion of the church. As he was therefore biſhop of the place, *Conſtantine* could not decline being baptized by him, without openly affronting him, and likewiſe tranſgreſſing the laws of the church. Before he died, he ordered the great *Athanaſius* to be recalled from baniſhment, notwithſtanding the warm remonſtrances of *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, who did all that lay in his power to prevent the return of that zealous champion of the true faith [c]. He probably ordered at the ſame time the other catholic biſhops to be recalled; for *Athanaſius* tells us, that they were all reſtored with him to their reſpective ſees by the children of *Conſtantine* [d]. By his laſt will he bequeathed ſome revenues to the city of *Rome*, and others to that of *Con-*
d *ſtantinople*. He likewiſe confirmed the above-mentioned diviſion of the empire among his three ſons and two nephews [e]. The emperor *Julian* writes, that he committed to *Conſtantius* his ſecond ſon the care of all things, appointing him in a manner his executor, either becauſe he loved him above the reſt, or becauſe *Conſtantius*, who was nearer, arrived before the reſt, at leaſt before *Conſtantine* the eldeſt, who was then in *Gaul* [f]. But it is certain, that the emperor died before any of his children arrived, though he had diſpatched expreſſes to them all as ſoon as he found himſelf paſt recovery. Not long therefore before he expired, he privately put his will into the hands of an eccleſiaſtic, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence, not knowing him to be a follower of *Arius*, and obliged him to promiſe upon oath not to deliver it to any but
e *Conſtantius*. This commiſſion proved very prejudicial to the church, on account of the credit which it procured to the eccleſiaſtic and his ſect with the new emperor [g]. *Conſtantine*, having ſettled matters in the manner he judged beſt both for the church and ſtate, after various pious ejaculations, expired about noon on the twenty-ſecond of *May*, that year 337. *Whitſunday*, after having lived, according to the moſt probable opinion, ſixty-three years, two months, and twenty-five days, and reigned thirty years, nine months, and twenty-ſeven days. His death was bewailed by perſons of all ranks, as the greateſt misfortune that could befall the empire. The ſoldiers no ſooner heard of it, than they tore their cloaths, fell proſtrate on the ground, and gave other public teſtimonies of their deep concern, calling him *their deliverer*, *their*
f *beloved leader*, *their common parent*. The people of *Conſtantinople*, overwhelmed with ſorrow, and drowned in tears, for the loſs of their great benefactor, of their magnificent and generous founder, expreſſed their grief in a manner ſuitable to ſo general a calamity [h]. Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched with the diſmal tidings to his children, and in the mean time the body of the deceaſed prince, with the purple and diadem, was put into a golden coffin, and conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, being attended by all the troops quartered in that neighbourhood, who had aſſembled upon the

Conſtantine *taken ill.*

He is baptized

He orders Athanaſius *to be recalled from baniſhment.*

He dies, and is univerſally lamented.

Honours done him after his death.

[a] Euseb. c. 62. p. 557, 558. Socrat. l. i. c. 29. p. 75. [b] Hier. chron. [c] Sozom. l. iii. c. 2. p. 498. Athan. apol. 2. p. 806. [d] Athan. ſolit. p. 814. [e] Socrat. l. i. c. 39. p. 75. Soz. l. ii. c. 34. p. 495. [f] Julian. orat. i. ii. p. 83. & 175. [g] Socrat. p. 75. Zos. p. 496. Theodor. p. 585. Rufin. p. 167. [h] Euseb. c. 65. p. 559.

the firſt notice of his death. It was expoſed to public view in the chief hall of the palace, with an infinite number of tapers burning round it in golden candleſtics. All the great officers, both civil and military, the ſenate, and other perſons of diſtinction, came to pay their devoirs to the corpſe, kneeling before it, as if the emperor had been ſtill alive. Court was kept in the ſame manner as when he was living, and thoſe who attended his perſon, came at the uſual hours, as if he had ſtill wanted their attendance. This empty honour, formerly paid to the deceaſed emperors, as appears from *Herodian* and other writers, ſeems to have been long before laid aſide, and to have been revived now in honour of *Conſtantine*. His children were daily expected to pay him the laſt duty; but *Conſtantius* alone came, the other two being probably at a great diſtance; and, ſoon after his arrival, cauſed the corpſe to be conveyed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence to the famous church of the *Apoſtles*, which the emperor had built cloſe to the palace, deſiring to be interred in it, that he might, after his death, ſay *Euſebius* [k], partake of the prayers offered there by the faithful in honour of the holy apoſtles. That magnificent ſtructure was built in the form of a croſs, and covered, not with tiles, but gilt braſs. *Conſtantine* and the ſucceeding emperors were buried, not in the church itſelf, but in the porch, where mauſoleums were erected for them, and a burying-place allotted for the biſhops of the city; the prieſthood, ſays *Sozemen* [l], claiming equal honour and reſpect with the imperial dignity, eſpecially in holy places, where it holds the firſt rank. This church had been finiſhed and conſecrated a little before *Conſtantine*'s death. *Conſtantius* attended the body to the church, but withdrew with the ſoldiers, as he had not yet been baptized, when the miniſters of the church began the holy ceremonies [m]. As ſoon as they were over, the body was depoſited in the porch, where *Conſtantius* cauſed a magnificent mauſoleum to be raiſed over it [n]. Not many years after, that is, in 358 or 359. the porch being ready to fall, the body of the emperor was conveyed from thence to the church of St. *Aacius*, a native of *Conſtantinople*, and martyr, built likewiſe by *Conſtantine* [o]; but it was afterwards carried back to the church of the *Apoſtles* [p], where it was to be ſeen, with the bodies of other princes of the ſame family, many ages after. Though *Conſtantine* had never made any conſiderable ſtay at *Rome*, and had in the end intirely abandoned that metropolis, yet the people expreſſed an uncommon concern for his death; for they no ſooner heard of it, than they ſhut up their ſhops and public baths, and intermitted all kinds of ſports and diverſions, as was uſual in time of ſome great and general calamity. They all demanded with one voice, that his body might be brought to *Rome*; and expreſſed the greateſt concern imaginable, when they underſtood, that it was, by his will, to remain at *Conſtantinople* [q]. It appears from ſome ancient coins, that the ſenate of *Rome* conferred divine honours upon him [r]. He was by moſt churches, eſpecially in the eaſt, honoured as a ſaint, as he is ſtill by the chriſtians in *Egypt*, and the *Greek* church, which ſolemnizes his feſtival on the twenty-firſt of *May* with a very ſolemn office. The *Muſcovites* celebrate his anniverſary on the ſame day, though they can give no reaſon for their preferring that day to the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, on which he died, as is agreed on by all writers, both ancient and modern. About the middle of the fifth century, extraordinary honours were paid to his tomb, and to his ſtatue, which was ſet up upon a column of porphyry [s]. The modern *Greeks* equal him to the apoſtles, as one to whom we owe all our being chriſtians: the apoſtles, ſay they, preached the goſpel in all parts of the world; but it never prevailed over paganiſm, till it was countenanced and eſtabliſhed by the great *Conſtantine*; which in reality is preferring the emperor to all the apoſtles. But of thoſe high flights, intirely ſuitable to the temper of the *Greeks*, we leave our readers to judge. All authors allow him to have been a prince endowed with extraordinary accompliſhments both of body and mind, an excellent commander, an able ſtateſman, a great encourager of learning, and himſelf much addicted to read, write, and meditate. But, as to his character in general, there is a great diſagreement among authors, ſome of the heathen writers painting him as a perfect tyrant, and the chriſtians extolling him as the beſt prince that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. The emperor *Julian* ſpeaks of him as a prince extremely ambitious of military glory, and one who had nothing

His obſequies.

He is honoured by the eaſtern churches as a ſaint.

Encomiums beſtowed upon him by the modern Greeks.

Authors diſagree as to his character.

[k] Euseb. p. 555, 556. [l] Sozom. l. ii. c. 34. p. 469. [m] Euseb. c. 71. p. 562. [n] Idem ibid. & Julian. orat. i. p. 29. [o] Socrat. l. ii. c. 38. p. 145. [p] Chrysost. 2. Cor. [q] Aur. Vict. p. 527. Euseb. c. 69. p. 561. [r] Goltz. p. 128. [s] Theodoret. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 34. p. 66.

a nothing ſo much at heart as the aggrandizing of himſelf and his family; and adds, that the bad example he ſet therein to his children, armed them againſt each other [u]. He is charged by ſome with having inriched the imperial robes with pearls not uſed before his time, and with conſtantly wearing the diadem. But this charge is quite groundleſs, it being certain, that *Diocleſian* was the firſt who added pearls to the imperial robes, and *Conſtantius Chlorus* the firſt who wore conſtantly the diadem, even when he was only *Cæſar*, as we read in *Aurelius Victor* [w] and *Eutropius* [x], and is evident from his medals [y]. The emperor *Julian* [z] and *Zoſimus* [a] repreſent him as a voluptuous prince, intirely abandoned to all manner of diverſions and pleaſures, to banquets and revellings, to public ſhews, *&c.* inſomuch, that he could ſpare no time from

b ſports and entertainments, to regulate the affairs of the ſtate. On the other hand, *Victor* [b], *Euſebius* [c], and *Libanius* [d], tell us, that he was conſtantly employed in reading, writing, meditating, compoſing ſpeeches, (ſome of which, of an extraordinary length, have reached our times) hearing embaſſies, giving audience to his miniſters and ſubjects; in ſhort, that he was never idle, but ever buſied either in forming or executing ſome great deſign or other for the good of the empire. Moſt of his laws were dictated by himſelf; he never continued long in any place, but was, as we have often obſerved, continually moving from one city or province to another; ſo that we cannot help thinking this charge as groundleſs as the former. *Julian* and *Zoſimus*, zealous ſticklers for idolatry, were evidently prejudiced againſt a prince, who had

c enacted ſo many ſevere laws againſt all manner of idolatrous worſhip. We are told, that he kept with him for the ſpace of thirty years one *Samacus*, who, pretending to be a fool, diverted the emperor when tired out with buſineſs. This was not a diverſion worthy of ſo great a prince. It proves, however, that *Conſtantine* applied himſelf ſeriouſly to buſineſs. *Victor* the younger, after having told us that he was addicted to raillery, gives us the following idea of his reign: *Conſtantine*, ſays he, reigned thirty years, and behaved the ten firſt like an excellent prince, the ten following like a robber, and the ten laſt like a prodigal [e]. The ſame charge is brought againſt him by *Zoſimus*, who writes, that, when he became maſter of the whole empire, he abandoned himſelf without controul to his rapacious temper, loading the people with

d heavy taxes, and at the ſame time ſquandering away the money thus raiſed upon undeſerving favourites, or uſeleſs buildings [f]. Amongſt the other impoſts with which that virulent writer pretends that *Conſtantine* oppreſſed the people, he mentions one called the *chryſargyrum*, and will have *Conſtantine* to have been the firſt who enacted it. But this *Evagrius* maintains to be a mere calumny, owing to the implacable hatred which that pagan bore to the deliverer of the church [g]. And truly long before *Conſtantine*'s time a tax was laid upon the public proſtitutes, which moſt writers take to be meant by the *chryſargyrum*. *Conſtantine*, to ſave charges in raiſing it, ordered it to be paid only every fourth year. *Zoſimus* aſcribes to him another tax

e called *follis*, which was levied upon all perſons of quality, and occaſioned, according to that writer, the ruin of all the cities of the empire [h]. But he is the only author who ſays, that it was introduced by *Conſtantine*. *Aurelius Victor* writes in expreſs terms, that it was firſt raiſed by *Maxentius* [i]. In our opinion, it is not at all probable, that *Conſtantine* laid any new burdens upon the people, ſeeing he generouſly remited to all his ſubjects the fourth part of the land-tax, and diſcharged ſeveral cities of contributions, which they had paid for the ſpace of an hundred and fifty years; among the reſt *Tripolis* in *Libya*, and *Nice* in *Bithynia* [k]. From an ancient inſcription we learn, that one year he remitted all taxes throughout the empire [l]. *Zoſimus* writes, that, during his reign, rods, priſons, and all kinds of ſevere treatment, were made uſe of by him in levying the common taxes [m]; whereas the laws he enacted, forbidding theſe

f violences under the ſevereſt penalties, are ſtill extant, as we have obſerved above. Whence we leave the reader to judge what credit that implacable enemy to *Conſtantine* and the chriſtian religion deſerves. *Zoſimus* and *Julian* are rather accuſers than hiſtorians; and an accuſer is not to be believed, unleſs witneſſes can be produced to vouch what he ſays. Hence the accuſations brought againſt *Conſtantine* by theſe two writers, are of no weight with us, unleſs confirmed by the authority of other hiſtorians. *Aurelius Victor*,

Several groundleſs charges brought againſt him by the pagan writers.

[u] Jul. orat. vii. p. 423, 424. [w] Aur. Vict. p. 523. [x] Eutrop. p. 586. [y] Spanh p. 683.
[z] Jul. Cæs. p. 23, 42, 52. [a] Zos. l. ii. p. 687. [b] Vict. epit. p. 543. [c] Euseb. p. 539.
[d] Liban. orat. iii. p. 107. [e] Vict. epit. p. 543. [f] Zos. l. ii. p. 685. [g] Evagr. l. iii. c. 40. p. 370. [h] Zos. p. 691. [i] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [k] Euseb. p. 528. Aur. Vict. p. 527.
[l] Vide Baron. ad ann. 312. [m] Zos. p. 691.

Victor [n], *Ammianus Marcellinus* [o], and even his panegyrist *Eusebius* [p], complain of his employing in the administration of affairs, persons altogether unworthy of the confidence he reposed in them, and suffering them to inrich themselves at the expence of the people committed to their care. This fault, altogether inexcusable in a prince, *Eusebius* ascribes to his excessive goodness, which induced him to pardon, or only to inflict slight punishments on, such of his ministers as were found guilty of the most enormous extortions. He could not, says *Eusebius*, prevail upon himself to condemn those whom he had once judged worthy of his favour; and hence his ministers, presuming upon his indulgence and good-nature, often committed great disorders in the provinces, and oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner. His thus neglecting to punish the crimes of his ministers, rendered him, without all doubt, no less guilty than if he had committed them himself.

Several regulations introduced by Constantine.

We shall now proceed to several regulations in the government, both civil and military, thought to have been first introduced by *Constantine*. Before his time there were, according to *Zosimus* [q], two captains of the guards, known by the name of *præfecti prætorio*, who had an equal authority over all the troops dispersed in the several provinces of the empire. But *Constantine*, jealous of their too great power, lessened it by creating two more, and allotting to each of them a certain number of provinces. By this means the whole empire was divided into four parts, which were the *Orient*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, governed by the four *præfecti prætorio*, each of whom had several dioceses or districts under his jurisdiction. To the *præfectus prætorio orientis* were subjected the five following dioceses; *viz. Thrace*, *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Egypt*, and the *Orient*. Each of these dioceses comprised several provinces, as is manifest from the *Theodosian* code, and the acts of several ancient councils. The diocese of *Thrace*, whereof *Heraclea*, and afterwards *Constantinople*, was the the metropolis, consisted of five provinces, *viz. Europe*, *Thrace*, *Hemimuntum*, *Rhodope*, *Mœsia Secunda*, or *Lower Mœsia*, and *Scythia*. The diocese of *Asia*, which had *Ephesus* for its metropolis, comprised ten provinces, *viz. Pamphylia*, the *Hellespont*, *Lydia*, *Pysidia*, *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia Pacatiana*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and the islands of *Rhodes*, *Lesbos*, and the *Cyclades*. In the diocese of *Pontus*, the metropolis of which was *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, were eleven provinces, *viz. Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, *Honoriades*, *Cappadocia Prima*, *Cappadocia Secunda*, *Pontus Polemoniacus*, *Helenopontus*, *Armenia Prima*, *Armenia Secunda*, *Galatia Salutaris*. The diocese of *Egypt* which had *Alexandria* for its metropolis, consisted of six provinces, *viz. Upper Libya*, or *Libya Pentapolitana*, *Lower Libya*, *Thebaïs*, *Egypt*, *Arcadia*, and *Augustamnica*. The *Orient* comprised fifteen provinces, the metropolis of which was *Antioch*: the provinces were, *Palæstina Prima*, *Palæstine Secunda*, *Phœnicia Prima*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, *Arabia*, *Isauria*, *Palæstina Salutaris*, *Phœnicia Libanensis* or *Phœnicia Secunda*, *Euphratensis*, *Syria Salutaris*, *Osrhoene*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia Secunda*. The *præfectus prætorio Illyrici* had but two dioceses under his jurisdiction, *viz. Macedon*, and *Dacia*; of which the former consisted of six provinces, *viz*, *Achaia*, *Macedon*, the island of *Crete*, *Thessaly*, *New* and *Old Epirus*, and part of *Macedonia Salutaris*: the metropolis of this diocese was *Thessalonica*. The diocese of *Dacia* comprised five provinces, *viz. Dacia Mediterranea*, *Dacia Ripensis*, *Mœsia Prima*, *Dardania Prævalitana*, and part of *Macedonia Salutaris*. The *præfectus prætorio Galliarum* had three dioceses under his jurisdiction, *viz. Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. In the diocese of *Gaul* were seventeen provinces, *viz. Viennensis*, *Lugdunensis Prima*, *Germania Prima*, *Germania Secunda*, *Belgica Prima*, *Belgica Secunda*, *Alpes Maritimæ*, *Alpes Penninæ*, *Maxima Sequana*, *Aquitania Prima*, *Aquitania Secunda*, *Novempopulana*, *Narbonensis Prima*, *Narbonensis Secunda*, *Lugdunensis Secunda*, *Lugdunensis Turonica*, *Lugdunensis Senonica*. In the diocese of *Spain* were seven provinces, *viz. Bætica*, *Lusitania*, *Gallicia*, *Tarraconnensis*, *Carthaginiensis*, *Tingitana*, and the *Balearic* islands. The diocese of *Britain* consisted of five provinces, *viz. Maxima Cæsariensis*, *Valentia*, *Britannia Prima*, *Britnniaa Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*. The *præfectus prætorio* of *Italy* had three dioceses under his jurisdiction, *viz. Italy*, *Illyricum Occidentale*, and *Africa*. *Illyricum* consisted of six provinces, *viz. Pannonia Secunda*, *Savia*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia Prima*, *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Noricum Ripense*: *Sirmium* was the metropolis of this diocese. *Africa* comprised five provinces, *viz. Africa Carthaginiensis*, *Byzacene*, *Mauritania Sitifiensis*, *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, and *Tripolitana*. *Italy* was divided into seventeen

The præfecti prætorio, *and division of the empire into four prefectures.*

[a] Aur. Vict: p. 527. [o] Ammian, l. xvi. p. 68. [p] Euseb. p. 540. [q] Zos. l. ii. p. 687.

a seventeen provinces, which were *Venetia*, *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, *Flaminia* and *Picenum Annonarium*, *Hetruria* and *Umbria*, *Picenum Suburbicarium*, *Campania*, *Sicilia*, *Apulia* and *Calabria*, *Lucania* and *Brutium*, *Alpes Cotiæ*, *Rhætia Prima*, *Rhætia Secunda*, *Samnium*, *Valeria*, *Sardinia* and *Corsica*. The prefects were the first officers of the empire, and generally looked upon, to use the expression of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as emperors of an inferior rank. They had several other officers under them, *viz.* *proconsuls*, *vicars*, *rectors*, *consulars*, *correctors*, and *presidents*. In the east were two proconsuls; one in *Achaia*, and another in *Asia*, and sometimes, but very seldom, a third in *Palestine*: in the west there was but one, *viz.* the proconsul of *Africa*. The vicars represented the præfects, and were their lieutenants; whence, in the ancient b inscriptions, they are styled *pro-præfecti* or *vice-præfects*. There were vicars in the provinces of *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, the *Orient*, *Macedon*, *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, and two in *Italy*, *viz.* the vicar of the city of *Rome*, and the vicar of *Italy*: under the former were the ten following provinces, *Campania*, *Hetruria*, *Umbria*, *Picenum Suburbicarium*, *Sicilia*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, *Brutium*, *Samnium*, *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and *Valeria*: under the vicar of *Italy* were five provinces, *Liguria*, *Æmilia*, *Flaminia*, *Picenum Annonarium*, and *Venetia*; to which were afterwards added *Istria*, the *Alpes Cotiæ*, and both the *Rhætias*. The provinces under the vicar of *Rome* were called *provinciæ suburbicariæ*; and those under the vicar of *Italy*, *provinces of Italy*. The vicar of *Italy* resided at *Milan*, which by that means became c the metropolis of all the *Italian* provinces. Next in dignity to the vicars were the rectors, who governed whole provinces under the præfect or his vicars, as did likewise the consulars, the correctors, and the presidents: *Phœnicia* was governed by a consular, who resided sometimes at *Tyre*, sometimes at *Berytus*, and sometimes at *Damascus*: several provinces of *Italy* had likewise a consular for their governor, *viz.* *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, *Venetia*, *Picenum*, *Sicilia*, *Flaminia*, and *Campania*: *Hetruria*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, and *Brutium*, were governed by correctors; and *Samnium*, *Valeria*, the *Alpes Cotiæ*, both *Rhætias*, *Sardinia*, and *Corsica*, by presidents. We find several laws in the *Theodosian* code addressed to the prefects, proconsuls, vicars, rectors, consulars, and correctors, but very few to the presidents. The prefects under *Con-* d *stantine* and his son *Constantius* had only the title of *clarissimi*, which was common to all senators, but were soon after distinguished with that of *illustres*. Most writers, upon the authority of *Zosimus*, ascribe the institution of these four prefects to *Constantine*; but that author was perhaps therein mistaken, it being certain, that the empire was by *Diocletian* divided into four parts, and governed by two emperors, and two *Cæsars*, each of whom had an army, and a *præfectus prætorio*; nay, even before *Diocletian*'s time, we find one *Clarus* styled *prefect of* Illyricum *and* Gaul[r]. The prefects were originally military; but after this division of the empire, became altogether civil officers, the command of the troops being given to two *magistri militiæ*, the institution of which office is likewise ascribed by *Zosimus* to *Constantine*[s]. e In *Diocletian*'s time, each province had its peculiar general, styled *dux* or *duke*; but *Constantine* in their room created the two above-mentioned *magistri militiæ*, one for the foot, and another for the horse, with a full power of making what regulations in the army they thought proper; of punishing the soldiers when guilty of breach of duty, or any other crime; of discharging and admitting into the army whom they pleased, *&c.* Sometimes both commands were vested in one person; for in a law, dated the seventeenth of *June*, 315. mention is made of one *Eusebius*, commander in chief both of the horse and foot; and one *Sylvanus*, in two laws addressed to him in 349. is styled *magister utriusque militiæ*[t]. But their number was soon increased; for in the time of *Theodosius* I. they were at least five, *viz.* one for the f court, called *præsentalis*; one for *Thrace*, one for the *Orient*, one for *Illyricum*, and one for *Gaul*[u]. These *magistri militiæ* were afterwards distinguished with the title of *comites* or *counts*, and raised to the rank of the first officers of the empire. The *patricii* or *patricians* were superior in rank both to the *magistri militiæ*, and the prefects. This was a new dignity instituted by *Constantine*, but had no power or authority annexed to it, being only a title of honour. The patricians, though raised above all the other subjects of the empire, were nevertheless obliged to give the precedency to the consuls[w]. *Constantine* conferred this dignity on *Julius Constantius*, his brother,

Italy *divided into seventeen provinces.*

The several officers under the præfecti prætorio.

The magistri militiæ.

The patricians.

[r] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193. [s] Zos. p. 688. [t] Cod. Theodos. l. xi. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 6. & chronol. p. 48. [u] Notit. c. 5, 8, 34, 38. [w] Zos. p. 692. Cod. Theodos. p. 74, 75.

brother, and *Optatus*, his brother-in-law [x]. The patricians are seldom mentioned by the writers of the fourth century, but frequently by those of the fifth. The title of *comes* or *count* seems likewise to owe its origin to *Constantine*. Before *Constantine*'s time, those who attended the emperors out of *Rome* in quality of counsellors, styled themselves *comites*; but to that word added the name of the prince whom they attended. In *Constantine*'s time, the name of the prince was omitted, and those who accompanied him were styled simply *comites*, *companions*, and in the modern languages *counts*: one *Dionysius* is the first to whom we find that title to have been given: afterwards it became a title of honour, and was bestowed upon all officers of any rank, though they neither followed the court, nor accompanied the emperor. These *comites* or *counts* were divided, according to their employments, into three orders or ranks; and hence the expressions which we frequently meet with in the writers who flourished under *Constantine* and his successors, *comes domesticus primi ordinis*, *secundi ordinis*, &c [y]. We find no mention made of the title of *nobilissimus*, or *most noble*, before *Constantine*'s time, who gave it to two of his brothers, *viz. Julius Constantius* and *Annibalianus* [z]. It was, under the succeeding princes, bestowed upon their sons, before they were raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*. Of the writers who flourished under *Constantine*, we shall speak in our note (F).

The comites *or* counts.

The

[x] Idem ibid. [y] Vide Du Cange gloss. p. 1074. [z] Zos. l. ii. p. 692.

(F) We shall begin with those who have written the history of *Constantine*. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* published his life in four books, but declares in the beginning of his work, that he designs to insert in his history such accounts only as serve to shew his piety and religion, and may prove edifying to his readers. However, he relates great part of his wars; and we may depend upon the truth of what he writes relating thereunto, since the emperor honoured him with his intimacy and friendship, and informed him himself of many transactions. He composed this work soon after the emperor's death; for he tells us, that he began it when *Constantine*'s children reigned; and on the other hand it is certain, that he did not survive the emperor two full years. Besides the life of *Constantine*, he wrote two panegyrics on that prince, one in 325. which has been long since lost; and another, of an extraordinary length, in 335. which has reached our times, but gives us no great insight into the transactions of those times (1). Several other panegyrics on *Constantine*, composed in the beginning of his reign, are still extant, and have been of great use to us, as the reader must have observed, in writing the history of his life. Among these there are two, the authors of which are not known; one of them was pronounced in the year 308. on occasion of the marriage of *Constantine* and *Fausta*; and the other in 313. after the defeat of *Maxentius* (2). Two other panegyrics were composed by *Eumenius*, of whom we have spoken in the text, the one about the year 309. and the other in 311. to return thanks to the emperor for the favours and privileges granted to the city of *Autun*: that written by *Nazarius* was pronounced on the first of *March*, 321. *Eumenius* was professor of eloquence ic the city of *Autun*, and esteemed one of the best orators of his time. St *Jerom* speaks of *Nazarius* as a celebrated orator in 324. and adds, that he had a daughter no less esteemed for her eloquence than himself. *Vinctus*, in his comments upon *Ausonius*, calls her *Eunomia*; and styles her, upon what authority we know not, a christian virgin (3). *Praxagoras*, by birth an *Athenian*, wrote, when only nineteen years old, two books on the kings of *Athens*; and, three years after, two others, comprising the life of *Constantine*. At the age of thirty-one, he published the life of *Alexander the Great* in six books (4). An abridgment of his life of *Constantine* is to be found in *Photius* (5). His style is clear, but unequal. He was a pagan, but bestows great encomiums on *Constantine*. He is supposed to have flourished under *Constantius*, and to have been contemporary with the sophist *Bemarchus*, who was a native of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, wrote several declamations and speeches, and published the life of *Constantine* in ten books (6). But none of his works have reached our times. *Libanius* mentions one *Bemarchus*, a pagan sophist, but greatly favoured by *Constantius* (7). *Eunapius* likewise wrote the history of *Constantine*, but comprised without all doubt in the general history, which he published of all the emperors from the death of *Alexander Severus* (8). We may well rank *Constantine* himself amongst the writers and men of learning who flourished in his time; for many monuments of his application and study have reached our times, and are to be found in *Eusebius*, who has transmitted them to us. Of these, the chief, or at least the most diffuse and extensive, is his oration *ad sanctorum cœtum*, or his discourse addressed to *the assembly of saints*. *Eusebius* assures us, that this speech, as well as his many laws and letters, were all composed by himself. His speech, and several letters he wrote in *Latin*, and caused them to be afterwards translated into *Greek*, though he must have been well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue too, having passed most of his time in the east. Of his letters or edicts the following are still extant in *Eusebius*: the edict of *Milan* in 313. in favour of the christians; his letters to *Anulinus*, proconsul of *Africa*, for the ecclesiastic immunity, and ordering whatever had been taken from the churches to be restored; his letter to *Cæcilianus*, bishop of *Carthage*, concerning the alms, which were by his orders to be distributed among the indigent christians in *Africa*; his letter to *Melchiades*, bishop of *Rome*. in 313. touching the council of that city against the *Donatists*; that which he wrote in 314. to *Chrestus*, bishop of *Syracuse*, concerning the council of *Arles*; his edict addressed to the inhabitants of *Palestine*, and the people of the east, in 323. for the re-establishing of the confessors; his letter to *Eusebius* the historian, concerning the building of churches; his edict to the people of the east, exhorting them to embrace the christian religion; his letter to *Alexander* and *Arius*, touching their disputes in point of religion; his letter to the churches, concerning

(1) *Euseb. or. habit. in tricennal. Constantin. p.* 605. (2) *Panegyr.* 5. *p.* 124. & 7. *p.* 152. (3) *Vinct. in Auson. p.* 158. (4) *Phot. c.* 62. *p.* 64. (5) *Idem, p.* 64. (6) *Voss. hist. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 17. *Suidas, β. p.* 551. (7) *Liban. vit. p.* 15. (8) *Eunap. p.* 40. *Voss. ibid. c.* 18.

THE news of *Conſtantine*'s death no ſooner reached the armies, than they all agreed to acknowledge no other emperors but the ſons of *Conſtantine*, whom they accordingly proclaimed. *The armies acknowledge* Conſtantine's *three children;*

cerning what had been decided in the council of *Nice* in 325. with reſpect to the celebration of *Eaſter*; the letter he wrote to *Macarius* for the building of the church of the *Reſurrection* at *Jeruſalem*, and that to the biſhops of *Paleſtine* for the building of another at *Mambre*; three touching the promotion of *Euſebius* to the ſee of *Antioch* about the year 331. part of the edict which he addreſſed to the heretics; his letter to *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, in behalf of the chriſtians; two to *Euſebius*, the one touching his treatiſe on *Eaſter*, the other requiring him to ſend him fifty copies of the ſcripture; his letter to the biſhops of the council of *Tyre* in 335. for the quieting of the troubles in the church. Beſides theſe letters or edicts in *Euſebius* (9), others have been tranſmitted to us by different authors, *viz.* five touching the *Donatiſts*, written about the year 314 (10); one to *Arius* and his diſciples about the year 324. complaining of their obſtinacy (11); one to the church of *Alexandria*, upon the condemnation of *Arius* by the council of *Nice*; one to the whole church, commanding his books, and thoſe of his followers, to be burnt (12); one to the church of *Nicomedia*, on the baniſhment of the two *Arian* biſhops, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* and *Theognis* of *Nice* (13); another, on the ſame ſubject, to *Theodotus*, biſhop of *Laodicea* (14); one to *Arius*, inviting him to court (15); ſome lines of that which he wrote to *Athanaſius*, injoining him to admit *Arius* to the communion of the faithful (16); one to the church of *Alexandria*, wherein he commends the conduct of *Athanaſius* (17); one to *Athanaſius* himſelf, condemning thoſe who had ſlandered him (18); one to *Johannes Melecianus*, congratulating him upon his being reconciled to the church (19); one to the *Euſebians* of the council of *Tyre*, inviting them to *Conſtantinople* (20). To theſe we may add the letter which he wrote to the poet *Optatianus*, thanking him for a poem which he had publiſhed in his commendation; and aſſuring him, that he had nothing more at heart than the encouraging of learned men. Beſides the authors of the *Auguſtine* hiſtory, of whom we have ſpoken already, ſeveral other authors flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*. St. *Jerom* extols among the reſt, the orator *Attius Patera* or *Paterius*, a native of *Bayeux*, and ſprung, according to *Auſonius* (21), from the ancient *Druids*. He taught rhetoric at *Rome* with great applauſe, about the end of *Conſtantine*'s reign, and afterwards at *Bourdeaux* (22), ſince *Auſonius* ranks him among the profeſſors of that city. He was the father of the orator *Delphidius* (23), of whom hereafter; and *Hedibias*, to whom St. *Jerom* wrote his hundred and fiftieth letter, was deſcended from him. He was a pagan, as St. *Jerom* tells us in expreſs terms (24). The reader will find in *Auſonius* (25) ſeveral things relating to him, which it would be too tedious to inſert here. *Suidas* aſcribes ſeveral rhetorical pieces to one *Onaſimus*, a native of *Cyprus* or *Sparta*, who lived in the time of *Conſtantine*, and is ſtyled by *Suidas* both an hiſtorian and ſophiſt (26). At the ſame time flouriſhed *Palladius*, a native of *Methone* in *Peloponneſus*, who publiſhed a treatiſe on the feaſts of the *Romans*, and ſome other philological pieces (27). And this is all we know of theſe two writers, whom *Voſſius* ranks among the *Greek* hiſtorians (28). The reader will find in *Photius* (29) ſeveral grammatical obſervations copied by him from four books written in *Iambic* verſe by one *Helladius*, a native of *Antinopolis* or *Biſantinopolis*, as he ſtyled it, in *Egypt*. This work was intitled *Chreſtomathia*: he publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, was a pagan, and lived under *Licinius* and *Galerius* (30). *Photius* ſpeaks elſewhere of one *Helladius*, author of a very copious lexicon (31). In the time of *Conſtantine* flouriſhed the celebrated *Platonic* philoſopher *Iamblichus*: he was a native of *Chalcis* in *Lower Syria*, ſprung from a rich and noble family, and very famous among the pagans, as appears from *Eunapius*, who wrote his life (32). He ſtudied philoſophy firſt under one *Anatolus* or *Anatolius*, and afterwards under the celebrated *Porphyrius*. He had an incredible number of diſciples, taken with his probity, ſays *Eunapius*, and not with his eloquence; for he both ſpoke and wrote very improperly. From what *Eunapius* ſays of him, it is manifeſt, that he ſtudied magic with no leſs application than philoſophy (33). He died at *Alexandria* before the year 331. ſome time after he had put the laſt hand to the life of a philoſopher of that place, named *Alypius*, who was his cotemporary. This work has not reached our times, nor ought we to regret the loſs of it; for *Eunapius* ſpeaks of it as a very mean performance (34). Several works of a philoſopher, named *Iamblichus*, are ſtill extant, and highly eſteemed by the beſt judges, but commonly aſcribed, not to the diſciple of *Porphyrius*, but to another *Iamblichus*, who lived at *Apamea* in *Syria*, forty or fifty years after the former, and was one of the emperor *Julian*'s chief favourites, as appears from the ſeveral letters he wrote to him (35). Theſe two philoſophers bore the ſame name, lived in the ſame country, and had each of them a diſciple named *Sopater*; no wonder, therefore, that moſt writers have confounded them. A third philoſopher, of the ſame name, lived under the emperor *M. Aurelius*. Several works have reached our times, under the name of *Iamblichus*; but which of theſe three was the true author of them, we will not take upon us to determine: the works are, the hiſtory of the life and ſect of *Pythagoras*, with an exhortation to the ſtudy of philoſophy, containing an explication of the proverbs and maxims of that philoſopher (36); an explication of the arithmetic of *Nicomachus*; a treatiſe on mathematics in general; an anſwer to the letter of *Porphyrius* to *Anebo*, on the myſteries of the *Egyptians*; a collection of the tenets of the *Pythagoreans*; and a ſhort treatiſe on the ſun. The firſt of theſe works was tranſlated into *Latin*, and publiſhed in 1598. by one *Johannes Arcerius*, a native of *Friſia*; but he is thought not to have taken the true meaning of the author in ſeveral paſſages, and, beſides, his ſtyle is both obſcure and improper. *Samuel Tennulius* publiſhed in 1668. *Iamblichus*'s explication of the arithmetic of *Nicomachus*, promiſing at the ſame time to publiſh ſoon after his treatiſe on mathematics;

(9) *Euſeb. hiſt. l.* x. *c.* 5, 7. & *vit. Conſt. l.* ii. *c.* 24, 25, 46, 48, 64. *l.* iii. *c.* 17, 20, 30, 32, 52, 60, 64. *l.* iv. *c.* 9, 13, 35, 42, (10) *Cæcil. Optat. p.* 280, 283, 285, 287. (11) *Vide Baron. ad ann.* 319. (12) *Socrat. l.* i. *c.* 9. *p.* 30, 32. (13) *Gelaſ. Cyzicen. acta Nic. concil. p.* 217. (14) *Idem, p.* 224. (15) *Socrat. l.* i. *c.* 25. *p.* 61. (16) *Ath. apol. p.* 778, 779. (17) *Idem, p.* 785. (18) *Idem, p.* 787. (19) *Idem, p.* 803. (20) *Vide Baron. ann.* 325. (21) *Auſon. de profeſſ. Burdigal. car.* 4. *p.* 145. (22) *Idem, car.* 6. *p.* 150. *Hier. epiſt.* 150. *p.* 410. (23) *Auſon. ibid. p.* 145. (24) *Hier. p.* 140. (25) *Auſon. ibid. p.* 149. (26) *Suid. o, v. p.* 311. (27) *Idem, π. p.* 405. (28) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l* iv. *c.* 18. *p.* 486. (29) *Phot. c.* 279. (30) *Idem, p.* 1592. (31) *Idem, c.* 145. *p.* 317. (32) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 23. (33) *Idem, ibid.* (34) *Idem, c.* 3. *p.* 28. (35) *Julian. epiſt.* 40. & *p.* 186, &c. (36) *Iam. vit. Pyth. p.* 25.

accordingly proclaimed emperors, as did, ſoon after, the ſenate of *Rome*, without taking the leaſt notice of their two couſins, *Dalmatius Cæſar* and *Annibalianus* king of *Pontus*,

tics; but whether or no he was as good as his word, we cannot tell, not having ever heard of that work's being publiſhed. *Iamblichus*, in his anſwer to the letter of *Porphyrius*, endeavours, under the name of *Abammon*, to confute his arguments againſt the power of magic. *Holſtenius* deſigned to publiſh all the works of *Iamblichus*, together with obſervations; but he was prevented by death from executing his deſign. *Iamblichus*'s life of *Pythagoras* was in great part copied from that of the ſame philoſopher, written by *Porphyrius* (37). St. *Jerom* tells us, that the philoſopher *Iamblichus* wrote copious comments on the precepts of *Pythagoras*, commonly called the *golden maxims* (38). The emperor *Julian* equals *Iamblichus* of *Chalcis* to *Plato* himſelf. *Gothofredus* is of opinion, that *Gregorius* and *Hermogenes*, or rather *Hermogenianus*, the authors of the two different, but like codes, flouriſhed under *Conſtantine* and his children. They both begin with the laws of *Adrian*, and ſeem to end with thoſe of *Diocleſian*, not caring, as is conjectured, to meddle with the laws of *Conſtantine*, by reaſon of the many changes that prince had introduced into the *Roman* juriſprudence (39). Tho' they were both pagans, yet they might have inſerted ſuch laws of *Conſtantine* as no ways related to religion. In compiling their reſpective works, they followed the order of time; which was afterwards obſerved in the codes of *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*. The codes of *Gregorius* and *Hermogenianus* are thought to be the moſt ancient of all; and were both abridged by thoſe who abridged the *Theodoſian* code (40). Only ſome fragments of them now remain to be found in different books of juriſprudence. *Gregorius* is commonly believed to have been the moſt ancient of the two. The ſtyle of *Hermogenianus* is very uncouth, and often obſcure. *Publius Optatianus Porphyrius* flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*, and is thought to have publiſhed the poem, which has reached us, about the middle of the year 326. on occaſion of the ſolemnity of the emperor's twentieth year, and the tenth of the two *Cæſars*, *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, his children. He had before that time inſcribed another poem to *Conſtantine*; which being well received by the prince, *Optatianus* returned him thanks by a letter, which is ſtill extant, for the kind reception he had given it; adding to the letter a ſecond poem, addreſſed likewiſe to *Conſtantine*. Theſe two poems have been long ſince loſt; but the letter, which the emperor wrote to him, thanking him for one of them, has reached our times. *Conſtantine* calls him in his letter *his dearly beloved*, and *Optatianus* ſtyles *Conſtantine emperor of the whole earth*; whence we may conclude it to have been written after the year 323. Not long after, *Optatianus* was, upon ſeveral charges brought againſt him, baniſhed. He owns ſome of them to have been true; but pretends not to have been guilty of the crime for which chiefly he was ſent into exile. He wrote the poem, which is ſtill extant, to beg of *Conſtantine*, that he would recal him from baniſhment, and allow him to ſee again his ſon and family. The poem is a panegyric on *Conſtantine*, filled with acroſtics, and other trifling conceits of that nature, which betray want of judgment and true taſte in the writer (41). St. *Jerom* aſſures us, that the emperor, pleaſed with this poem, recalled the author (42). Several epigrams in the *anthology* are aſcribed to the ſame author; and *Fulgentius*, the grammarian, quotes ſome of his verſes (43): *Robanus Maurus* and venerable *Bede* ſpeak of his poem as an elegant performance (44); but the modern critics, with a great deal of reaſon, deſpiſe all compoſitions, and *difficiles nugas*, as *Martial* ſtyles them, of that nature, agreeing therein with the ancient *Latin* poets, whoſe writings ought to be our ſtandard. Some authors are of opinion, that ſeveral of the pieces which paſs under the name of *Petronius Arbiter*, were written by *Optatianus*. *Sopater*, the diſciple of *Iamblichus*, flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*, and, after the death of that philoſopher, became the head of the *Platonic* ſect that followed *Plotinus*. He was a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and both ſpoke and wrote with great elegance and propriety; whence he was ſtyled a ſophiſt, as well as a philoſopher (45). After the death of *Iamblichus*, not deigning to converſe with other philoſophers, ſays *Eunapius* his admirer, he repaired to the court of *Conſtantine*, to try whether he could prevent the downfal and utter ruin of the ancient religion of the *Romans*. He gained, adds the ſame writer, a great aſcendant over the emperor, who frequently conferred with him, and yielded to him in public the moſt honourable place. But this we can hardly believe, upon the bare word of his panegyriſt *Eunapius*; for no other writer takes the leaſt notice of *Sopater*'s great credit with *Conſtantine*. *Sozomen* tells us, that *Conſtantine* had recourſe to him to know in what manner he might atone for the death of his ſon *Criſpus*; and that both the philoſopher, and the pagan pontiffs, anſwered, that, in the religion of the *Greeks*, there was no atonement for ſo heinous a crime (46). Hereupon he began to hearken to the chriſtians, ſays *Zoſimus* (47), who aſſured him, that the virtue of their baptiſm was capable of waſhing off any wickedneſs, however enormous. We can ſcarce believe, that the pagans owned there was no atonement in their religion for an emperor. Beſides, it is certain, that *Conſtantine* had hearkened to the chriſtians, and embraced their religion, before the death of *Criſpus*. While *Sopater* was with the emperor at *Conſtantinople*, there being great ſcarcity of proviſions in that city, by reaſon the veſſels that brought corn were detained by contrary winds, the people aſſembled in the theatre broke one day on a ſudden into bitter invectives againſt *Sopater*, as a magician, who ſtopt the favourable winds, and prevented the arrival of the ſo long-expected veſſels. Hereupon *Conſtantine* abandoned him to the fury of the enraged populace, who being underhand ſtirred up by the prefect *Ablavius*, and other courtiers, jealous of his too great credit with the emperor, tore him in pieces. Thus is his death related by *Eunapius* (48); and from him *Zoſimus* copied what he wrote on this ſubject (49). It is ſurpriſing, that *Conſtantine* ſhould have treated in this manner, without the leaſt provocation, ſo great a favourite as *Eunapius*, and after him *Zoſimus*, pretend *Sopater* to have been. *Suidas* writes, that *Conſtantine* put him to death, to give the world a ſignal inſtance of his hatred and averſion to paganiſm (50). *Sopater* left a treatiſe on providence, and on thoſe who had been undeſervedly happy or miſerable (51). *Voſſius* ſeems to confound *Sopater* of *Apamea* with another philoſopher

(37) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 16. *p.* 293, 294. (38) *Hier. in Ruf. l.* iii. *c.* 10. *p.* 246. (39) *Cod. Theod. chronol. p.* 185. (40) *Idem, p.* 184. (41) *P. Opt. prol. c.* 11. *apud Velſ.* (42) *Hier. ann.* 329. (43) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 15. *p.* 290. (44) *Optat. prol. p.* 2. (45) *Eunap. p.* 23. *Sozom. l.* i. *c.* 5. *p.* 406. *Suid. p.* 781. (46) *Sozom. l.* i. *c.* 5. *p.* 406. (47) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 685. (48) *Eunap. c.* 4. *p.* 34, 37. (49) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 692. (50) *Suid. c. p.* 782. (51) *Idem ibid.*

a *Pontus*, the two ſons of their uncle *Conſtantius Dalmatius*, tho' *Conſtantine* had, in the above-mentioned diviſion of the empire, allotted to each of them their ſhare. However, the three brothers did not, for what reaſon we are no-where told, take upon them the title of *Auguſti* till the ninth of *September* of this year 337. that is, near four months after the deceaſe of their farther [a]. Soon after the ſoldiery, under colour of preventing diſturbances in the empire, flew to arms, and cut in pieces *Julius Conſtantius*, the deceaſed emperor's brother, *Dalmatius Cæſar*, *Annibalianus* king of *Pontus*, the patrician *Optatus*, who had, as is commonly ſuppoſed, married *Anaſtatia*, the late emperor's ſiſter, five of his nephews, among whom was the eldeſt ſon of *Julius Conſtantius*, the prefect *Ablavius*, and moſt of the great *Conſtantine*'s miniſters, ſup-
b poſing them attached to the intereſt of his nephews [b]. Thus was the numerous family of *Conſtantine* reduced at once to his three ſons, and two nephews *Gallus* and *Julian*, the ſons of *Julius Conſtantius*; of whom the former owed his life to a malady, from which no one believed he could recover; and the other to his infancy, he being then at moſt but ſeven years old [c]. *Gregory* of *Nazianzus* writes, that *Julian* was privately conveyed away, and concealed by one *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*, whom he afterwards put to a cruel death [d]. All authors agree, that neither young *Conſtantine*, nor *Conſtans*, had any hand in the maſſacre of the imperial family: as for *Conſtantius*, *Eutropius* [e] and *Socrates* [f] write, that he rather permitted than commanded it. *Julian* [g], St. *Jerom* [h], and *Zoſimus* [i], tell us in plain terms, that he was
c the author of that cruel maſſacre; and St. *Athanaſius* openly reproaches him as the murderer of his uncles and couſins [k]. The three brothers met in *Pannonia* in the beginning of the enſuing year 338. when *Urſus* and *Polemius* were conſuls, to divide among them the dominions of the two deceaſed princes, *Dalmatius* and *Annibalianus*; but all we know of this diviſion is, that *Conſtantine* had *Thrace* (for he is ſaid to have reigned at *Conſtantinople*) [l]; and *Conſtans*, *Greece* and *Macedon*; for *Corinth* and ſome places in *Macedon* are ſaid to have belonged to him [m]. Each of them kept the dominions allotted to them by *Conſtantine* in his life-time, that partition being confirmed by his laſt will, *viz.* *Conſtantine*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; *Conſtantius*, *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and *Conſtans*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa*. *Conſtantine* ſeems
d to have yielded this very year *Thrace* to *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtans Africa* to *Conſtantine*. While *Conſtantius* was abſent in *Pannonia*, the *Perſians*, finding the frontiers unguarded, entered *Meſopotamia*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. At the ſame time, the *Armenians* revolted, drove out their king, who was a friend to the *Romans*, and joined the *Perſians*, who being thus ſtrengthened, laid ſiege to *Niſibis*; but

But put Dalmatius *and* Annibalianus *to death.*

Their dominions divided amongſt the three brothers.

The Perſians *invade the* Roman *dominions.*

[a] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 68. p 560. [b] Euseb. ibid. p. 541. Zos. l. 2. p. 692. Julian. epiſt. ad Athenienſ. p. 497, 498. [c] Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. Ammian. p. 298. [d] Nazian. orat. 3. p. 90. [e] Eutrop. p. 558. [f] Socrat. p. 115. [g] Julian. ad Athen. p. 497. [h] Hier. chron. [i] Zos. p. 692. [k] Athan. ſolit. p. 856. [l] Chron. Alex. p. 670. [m] Liban. orat. 9. p. 212.

ſopher of the ſame name, who was a native of *Alexandria*, and abridged the works of ſeveral hiſtorians and other authors. Theſe abridgments are greatly eſteemed by *Photius*, though interwoven with ſeveral fables. They were divided into twelve books (52). *Julian* ſpeaks of one *Sopater* of *Apamea*, who lived in his time (53), and conſequently muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the diſciple of *Iamblichus*. To the other writers, who flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*, we may add the two chriſtian poets *Commodianus* and *Juvencus*. The former wrote, according to *Rigault*, who publiſhed his work with thoſe of St. *Cyprian* in 1666. in the time of *Sylveſter*, biſhop of *Rome*; was a native of *Gaza*, or at leaſt bore the name of *Gazeus*; he was deſcended of pagan parents, but in reading the holy ſcripture, diſcovered and embraced the truth. He wrote a kind of poem, in hexameter verſe, commonly ſtyled *inſtructions*, but without any regard to quantities. It is divided into ſeveral articles, and the initial letters of each article make up its title. In this poem, if we may beſtow upon it that name, he impugns the errors of the pagans, but ſeems not to have been yet well inſtructed himſelf in the truths of the chriſtian religion (54). *Juvencus*, frequently mentioned by St. *Jerom*, flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*: he was by birth a *Spaniard*, ſprung from an illuſtrious family, and not only a chriſtian, but in holy orders. However, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, and wrote a poem, compriſing the four goſpels in as many books. He kept cloſe to the text, chuſing rather to preſerve the truth of the hiſtory, than to diſplay his genius. This poem was compoſed when *Conſtantine* had ſettled both the church and empire in peace (55), that is, after the defeat of *Licinius*. Some of his verſes are quoted by the venerable *Bede* (56). The council of *Rome* held in the time of *Gelaſius*, biſhop of that city, approved of this work, ſtyling it a laborious and excellent performance (57). He wrote another poem on the order of the ſacraments, of which the abbot *Tritenham* (58) aſſures us he had ſeen and peruſed two books; but they have not reached our times. *Crinitus* aſcribes to him ſome hymns (59), of which no mention is made by any other writer.

(52) *Phot. c.* 161. *p.* 344. (53) *Julian. epiſt.* 40, 53. *p.* 185, 186. (54) *Comm. p.* 23. *c.* 33. *Gennad. c.* 15. (55) *Juvenc. l.* iv. *p.* 657. *ver.* 1, 2. (56) *Vide Labb. de ſcript. eccleſiaſt.* (57) *Concil. tom.* iv. *p.* 1264. (58) *Trit. de. ſcript. eccleſ. p.* 14. (59) *Bib. pat. t.* viii.. *p.* 657.

Raiſe the ſiege of Niſibis, *and retire.*

but, after having continued before it ſixty-three days, they were obliged to drop that a
enterprize, and retire. The preſervation of that important place is aſcribed by *Theodoret* to the prayers of the holy biſhop *James*, during whoſe life and reſidence there, all the attempts of the enemy againſt it proved ineffectual [n]. *Conſtantius*, in the mean time, taking leave of his brothers, left *Pannonia*, and returned into the eaſt, where he aſſembled all his forces, with a deſign to relieve *Niſibis*; but finding the *Perſians* had retired of their own accord, he turned his arms againſt the *Armenians*, obliged them to receive again the king whom they had driven out, and drew over to his party the robbers of *Arabia*, no doubt the *Saracens*, who, by frequent inroads into the *Perſian* dominions, made a powerful diverſion, and greatly annoyed the enemy [o]. The war, however, continued during the whole time of his reign: many battles b
were fought, ſome gained by the *Romans*, and ſome by the *Perſians*: the cities of *Meſopotamia* were often taken and retaken; and that of *Niſibis* three times beſieged by the enemy, without their ever being able to reduce it. *Ammianus Marcellinus* obſerves, that the *Romans* gained great advantages when commanded by the emperor's lieutenants, but were conſtantly defeated when headed by the emperor in perſon [p]. The following year, 339. when *Conſtantius* was conſul, the ſecond time, with his brother *Conſtans*, ſeveral laws were enacted in the name of the three emperors; and among the reſt one forbidding, under no leſs a penalty than that of death, marriages between uncles and nieces, which had been allowed by a decree of the ſenate, iſſued in favour of the marriage of *Claudius* and the celebrated *Agrippina*. Notwithſtanding c
this decree, ſuch marriges were ever looked upon by the *Romans* as inceſtuous, but frequently practiſed by other nations, eſpecially the *Phœnicians*, to whom the law forbidding them, dated the thirty-firſt of *March* of this year, is addreſſed [q]. The next conſuls were *Acyndinus* and *Proculus*. This year, *Conſtantine*, diſſatisfied with the late partition of the provinces, after having ſolicited in vain his brother *Conſtans* to yield to him *Italy*, or at leaſt part of that country, raiſed a conſiderable army, and, under pretence of marching to the aſſiſtance of *Conſtantius*, who

Conſtantine *invades the dominions of* Conſtans, *and is killed.*

was at war with the *Perſians*, left *Gaul*, and, entering the dominions of *Conſtans*, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places. Hereupon *Conſtans*, who was then in *Dacia*, detached part of his forces againſt him, who, having drawn him into an ambuſcade d
near *Aquileia*, cut both him and his army in pieces. His body was thrown into the river *Anſa*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Aquileia*; but being afterwards diſcovered, it was ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and interred there near the tomb of his father [r]. Such was the end of the great *Conſtantine*'s eldeſt ſon. He was born at *Arles*, as is commonly believed, on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, 316. created *Cæſar* the firſt of *March*, 317. and ſaluted *Auguſtus* on the ninth of *September*, 337. ſo that he did not enjoy the imperial dignity three whole years. His panegyriſt paints him as a prince endowed with great accompliſhments both of body and mind; and adds, that he ſtudied the ſcriptures, and, to the utmoſt of his power, practiſed what they required [s]. But his e
invading his brother's dominions, without the leaſt provocation, can by no means be juſtified. He received and treated with great kindneſs the great *Athanaſius*, when he was baniſhed by his father into *Gaul*; which province he then governed [t]. By his death, *Conſtans* remained ſole maſter of the weſtern provinces, *Conſtantius* voluntarily yielding to him the whole ſhare of the deceaſed prince [u]. *Conſtans*, ſoon after the death of his brother, arrived at *Aquileia*, where he was on the ninth of *April*, and on the twenty-fifth of *June* at *Milan* [w]. All we find of *Conſtantius* this year is, that on the fifth of *Auguſt* he was at *Beſſus* in *Thrace*, and on the ninth of *September* at *Antioch* [x]. The next year, when *Marcellinus* and *Probinus* were conſuls, many cities in the eaſt were overturned by a violent and dreadful earthquake [y]; and

The Franks *invade* Gaul;

the *Franks* in the weſt, having croſſed the *Rhine*, made an irruption into *Gaul*, com- f
mitting every-where great ravages. *Conſtans* marched againſt them, gave them battle; but as he gained no great advantage over them, the war was not ended till the enſuing year [z]. On occaſion of this war, *Libanius* ſpeaks much at length of the turbulent and reſtleſs temper of the *Franks* [a]. This year a law was enacted in the name

[n] Theodor. in vit. patrum, c. 1. p. 770. [o] Liban. p. 122. Julian. orat. 1. p. 37. [p] Ammian. l. xx. p. 177. [q] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 294. [r] Zonar. p. 11. Vict. epit. p. 544. Eutrop. p. 588. [s] Monodia, ſeu orat. in Conſtantin. junior. mort. p. 7—8—14. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Soz. l. iii. p. 499. Jul. orat. 2. p. 175. [w] Cod. Theodoſ. p. 97. chronol, p. 41. [x] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 42. [y] Socrat. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. Theophan. p. 30. [z] Socrat. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. [a] Liban. orat. 3. p. 138.

a name of the two emperors, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, all manner of idolatrous worſhip [b]. *Firmicus Maternus* writes, that *Conſtans* ordered ſeveral temples to be demoliſhed, and likewiſe the celebrated altar of *Victory* in the ſenate at *Rome* [c]. *Conſtantius* built this year, and fortified, the city of *Amida* upon the *Tigris* in *Meſopotamia*. *Stephanus* the geographer takes no notice of this city: however, it is certain, that it ſuſtained a long ſiege in the latter end of the preſent reign, and became afterwards the metropolis of *Meſopotamia*, properly ſo called, as *Edeſſa* was the metropolis of that part, which was known by the name of *Oſrhoene*. The *Arabians*, the preſent inhabitants, call it *Hemit* or *Ameth*, and the *Turks Caramit* [d]. The following year, *Conſtantius* entered upon his third, and *Conſtans* upon his ſecond, conſulſhip.

b The latter either conquered or appeaſed the *Franks*, to uſe the expreſſion of *Idatius*; and that warlike people ſubmitted to the princes of their own nation, whom he was pleaſed to appoint over them [e]. *Conſtans* being thus diſengaged, paſſed over into *Britain* the following year 343. when *Placidus* and *Romulus* were conſuls, to oppoſe the *Scots*, who made frequent inroads into the *Roman* dominions; but the ſilence of *Libanius* with reſpect to this expedition, is a manifeſt proof, that he performed no great exploits againſt that brave and gallant nation. He was at *Boulogne* on the twenty-fifth of *January* on his way to *Britain*, and returned to *Treves* on the thirtieth of *June* [f]. As for *Conſtantius*, he was, on the fifth of *April*, and the eleventh of *May* of the preceding year, at *Antioch* [g]; and this year, on the eighteenth of *Febru-*

c *ary*, at *Antioch*, and on the twenty-ſeventh of *June*, and fourth of *July*, at *Hierapolis* in *Euphrateſiana* [h]. By a law enacted this year on the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt*, and commonly aſcribed to him, the eccleſiaſtics and their domeſtics are exempted from all new impoſitions, and an intire immunity from all cuſtoms granted to ſuch of them as were by their poverty obliged to earn a livelihood by trading [i]. When the church acquired ſufficient wealth to ſupport her miniſters, they were forbidden by the canons to merchandiſe, or follow any trade. *Theophanes* tells us, that *Conſtantius* triumphed this year over the *Perſians*; for, as we obſerved above, he was at war with them during the whole time of his reign [k]; but he often triumphed, when he had been overcome, to conceal the ſhame of his defeat [l]. The following

d year, when *Leontius* and *Saluſtius* were conſuls, is remarkable for a dreadful earthquake, which intirely ruined the city of *Niocæſarea* in *Pontus*, no one edifice having withſtood the violence of the ſhock, except the church, and the habitation of the biſhop, who was ſaved, with the clergy, and ſome other pious perſons, while the other inhabitants were all buried in the ruins [m]. *Theophanes* ſpeaks of a battle this year between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, in which the latter were defeated with great loſs [n]. The year enſuing, when *Amentius* and *Albinus* were conſuls, the city of *Duras* on the coaſt of *Greece* was ſwallowed up with all its inhabitants in an earthquake, and twelve cities in *Campania* overturned. The above-mentioned conſuls were ſucceeded by *Conſtantius* the fourth time, and *Conſtans* the third time, conſuls. The

e latter was at *Ceſena* in *Italy* on the twenty-third of *May*, at *Milan* on the twenty-firſt of *June*, from whence he paſſed into *Macedon*, and was at *Theſſalonica* on the ſixth of *December*; from *Macedon* he ſeems to have returned to *Gaul*; for he ſent from thence *Athanaſius* and *Oſius* to the council of *Sardica*, held the following year 347 [o]. As for *Conſtantius*, he was, on the ſeventh and twenty-ſixth of *May*, and the twenty-third of *Auguſt*, at *Conſtantinople* [p]. The law dated the twenty-ſixth of *May*, and addreſſed to the biſhops, confirms to them, and the inferior clergy, to their wives, children and domeſtics, ſeveral immunities and exemptions [q]. This year *Conſtantius* cauſed an harbour to be made at *Seleucia*, at an immenſe charge, for the convenience of the city of *Antioch*, which ſtood on the *Orontes*, at a ſmall

f diſtance from thence. This work coſt him, according to *Libanius* and the emperor *Julian* [r], incredible ſums, the mouth of the *Orontes*, where the port was made, being full of rocks and ſands. He likewiſe rebuilt the cities of *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and *Antaradus* in *Phœnicia*; whence the latter, in the acts of ſome councils, is called from him *Conſtantia* [s]. The ſame year, *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, beſieged *Niſibis* a ſecond time;

But are quieted by Conſtans.

Neocæſarea *ruined by an earthquake.*

The port of Antioch *at* Seleucia.

[b] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 2. [c] Firm. Mat. p. 57. [d] Vide Baudr. p. 35. [e] Idat. p. 85. Socrat. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90. [f] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 44. [g] Idem, p. 43. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. l, xvi. tit. 2. li. viii. p. 32. [k] Theoph. p. 30. [l] Liban. orat. 12. p. 309. [m] Greg. Nyss. in vit. Greg. Thaumat. [n] Theoph. p. 31. [o] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 46. Ath. apol. 1. p. 676. [p] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 46. [q] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 10. p. 34. [r] Liban. orat. 23. p. 386. Julian. orat. 1. p. 74. [s] Theoph. p. 31. Baudr. p. 45.

Nisibis besieged in vain by the Persians the second time.

time; but was obliged to retire with disgrace, after having continued before it three a
months, as we read in St. *Jerom*, or seventy-eight days, as *Theophanes* will have it.
The following year, when *Rufinus* and *Eusebius* were consuls, the emperor *Constantius* pretended to have gained a considerable victory over the *Persians*[n]: he was at *Ancyra* on the eighth of *March*, and at *Hierapolis* on the eleventh of *May*[o]. The next consuls were *Flavius Philippus*, a great stickler for the doctrine of *Arius*, and *Flavius Sallea* or *Salia*, a zealous defender of the faith of the council of *Nice*. This year, *Constans*, filled with indignation against the *Arians*, and ashamed of the weakness of his brother, who suffered himself to be imposed upon and deluded by those subtle heretics, threatened to restore by force of arms the orthodox bishops, whom he had banished at their instigation, unless he recalled them of his own accord. *Constantius* b
was, either by fear, or the reasons alledged by *Constans* in behalf of the exiled bishops, prevailed upon to give his consent to their return[p]. The same year, *Constans* sent *Macarius* and *Paulus*, two officers of distinction, into *Africa*, with large sums to be distributed among the poor of that province. They were likewise injoined by that most religious prince, as he is styled by a council[q], to use their utmost endeavours

The Donatists *suppressed in* Africa.

in reclaiming the *Donatists*, and re-uniting them to the church. Their endeavours were crowned with success; for the most obstinate and stubborn among these sectaries being driven out of the province, the rest yielded to reason, and were received again into the church; so that the christians there enjoyed a profound tranquillity, till those who had been banished were recalled by the emperor *Julian*[r]. But this c

The battle of Singarus.

year is chiefly remarkable for a great battle between the *Persians* and *Romans*, fought in the neighbourhood of *Singarus*, a city of *Mesopotamia*. The *Persians* had posted themselves there, and fortified their camp with a deep ditch and ramparts; on which, as well as on the neigbouring hills, they had placed an incredible number of archers: their army was very numerous, and composed almost of all the nations of the east, *Sapor* their king being determined to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, and end, if possible, by a single victory, so tedious and expensive a war. He did not doubt but the *Romans* would attack him in his camp, and therefore had fortified it with extraordinary care, and placed bodies of archers on all the eminences which commanded the avenues leading to it. Accordingly the *Romans*, find- d
ing they could by no means intice the enemy into the open field, forced *Constantius* to lead them up to the very ramparts of their camp, which they attacked with a

The Romans *force the* Persian *camp,*

fury hardly to be expressed, and forced, in spite of the showers of arrows that were discharged upon them from the eminences, and the vigorous resistance they met with from those in the camp. Great numbers of the *Persians* were cut in pieces, and the rest either put to flight, or taken prisoners: amongst the latter was the king's son, whom the *Romans* are said to have put to death, after having caused him to be publicly beaten with rods[s]. Thus the *Romans* made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, baggage, and treasures: but while they were, without the least apprehension of danger, quenching their drought with the fresh water, of which they e
found great plenty in the camp, the *Persian* archers rallying, fell upon them unexpectedly, and snatched the victory, to use the expression of *Libanius*[t], out of their

But sustain a great loss.

hands. In this attack, which happened in the night-time, great havock was made of the *Romans*; but nevertheless the *Persians*, as soon as day began to appear, withdrew beyond the *Tigris*, and broke down the bridges, which they had laid over that river, that the *Romans* might not pursue them[u]. The loss was great on both sides; but the *Romans*, by remaining masters of the field, claimed the victory[w].
The following year, when *Ulpius Limenius* and *Aconius Catulinus* were consuls, the city of *Berytus* was in great part overturned by an earthquake; which so frightened

A dreadful earthquake at Berytus.

the inhabitants, that such of them as had not yet embraced the christian religion, f
crouded to the churches to be baptized: but the lives of such converts, not instructed in the holy mysteries, and the duties of their profession, did no great honour to the religion they pretended to embrace[x]. *Constans*, in the beginning of this year, was in *Gaul*[y]: there *Athanasius* took leave of him, upon his setting out for his see in *Egypt*. From *Gaul* he passed into *Illyricum*, and was on the twenty-seventh of *May* at

[n] Athan. solit. p. 819. [o] Cod. Theodos. chron. p. 46, 47. [p] Theodoret. vit. patrum, l. ii. c. 8. p. 13. [q] Concil. tom. ii. p. 713. [r] Philostorg. l. iii. c. 12. p. 45. Socrat. l. ii. c. 23. p. 107. [s] Lib. p. 13. Eutrop. p. 588. Julian. p. 43. [t] Lib. p. 133. [u] Lib. ibid. Julian. orat. 1. p. 45. [w] Ammian. p. 122. [x] Theoph. p. 32. Cedren. p. 299. [y] Athan. apol. 2. p. 774.

a at *Sirmium* [z]; whence he returned to *Gaul* before winter. As for *Conſtantius*, he was on the firſt of *April* at *Antioch*, and ſome time after at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*; whence he wrote to *Athanaſius*, preſſing him to haſten his return to the eaſt. He was at *Conſtantinople* on the third of *October* [a]. The law enacted this year on the eleventh of *April*, exempting the eccleſiaſtics from all civil functions and employments, is commonly aſcribed to him.

THE following year 350. when *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* were conſuls, is remarkable for many great events. The *Perſians*, notwithſtanding the loſs they had ſuſtained in 348. returned this year with a mighty army, and incredible number of elephants, and warlike engines of all kinds, and, after ravaging *Meſopotamia*, and taking ſeveral
b ſtrong holds there, ſat down before *Niſibis* the third time, and left nothing unattempted to reduce that important place. *Conſtantius* was then at a great diſtance, the diſturbances which happened this year in the weſt, requiring his preſence there. But the city was defended by *Lucilianus*, father-in-law to *Jovian* afterwards emperor, an officer of great courage and experience, and by the holy biſhop *James*, in whoſe prayers the gariſon and inhabitants confided more than in their own valour and arms [b]. The *Perſians* battered the walls for ſeveral days together, with the many engines which they had brought with them for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time endeavoured to undermine them; but all their efforts proving ineffectual, *Sapor*
c cauſed the river *Mygdonus*, flowing through the city, to be turned into a new chanel, hoping by that means to diſtreſs the inhabitants for want of water; but finding them ſufficiently ſupplied with wells and ſprings within the walls, he cauſed the courſe of the river to be ſtopped, and by that means laid the whole country round the town under water; inſomuch, that it ſeemed an iſland in the midſt of the ſea. His deſign was to overflow the town; but as it ſtood on a riſing ground, the waters did not quite reach the top of the walls. He therefore ordered them to be battered with all kinds of warlike engines from ſhips and boats, of which he aſſembled an incredible number for that purpoſe. This attack laſted ſeveral days; but proving in the end ineffectual, *Sapor* cauſed the river to be ſtopped above the city by a wall or mole of an extraordinary breadth and height; which being ſuddenly broken down, the
d waters ruſhed with ſuch violence againſt the wall of the city, that it was overturned, and laid level with the ground for the ſpace of an hundred cubits. Hereupon the enemy, believing themſelves now maſters of the place, advanced with loud ſhouts to the attack; but, to their great ſurprize, met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, the gariſon and inhabitants being encouraged and animated by their holy biſhop, that they were obliged to retire, after having loſt a great many men, horſes, and elephants, as the reader will find related at length by the emperor *Julian* [c]. Heaven itſelf ſeemed to eſpouſe the cauſe of the inhabitants of *Niſibis*; for the *Perſians*, during the attack, were ſo terrified with dreadful flaſhes of lightning, winds, and rain, that they were not in a condition either of defending themſelves, or offending the enemy [d].
e They are ſaid to have loſt in this one attack above ten thouſand men [e]. *Sapor* did all that lay in his power to prevent the inhabitants from repairing the breach, annoying them with inceſſant ſhowers of arrows, but to no effect; for the very next morning he ſaw, to his great ſurprize, a new wall raiſed, and the gariſon ready to receive him. He continued, however, the ſiege; but was, as often as he attacked the place, repulſed with great loſs. Beſides, his army was annoyed with ſwarms of ſmall flies; which entering the noſtrils of the horſes, and the trunks of the elephants, rendered them quite wild and ungovernable; inſomuch, that great numbers of the *Perſians* were by them troden under foot, and cruſhed to pieces. To theſe evils was added a dreadful famine, and ſoon after a plague, which made a terrible havock in the *Perſian* camp, and in the end
f obliged *Sapor*, deſpairing of ſucceſs, to raiſe the ſiege, after it had laſted near four months, and retire with the loſs of twenty thouſand men and upwards [f]. The many evils and calamities which afflicted the *Perſians* during this memorable ſiege, are aſcribed by *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* to the prayers of *James*, biſhop of the place. Be that as it will, *Sapor* was forced to abandon the enterprize, after having, in the tranſports of his rage, put ſome of his chief commanders to death, and all thoſe who had adviſed him to this war. He gave no further trouble to the *Romans* till the year 359. when the war was rekindled, as we ſhall relate in a more proper place. The hiſtory of

Nisibis *beſieged a third time.*

All the efforts of Sapor *againſt it rendered ineffectual.*

The vigorous reſiſtance of the gariſon and inhabitants.

The ſiege raiſed.

[z] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 48. [a] Idem ibid. [b] PHILOSTORG. l. iii. c. 23. THEODOR. [c] JUL. orat. ii. p. 116. [d] THEOPH. p. 33. [e] Idem ibid. & chron. Alexand. [f] JULIAN. THEOPHAN. ibid. THEODOR. p. 633.

of the ſiege of *Niſibis* was written by *Vologeſes* biſhop of the place [a], who probably ſucceeded *James* in that ſee; but that work has not reached our times.

We ſhall now give a ſuccinct account of the diſturbances in the weſt, which encouraged the *Perſians* to invade the *Roman* dominions, and lay ſiege to *Niſibis*. *Magnentius*, the ſon of one *Magnus*, a native of *Germany*, and commander of ſome troops appointed to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, finding *Conſtans* univerſally deſpiſed by the army, on account of his indolence and inactivity, reſolved to diſpatch him, and ſet up for himſelf. Accordingly, having imparted his deſign to *Marcellinus*, receiver of the revenues in *Gaul*, to *Chreſtus*, and ſome other officers, and gained them over to his intereſt, on the day appointed for the execution of the plot, *Marcellinus*, under pretence of celebrating his ſon's birth-day, invited *Magnentius*, and the chief officers of the army, to an entertainment, which laſted till the night was far ſpent, when *Magnentius* withdrew, and ſoon after returned in the imperial robes, and with all the enſigns of ſovereignty. Such of the company as were privy to the deſign, immediately ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*. The reſt, who looked upon it at firſt as a jeſt, (and for ſuch it had paſſed, had the plot miſcarried) were eaſily prevailed upon, as they were heated with wine, to follow the example of the conſpirators; ſo that *Magnentius* was, by all who were preſent, acknowledged emperor. This happened in the city of *Autun*, on the eighteenth of *January*, while *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* were conſuls, four years after the council of *Sardica*, and ten after the death of young *Conſtantine* [b]. The uſurper immediately ſeized on the imperial palace at *Autun*, and diſtributed among the populace what ſums he found there; which induced, not only the city, but the neighbouring country, to eſpouſe his cauſe. Their example was followed by a body of cavalry detached from the army in *Illyricum*, to reinforce that in *Gaul*; *Magnentius*, upon his firſt aſſuming the title of emperor, diſpatched one *Gaïſo*, a principal commander in the army, with orders to put *Conſtans* to death. The unhappy prince, being informed of what had paſſed, notwithſtanding *Magnentius* had ordered the gates of *Autun* to be kept ſhut a whole day, and placed guards on all the roads, had thrown off the imperial robes, and fled towards *Spain*. But *Gaïſo*, informed of the rout he had taken, followed him cloſe with a choſen body of troops, and overtaking him at *Helena*, a ſmall village at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, diſpatched him there with many wounds [i]. St. *Chryſoſtom* writes, that the unfortunate prince, finding it impoſſible to make his eſcape, firſt ſlew his children, and then himſelf [k]. But this is not vouched by any ancient hiſtorian; nay, we are no-where told, that he had any children. Such was the end of *Conſtans*, the great *Conſtantine*'s youngeſt ſon, in the thirtieth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was created *Cæſar* on the twenty-fifth of *December* 333. and aſſumed the title of *emperor* on the ninth of *September* 337. He was a zealous defender of the chriſtian religion, and the orthodox faith, a declared enemy to the *Arians*, *Donatiſts*, and all ſectaries. He filled the churches with gifts and offerings, and had nothing ſo much at heart as the propagation of the goſpel, the aboliſhing of idolatry, and the unity of the church [l]. Thus *Athanaſius*, who never ſpeaks of him but with the greateſt reſpect and veneration, giving him conſtantly the title of *Bleſſed*. The ſame writer aſſures us, that he had received the ſacrament of baptiſm, and ſeems to rank him among the martyrs [m]. On the other hand, the pagan writers lay ſeveral things to his charge. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that after he had reigned ſome years with great applauſe, he abandoned himſelf to cruelty and avarice [n]. *Libanius* charges him with ſuffering one *Eugenius*, and his other favourites, to oppreſs the people, and fill their own coffers at their expence [o]. *Victor* the younger complains of his preferring to the moſt profitable employments ſuch as were able to lay down moſt money for them, without any regard to merit [p]. *Eutropius* likewiſe finds fault with his miniſters, and adds, that the many vices which began to appear in the prince, joined to the rapaciouſneſs of his miniſters, rendered him odious to the ſoldiery, and inſupportable to the people [q]. *Zoſimus*, an avowed enemy to all princes who profeſſed the chriſtian religion, ſpeaks of him as the moſt cruel and inhuman tyrant that ever wore and diſgraced a diadem, and paints him as one addicted to all manner of lewdneſs, and guilty of ſuch crimes as are moſt repugnant to nature [r]. *Aurelius Victor* [s] and *Zonaras* [t] ſeem to confirm this charge.

Magnentius *revolts.*

Conſtans *murdered.*

His character.

[a] Chron. Alex. p. 674. [b] Zos. p. 692. Zonar p. 12. Jul. orat. ii. p. 106, 107. Hier. chron. [i] Zonar. p. 12. Zos. p. 693. [k] Chrys. in Phil. hom. 15. p. 143. [l] Athan. apol. i. p. 678, 679. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Aur. Vict. p. 527. [o] Liban. orat. iii. p. 212. [p] Vict. epit. p. 544. [q] Eutrop. p. 588. [r] Zos. l. ii. p. 692. [s] Aur. Vict. p. 527. [t] Zonar. p. 11.

a charge. But, had it been true, we cannot think the great *Athanaſius*, who could not be unacquainted with it, would have commended him on account of his piety, as he frequently does. *Libanius*, in an oration which he pronounced not long before his death, extols his continence and averſion to unlawful pleaſures; which would have been rather deriding than commending him, had he been guilty of the above-mentioned crimes.

Zonaras writes, that, before the death of *Conſtans* was publicly known, *Magnentius* ſent in his name for all the officers, whom he thought attached to the deceaſed prince's intereſt, and capable of defeating his own deſigns, and cauſed them to be murdered on the road [u]. But whether the death of *Conſtans*, and the uſurpation of *Magnentius*, b could be ſo long kept concealed, we leave the reader to judge. Be that as it will, *Magnentius*, by the death of *Conſtans*, became maſter of all the countries beyond the *Alps*, and ſoon after of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa* [w]. To ſtrengthen his intereſt, he declared his brother *Deſiderius*, and *Decentius*, according to ſome, his other brother, according to others only his couſin, *Cæſars*. The latter took alſo the names of *Magnentius* and *Magnus*, and is diſtinguiſhed on his medals with the uncommon title of *Fortiſſimus*, or *Moſt valiant* [x]. The news of the death of *Conſtans*, and the revolt of *Gaul*, no ſooner reached *Illyricum*, than *Veteranio*, general of the foot in *Pannonia*, aſſumed the imperial robes, and cauſed himſelf to be ſaluted with the title of *Auguſtus* by the legions under his command. This happened at *Sirmium*, on the firſt of *May*, c according to *Idatius*, or on the firſt of *March*, as we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He was a native of *Upper Mœſia*, and ſtricken in years when he uſurped the ſovereignty; but ſo illiterate, that he then firſt learnt to read [y]. *Aurelius Victor* ſpeaks of him as a man of no parts [z]. But the emperor *Julian* writes, that he was no deſpicable man [a]; and *Eutropius* commends him on account of his probity and affability, and adds, that as he had ſerved in the army from his infancy, and had been always attended with ſucceſs, he was univerſally beloved by the ſoldiery [b]. It appears, both from the chronicle of *Alexandria* [c] and from his medals [d], that he was a chriſtian [e]. *Philoſtorgius* [f] and *Theophanes* [g] write, that he was inveſted with the purple by *Conſtantia*, the eldeſt ſiſter of *Conſtantius*, and widow of *Annibalianus*, who claimed that d right, as having been declared empreſs by her brother *Conſtantine*. The emperor *Julian* does not ſpeak of him as an uſurper; and *Zonaras* tells us, that, in aſſuming the imperial dignity, he wrote to *Conſtantius*, aſſuring him, that he had nothing in view but to oppoſe the uſurper *Magnentius*; and that he ſhould always look upon himſelf rather as his lieutenant, than an emperor or ſovereign [h]. *Philoſtorgius* adds, that *Conſtantius* confirmed to him the title of emperor, and ſent him the diadem [i]. Beſides *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, a third pretender to the empire ſtarted up, *viz.* *Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, the ſon of *Eutropia*, ſiſter to *Conſtantine the Great*; who, having aſſembled a company of gladiators and ſeveral others of deſperate fortunes, aſſumed the purple on the third of *June*, and in that attire preſented himſelf before e the gates of *Rome*. The prefect *Anicetus*, who commanded there for *Magnentius*, ſallied out againſt him with a body of *Romans*, who were ſoon repulſed, and driven back into the city; which *Nepotianus* took not long after, and filled with blood and ſlaughter, putting to death among the reſt the prefect *Anicetus*. *Magnentius* was no ſooner informed of what had happened, than he ſent *Marcellinus*, his chief favourite and prime miniſter, againſt this new competitor. *Nepotianus* received him with great reſolution; whereupon a bloody battle enſued between the ſoldiers of *Magnentius* and the *Romans* who had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Nepotianus*; but the latter being betrayed by a ſenator, named *Heraclitus*, his men were put to flight, and he himſelf killed, after having enjoyed the ſovereignty twenty-eight days [k]. *Marcellinus* ordered his f head to be carried on the point of a lance through the chief ſtreets of the city, put all thoſe to death who had declared for him, and, under pretence of preventing future diſturbances, commanded a general maſſacre of ſuch as were any-ways related to *Conſtantine*. On this occaſion many perſons of great diſtinction were inhumanly murdered, and among the reſt *Eutropia*, the mother of *Nepotianus* [l]. Soon after, *Mag-*

The cruelty of Magnentius.

He declares Deſiderius *and* Decentius Cæſars.

Veteranio *aſſumes the title of* Auguſtus.

Nepotianus *aſſumes the title of emperor, and ſeizes* Rome.

He is ſlain.

[u] Zonar. p. 13. [w] Julian. orat. i. p. 47. Zos. l. ii. p. 693. [x] Birag. p. 483, 487. [y] Zos p. 693. [z] Aur. Vict. p. 527. [a] Julian. p. 59. [b] Eutrop. p. 588. [c] Chr. l. ii. Alexand. p. 678. [d] Spanh. l. ii. p. 91. Birag. p. 486. [e] Chron. Alex. 676. [f] Philos. Philo- p. 22. [g] Theoph. p. 37. [h] Zonar. p. 14. [i] Philostorg. p. 55. [k] Zos. l. ii. Theoph p. Eutrop. p. 588. Aur. Vict. p. 527. Ammian. p. 316, 319. [l] Themist. orat. 695. Jul. Julian. orat. iii. p. 106, 107.

Magnentius himſelf came to *Rome*, to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on the war againſt *Conſtantius*, who was making great preparations to attack him, and revenge the murder of his brother. The tyrant, during his ſtay at *Rome*, put many perſons of diſtinction to death, whom *Marcellinus* had ſpared, in order to ſeize their eſtates, and oppreſſed the reſt in a moſt tyrannical manner, obliging them, under pain of death, to contribute half what they were worth towards the expences of the approaching war. Having by this means raiſed great ſums, he aſſembled a mighty army, conſiſting of *Romans*, *Germans*, *Gauls*, *Franks*, *Britons*, *Spaniards*, &c. but at the ſame time dreading the uncertain iſſues of war, he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Conſtantius*, with offers of an accommodation [1]. That prince was then at *Antioch*, where, upon the firſt advice of his brother's death, he had cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged emperor of the weſt, and, to ſupport that title, had aſſembled all the troops diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the eaſt, and a more powerful fleet, if the emperor *Julian* is to be credited, than that with which *Xerxes* formerly invaded *Greece* [m]. *Theodoret* writes, that *Conſtantius*, before he ſet out on his march to *Europe*, exhorted all his ſoldiers to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm, and diſmiſſed ſuch as refuſed to be baptized, declaring, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to expoſe to the dangers of a war perſons not initiated in the holy myſteries [n]. This ſeems to us ſomewhat ſtrange, ſince *Conſtantius* himſelf was not yet baptized. Be that as it will, *Conſtantius* ſet out from *Antioch* about the beginning of the autumn, and paſſing through *Conſtantinople*, arrived at *Heraclea*, where he was met by deputies from *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, who had agreed to ſupport each other, in caſe *Conſtantius* would not hearken to an accommodation. The terms propoſed by their deputies were, That they were ready to aſſiſt him with all their forces againſt the *Perſians* and other barbarians, and to acknowledge him as the firſt emperor, provided he ſuffered them to enjoy the ſame title. The deputies of *Magnentius* propoſed in his name a match between him and *Conſtantia*, or rather *Conſtantina*, the ſiſter of *Conſtantius*, and widow of *Annibalianus*, offering at the ſame time to *Conſtantius* the ſiſter of *Magnentius* [o]. We are told, that while *Conſtantius* was deliberating with himſelf whether or no he ſhould yield to theſe terms, and come to an agreement with the two pretended emperors, his father *Conſtantine* appeared to him in a dream the night following, and preſenting *Conſtans* to him, commanded him to revenge his death, and aſſured him of ſucceſs in ſo commendable an undertaking. Hereupon *Conſtantius*, reſolved to hearken to no terms, ordered the deputies, both of *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, to be committed to cuſtody; and purſuing his march with incredible expedition, arrived at *Sardica*, before *Veteranio* knew of his departure from *Heraclea*. However, he aſſembled in haſte what troops he could, reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; which *Conſtantius* wiſely declined, offering to conclude a ſeparate treaty with *Veteranio*, that he might not have two enemies to contend with at once. *Veteranio* hearkened to the propoſal, and, being acknowledged emperor by *Conſtantius*, joined him with all his forces. The two princes, after the conjunction of their forces, mounted the tribunal together to harangue their troops. *Conſtantius*, who ſpoke the firſt, reminded the ſoldiers, in a very elegant and artful ſpeech, of their obligations to his father; of the bounties they had received at his hands; of the oaths of allegiance which they had taken to his ſons, *&c.* and concluded with exhorting them not to ſuffer the inhuman murder of his brother, the ſon of ſo great a prince, to paſs unrevenged: and declaring, that he only demanded what was in juſtice due to him, it being agreeable to all the laws of equity, that to a brother ſhould ſucceed a brother, and not a ſtranger, much leſs an open enemy to the whole imperial family [p]. Tho' this ſpeech was levelled againſt *Magnentius* alone, yet the ſoldiers, applying it to *Veteranio*, cried out aloud, That they acknowledged no other emperor but *Conſtantius*, pulled *Veteranio* down from the tribunal, and obliged him to quit the purple and diadem; who thereupon threw himſelf at *Conſtantius*'s feet, and implored his mercy. The emperor received him with great kindneſs, embraced him, ſtyled him *father*, entertained him at his table, and afterwards ſent him to *Pruſia* in *Bithynia*, where he allowed him a maintenance ſuitable to his quality. This happened, according to ſome, at *Sirmium*, according to others, at *Naiſſus*, on the twenty-fifth of *December* 350. *Veteranio* ſpent the reſidue of his life, which was ſix years, in works of

Rome *tyrannically oppreſſed by* Magnentius.

Conſtantius *marches againſt him.*

Conſtantius *rejects the terms of an accommodation propoſed by* Magnentius.

Veteranio *depoſed by the ſoldiery.*

1 Ammian. l. xvi. p. 64. Socrat. l. i. c. 32. p. 127. [m] Jul. orat. i. p. 77, 78. [n] Theodoret. l. iii. c. 1. p. 638. [o] Zonar. p. 14. Themist. orat. iii. iv. p. 42, 56. Jul. orat. ii. p. 55. [p] Jul. orat. ii. p. 143. Zos. p. 694. Athan. ſolit. p. 844.

a of piety, in aſſiſting daily at the holy myſteries, in relieving the diſtreſſed, *&c.* without ever intermeddling with affairs of ſtate; nay, he is ſaid to have written frequently to *Conſtantius*, returning him thanks for having delivered him from the anxiety and cares attending the ſovereignty, and by that means procured him the happineſs he enjoyed [q].

THE following year, *Magnentius* entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, and took *Gaïſo* for his collegue, rewarding him with that dignity for the murder of *Conſtans*; but as neither of them was acknowledged in the countries ſubject to *Conſtantius*, the preſent year is in all the *faſti* dated thus, *the year after the conſulate of* Sergius *and* Nigrinianus [r]. *Conſtantius*, now maſter of all *Illyricum*, which was held by *Veteranio*, and
b of the army he commanded, conſiſting of an incredible number of foot and twenty thouſand horſe, reſolved to march againſt *Magnentius*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would allow him to take the field, and attack the tyrant in his own dominions. In the mean time, upon advice that the *Perſians* were preparing to invade the eaſtern provinces, he married his ſiſter *Conſtantina*, the widow of *Annibalianus*, to *Gallus* his couſin-german, the ſon of his uncle *Julius Conſtantius*; created him *Cæſar* on the fifteenth of *March*; allotted him for his ſhare not only all the eaſt, but *Thrace* too and *Conſtantinople*; and ſent him to *Antioch* to oppoſe the *Perſians*, in caſe of an invaſion [s]. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that, before the two princes parted, they took a ſolemn oath, in the preſence of *Theophilus* and the other biſhops then at court, to maintain an inviolable fidelity to each other [t]. The *Perſians* contented themſelves with only making
c ſome inroads into the *Roman* dominions; but were conſtantly repulſed by *Gallus* [u]. Theſe inroads and incurſions are the war mentioned by *Philoſtorgius* [w] and *Theophanes* [x], and ſaid to have been finiſhed with great glory by *Gallus Cæſar*. About the ſame time that *Gallus* was created *Cæſar* by *Conſtantius*, *Magnentius*, who was then at *Milan*, gave the ſame title, according to *Zonaras*, to his brother *Decentius*, whom he diſpatched into *Gaul*, to defend that country againſt the barbarians, who had invaded it; for *Conſtantius* had not only ſtirred up the *Franks* and *Saxons* to break into that province, by promiſing to relinquiſh to them all the places they ſhould reduce, but had ſent them large ſupplies of money and arms for that purpoſe [y]. The
d barbarians, upon this encouragement, invaded *Gaul* with a mighty army, overthrew *Decentius* in a pitched battle, committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the country in the deplorable condition in which *Julian* found it, as he himſelf relates at length, in the year 356 [z]. In the mean time, *Magnentius*, having aſſembled a numerous and formidable army, conſiſting chiefly of *Gauls*, *Franks*, and *Saxons*, left *Italy*, and croſſing the *Alps* that part it from *Noricum*, advanced into the plains of *Pannonia*, where *Conſtantius*, whoſe main ſtrength conſiſted in cavalry, was waiting for him. *Magnentius*, hearing that his competitor was encamped at a ſmall diſtance, diſpatched a meſſenger to him, inviting him into the extenſive plains of *Sciſcia* on the *Save*, to decide there which of them had the beſt title to the empire. *Conſtantius* accepted the challenge with great joy, and ordered his troops to file off towards *Sci-*
e *ſcia*; but as they marched in diſorder, they fell into an ambuſcade, and were put to flight with great ſlaughter [a]. *Magnentius*, puffed up with this ſucceſs, quickened his march towards *Sciſcia*, without hearkening to the terms propoſed to him by *Philip* in *Conſtantius*'s name, who, dreading the evil conſequences of a civil war, offered to yield to him the prefecture of *Gaul*; that is, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, and to acknowledge him emperor, upon condition that he relinquiſhed *Italy*. *Philip* being diſmiſſed, *Magnentius* attempted to paſs the *Save* in the neighbourhood of *Sciſcia*; but the gariſon ſallying out, and *Conſtantius*, who was at a ſmall diſtance, haſtening with a ſtrong detachment to ſupport them, *Magnentius*'s men were put to flight, and great numbers of them cut in pieces. But the uſurper, notwithſtanding this defeat, ſent a few days
f after one *Titianus*, a *Roman* ſenator, with the character of ambaſſador, to *Conſtantius*, adviſing him, if he tendered his life, to relinquiſh the empire, and paſs the reſidue of his days in retirement. To this haughty meſſage, and the bitter invectives uttered by *Titianus* againſt the great *Conſtantine* and his children, which *Zoſimus* himſelf ſtyles outrageous inſults [b], *Conſtantius* anſwered with great temper, That he did not doubt, but

Gallus *marries* Conſtantina, *and is created* Cæſar.

The Franks *and* Saxons *invade* Gaul.

Magnentius *rejects all terms of peace*

[q] ZONAR. p. 14. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 28. p. 120. Zos. p. 695. [r] BUCH. cycl. 240. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 29. p. 120. [s] AUR. VICT. p. 427. Zos. l. ii. p. 695. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 1, 3. [t] PHILOSTORG. l. iv. c. 1. p. 63. [u] AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 7, 8. [w] PHILOSTORG. p. 60. [x] THEOPH p. 34. [y] LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 269. [z] JUL. epiſt. ad Athen. p. 511, 512. [a] Zos. p. 695. JUL. orat. i. & ii. p. 64, 181. [b] Zos. p. 698.

but heaven would eſpouſe his cauſe, and revenge the blood of his brother on the author of his death [c]. While the two armies lay at a ſmall diſtance from each other, *Sylvanus*, of whom hereafter, abandoning *Magnentius*, fled over to *Conſtantius*, with a conſiderable body of cavalry under his command. *Magnentius*, no-ways diſheartened at his defection, attacked *Sciſcia*; and having taken it by aſſault, and levelled it with the ground, he laid waſte the whole country lying on the *Save*, and then ſat down before *Sirmium*, the metropolis of *Illyricum*; but not being able to reduce it, he removed from thence, and laid cloſe ſiege to *Murſa*; which obliged *Conſtantius* to quit his camp at *Cibale*, where his father had formerly defeated *Licinius*, and haſten to the relief of the place. *Magnentius*, informed of his approach, placed four thouſand *Gauls* in a neighbouring wood, with orders to fall upon the enemy's rear, when they found both armies engaged. But *Conſtantius*, receiving timely notice of the ambuſcade, ſeized all the avenues leading to the wood, by which means the party was cut off [d]. After this, *Conſtantius* approached *Murſa*, and drew up his army in the adjoining plain along the *Drave* or *Draw*, on which *Murſa* ſtood, the river being on his right, and *Magnentius*'s left. Both armies, thus ranged in battle-array, continued in the preſence of each other till the cloſe of the day, during which time *Magnentius*, though he profeſſed the chriſtian religion, is ſaid to have ſacrificed, by the advice of a magician, a virgin, and to have obliged his men to drink of her blood mixed with wine [e]. At length the ſignal was given, and the two armies advanced againſt each other with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. *Magnentius*'s centre, according to the account of the emperor *Julian* [f], was, at the firſt onſet, put in diſorder by *Conſtantius*'s left wing and cavalry; which *Magnentius*, who had drawn them up unſkilfully, as being altogether ignorant of the art of war, no ſooner obſerved, than he abandoned them, and betook himſelf to a ſhameful flight. His men, eſpecially the *Gauls* and barbarians, aſhamed to follow the example of their leader, though broken and in the utmoſt confuſion, often rallied in platoons, and, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the victorious army, ſtood their ground till the night was far ſpent, having no reſource but in victory, and being animated by their commanders, who were men of great valour and experience. Thus the emperor *Julian*. But *Zoſimus* [g] and *Zonaras* [h] write, that *Magnentius* did not retire till his army was intirely routed; and *Eutropius*, that he narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. *Zonaras* adds, that, to avoid being taken, he turned his horſe looſe, adorned as he was with the imperial ornaments, that the enemy, imagining the rider to have been ſlain, might not purſue him [i]. As for the battle, *Zonaras* tells us, that fortune favoured ſometimes one ſide, and ſometimes the other [k]; and *Zoſimus*, that the victory was long doubtful; and that *Conſtantius*, grieved to ſee ſo much blood ſhed for a few provinces, ſent, even in the heat of the combat, deputies to *Magnentius*, with terms for an accommodation; but that the ſoldiers and officers of the tyrant, rejecting them with the utmoſt indignation, fought like men in deſpair, till the night was far ſpent, when they were at length put to flight by *Conſtantius*'s cavalry, armed cap-á-pé, and purſued to their camp, which was taken and pillaged [l]. Some, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, made their eſcape; but the far greater part were either cut in pieces, or puſhed into the river and drowned [m]. Such was the iſſue of the memorable battle of *Murſa*, fought, according to the emperor *Julian* [n], about the end of the autumn; but, according to *Idatius*, on the twenty-eighth of *September*. *Zonaras* writes, that *Magnentius* loſt on this occaſion twenty-four thouſand men, and *Conſtantius* thirty thouſand; which we can hardly believe. However that be, it is certain, that the empire was greatly weakened by this blow, and that the battle of *Murſa* is generally reckoned by the ancients one of the moſt dreadful calamities that ever happened to *Rome* [o]. Moſt of the officers on both ſides were killed, and among the reſt *Menelaus*, who commanded the *Armenian* archers under *Conſtantius*, and had ſignalized himſelf during the engagement in a very eminent manner. He was ſlain by *Romulus* the enemy's general, who being mortally wounded by him, would not retire till he had killed the perſon, who had given him the wound. We are told, that *Menelaus* was famous for his ſkill in archery; that he uſed to ſhoot three arrows at a time, which did execution in three different places; and that this greatly contributed

Sciſcia taken by Magnentius, and levelled with the ground.

The battle of Murſa.

Magnentius overthrown.

The battle of Murſa fatal to the empire.

[a] Idem. ibid. & Jul. orat. l. ii. p. 88, 181. [b] Jul. ibid. Ammian. l. xv. p. 44. Zonar. p. 15. Zos. l. ii. p. 698. [c] Zonar. p. 15. [f] Jul. orat. l. ii. p. 65, 106. [g] Zos. l. ii. p. 700. [h] Zonar. p. 15. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Zos. p. 699. [m] Jul. orat. i. ii. p. 67, 110. [n] Idem, orat. i. p. 69. [o] Vict. epit. Hier. chron. Eutrop. &c.

buted to the victory [p]. *Marcellinus*, the chief author of this war, and all the evils attending it, ſignalized his courage in the battle, but was never afterwards heard of, nor could his body be found; whence he was believed to have been drowned in the river [q]. Though we are not told in expreſs terms by any writer, that *Conſtantius* was in perſon at the battle of *Murſa*, yet we can ſcarce believe what we read in *Sulpicius Severus*, viz. that not daring to appear in the field, he waited the iſſue of the combat in a neighbouring church [r]. As ſoon as it was day, (for the battle continued almoſt all night) the emperor, beholding from an adjoining eminence the plain covered, and the river choaked up, with dead bodies, could not refrain from tears at ſo melancholy a ſight, and being more grieved at the ſlaughter of ſo many men, than rejoiced at the victory, he ordered all the ſlain to be buried without diſtinction, and ſuch as were wounded to be attended with care. At the ſame time, he cauſed a general pardon to be proclaimed for all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him; thoſe only were excepted who had been concerned in the death of his brother *Conſtans* [s]. *Magnentius*, abandoning *Pannonia*, fled with the remains of his ſhattered army into *Italy*, there to recruit his broken forces, and try the fortune of another battle [t]. *Conſtantius* did not purſue him, becauſe the winter approached, ſays *Julian* [u], and likewiſe, without all doubt, becauſe his army was greatly fatigued, weakened, and conſequently not in a condition to undertake any new expedition.

An inſtance of Conſtantius's *good-nature.*

Magnentius *retires to* Italy.

THE following year, *Decentius Cæſar* and *Paulus* were acknowledged conſuls at *Rome*, and *Conſtantius* the fifth time, with *Gallus Cæſar*, at *Conſtantinople*. *Conſtantius* paſſed the winter at *Sirmium*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral of his conſtitutions. By one dated the twenty-ſixth of *February* of this year 352. and addreſſed to the prefect *Rufinus*, he granted to eunuchs the liberty of making teſtaments [w]; whence it is evident, that, till his time, they had been excluded from that privilege. *Conſtantius* was a great favourer of eunuchs, and intirely governed by them, and his other domeſtics [x]. *Magnentius* having, after the battle of *Murſa*, fortified the paſſes of the *Alps*, and left a ſufficent number of troops to defend them, remained the whole winter at *Aquileia*, paſſing his time, if *Julian* is to be credited [y], in feaſting and debaucheries, as if no danger threatened him. But *Conſtantius*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon was proper for action, aſſembled his troops: and having, without the loſs of one man, ſurpriſed and taken a caſtle on the *Alps*, in which *Magnentius* had left a ſtrong gariſon, advanced in order to force the reſt. His ſudden approach ſtruck the tyrant with ſuch terror, that he immediately abandoned *Aquileia*, and ordered the troops that guarded the other paſſes on the *Alps* to follow him. By this means *Conſtantius*, entering *Italy* without oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of *Aquileia*, and the neighbouring country. From thence he advanced to *Pavia*, where *Magnentius* gained a conſiderable advantage over him; which, however, did not prevent him from reducing the whole country bordering on the *Po*, *Magnentius*'s men abandoning him in whole troops, and delivering up to the enemy the places they gariſoned. This ſo diſheartened the tyrant, that in the end he left *Italy*, and retired with all his forces into *Gaul* [z]. *Zoſimus* writes, that he abandoned *Italy*, becauſe he found the city of *Rome* greatly attached to *Conſtantius* [a]; and *Socrates*, that before he withdrew into *Gaul*, he came to *Rome*, and there put a multitude of perſons of all ranks to death [b]. *Conſtantius* was maſter of *Rome* and *Italy* before the third of *November*; for we find a law bearing that date, addreſſed to the *Roman* people, wherein the emperor declares void ſome of the acts of *Magnentius* [c]. But, not ſatisfied with driving him from *Italy*, he ſent a powerful fleet to ſeize on *Africa* and *Carthage*; which immediately ſubmitted, as did ſoon after *Sicily* and *Spain* [d]. At the ſame time, ſeveral cities in *Gaul* revolted from the tyrant, and among the reſt *Treves*, the inhabitants of which important place ſhutting their gates againſt *Decentius Cæſar*, the tyrant's brother, declared for *Conſtantius*, and choſe one *Pemenes* to govern them in his name [e]. *Magnentius*, apprehending his affairs to be now in a deſperate condition, diſpatched to *Conſtantius* a ſenator, and after him ſome biſhops, to treat of a peace, offering to reſign the ſovereignty, upon condition that the emperor would grant him his life, and ſome honourable employment. But the emperor treated the ſenator as a ſpy, and diſmiſſed the

Conſtantius *paſſes the* Julian Alps.

Magnentius *abandons* Italy, *and retires into* Gaul.

Africa, Sicily *and* Spain *declare for* Conſtantius.

[p] Zos. l. ii. p. 700. [q] JULIAN. orat. ii. p. 106. [r] SULP. SEVER. l. ii. p. 158. [s] JUL. or. i. ii. p. 69, 107. [t] Zos. l. ii. p. 700. JUL. orat. i. p. 69. [u] JUL. ibid. [w] Cod. Juſt. l. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5 p. 544. [x] Vide BARON: ann. 352. [y] JUL. ibid. p. 132. [z] Idem. or. ii. p. 133, 134. AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 457. [a] Zos. l. ii. p. 700. [b] SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 32. p. 127. [c] Cod. Theodoſ. tit. 5. p. 408. [d] JUL. orat. i. ii. p. 73, 74, 137. [e] AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 45.

the biſhops, without deigning to return them any anſwer [f]. Hereupon *Magnentius*, a perceiving there was no room left for pardon, recruited his army in the beſt manner he could, and diſpatched an aſſaſſin into the eaſt to murder *Gallus Cæſar*, hoping that his death would oblige the emperor to withdraw his forces from *Gaul*, and march in perſon to the defence of the eaſtern provinces, threatened by the *Perſians*. The aſſaſſin had already gained ſome of *Gallus*'s guards; but the plot being diſcovered before it could be put in execution, they were all ſeized, and executed as traitors [g]. Some diſturbances however happened this year in the eaſt, raiſed, in all likelihood, and fomented by the emiſſaries of *Magnentius*; for in *Paleſtine* the *Jews* took arms, and cutting the throats of the ſoldiers in the night, ſet up one *Patricius* for their prince; and over-running all *Paleſtine*, and the neighbouring places, committed b every-where dreadful diſorders, exerting their cruelty chiefly upon the *Samaritans*. But *Gallus*, who was then at *Antioch*, marching againſt them upon the firſt news of their revolt, cut great numbers of them in pieces, without ſparing either their women or children, laid waſte their country, and burnt ſeveral of their cities; among the reſt *Tiberias*, *Dioſpolis*, and *Diocæſarea*. The laſt city he razed to the ground, and put all the *Jews* he found in it to the ſword, becauſe the revolt had begun there [h]. The *Jews* committed likewiſe ſome diſorders in *Gaul*, where they ſtabbed a man of great diſtinction, who, after having governed *Egypt*, had been ſent by *Conſtantius* into *Gaul*, and would, in all likelihood, had he not been thus ſuddenly taken off, prevailed upon the inhabitants to declare for *Conſtantius*. His tomb and epitaph were c diſcovered many ages after in the village of *Peyruis* on the *Durance* [i]. Towards the cloſe of this, or the beginning of the following year 353. *Conſtantius* married *Euſebia*, a native of *Theſſalonica*, the metropolis of *Macedon*, and the daughter of a conſular, and of a lady who is greatly commended for her chaſtity, and the extraordinary care ſhe took in educating her children after the death of her huſband [k]. She had two brothers, *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*, whom we ſhall ſee conſuls in 359. The emperor ſent for her out of *Macedon*, married her with great ſolemnity, loved her to the laſt more than he had done any of his other wives, (for he had had ſeveral) and, to perpetuate the memory of her name, made a new dioceſe, comprehending *Bithynia*, and ſome other provinces, to which he gave the name of *Pietas*, or *Piety*, the import of d the *Greek* word *Euſebia* [l]. She is greatly commended by *Ammianus* [m], *Zoſimus* [n], and above all by *Julian*, who wrote her panegyric about the year 357 [o]. for her beauty, virtue, obliging behaviour, ſkill in polite learning, prudence, *&c.* *Julian* was indebted to her both for his life, and the dignity of *Cæſar* [p]. She was no ſooner inveſted with power, than ſhe raiſed to the firſt employments all her relations, and the friends of her family [q]. On the other hand, *Victor* the younger charges her with not imitating the example of the empreſs *Plotina*, who adviſed her huſband *Trajan* to prefer the intereſt of his people to that of the exchequer [r]. *Baronius* ſpeaks of her as a profeſſed enemy to the catholic church, and a zealous favourer of the *Arians*, probably induced thereunto by what he had read in *Athanaſius* and *Theodoret*, of whom the former ſays in general terms, that the *Arians* were ſupported by the credit of women [s]; and the latter, that the empreſs having ſent money to *Liberius*, biſhop of *Rome*, to be diſtributed among the indigent chriſtians, he could not be prevailed upon to accept it, ſaying, Let the empreſs employ as her almoners her *Arian* biſhops, *Auxentius* and *Epictetus* [t]. *Suidas* tells us, that *Leontius* biſhop of *Tripoli* in *Lydia*, refuſing to wait upon the empreſs, becauſe ſhe had received other biſhops with great haughtineſs, ſhe ſent for him; but he, inſtead of complying immediately with her meſſage, acquainted her, that he thought himſelf obliged to avoid appearing before her, unleſs ſhe promiſed to receive him with that reſpect which was due to his character; that is, to deſcend from her throne, as ſoon as he f appeared, to meet him near the door; to receive his bleſſing in an humble poſture; and ſtand till he had taken his place, and given her leave to ſit down. The empreſs, tranſported with rage, ſays the hiſtorian, at this anſwer, and ſwelled with pride, uttered, in the height of her fury, dreadful menaces againſt the biſhop; and complaining to *Conſtantius* of his unreaſonable pretenſions, endeavoured to inſpire him with

The Jews *revolt; but are ſeverely puniſhed.*

Conſtantius *marries* Euſebia.

Her character

[f] Zonar. p. 15. [g] Idem, p. 15 16. [h] Socrat. l. iv. c. 7. p. 545. Soz. l. ii. c. 33. p. 128. Hier. chron. [i] Spon. miſcel. antiq. p. 202. [k] Julian. orat. iii. p. 205. [l] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. Cang. Byzant. fam. p. 48. Julian. p. 206. Vict. epit. [m] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. [n] Zos. l. iii. p. 702. [o] Julian. orat. iii. p. 190. [p] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. [q] Jul. ibid. p. 116, 117. [r] Vict. epit. p. 545. [s] Athan. ſolit. 813. [t] Theodoret. l. ii. c. 13. p. 609.

a with her own rage. But the emperor, giving no ear to her complaints, commended the biſhop for thus maintaining his ſacred dignity and character, and deſired the empreſs to retire to her apartment till her anger was allayed [u]. Both *Suidas* and *Philoſtorgius* [w] beſtow mighty encomiums on *Leontius*, and paint him as a man of extraordinary merit; but to us he ſeems to have been, at leaſt, deſtitute of prudence and diſcretion. The prelates of the church ought not to flatter princes with a mean complaiſance; but neither are they allowed, in admoniſhing them of their faults, to be wanting to that reſpect which is due to their high ſtation. *Euſebia* proved barren; whence, either out of jealouſy, or for ſome reaſons of ſtate unknown to us, ſhe obliged her ſiſter-in-law *Helena*, whom *Julian* had, by her intereſt, obtained in mar-
b riage of *Conſtantius*, to take a potion, which made her miſcarry as often as ſhe proved with child [x]. *Julian* married her about the end of the year 355. and this potion was given her, as *Ammianus* aſſures us, at *Rome* in 357. Before that time ſhe had been delivered in *Gaul* of a ſon, the only child ſhe could yet have; but he was diſpatched by the midwife, not without private orders from *Euſebia*, uneaſy at *Julian*'s having any iſſue. *Euſebia* was ſtill living in the year 359. but dead ſome time before the end of the year 360 [y]. We are told, that ſhe died of a diſtemper occaſioned by her barrenneſs; and that her death was haſtened by a remedy with which an unſkilful woman pretended to remove it [z]. *Conſtantius* was this year, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ſixth of *February* and fifth of *March* at *Sirmium*; on the
c eighth of *April* at *Sabaria* in *Pannonia*; on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, the thirteenth of *May*, and the twenty-fourth of *June*, at *Sirmium*; on the third of *November* at *Milan*; and on the firſt of *December* again at *Sirmium* [a].

THE following year, when *Conſtantius* was conſul the ſixth time, and *Gallus Cæſar* the ſecond, the war againſt *Magnentius* was carried on with more vigour than ever, and happily ended by a third battle, ſays *Julian* [b], fought by the emperor's generals in the *Cottian Alps*, that is, in the *Higher Dauphiné*, near a caſtle called *Mons Seleucus*, or *Mons Seleuci*, which ſtood between *Die* and *Gap*, not far from the place where the preſent borough of *Aſpres* ſtands [c]. *Magnentius*'s forces being in this battle likewiſe routed and broken, the tyrant took ſhelter in *Lions*; but the few ſoldiers who attended
d him, deſpairing now of any further ſucceſs, reſolved to purchaſe the emperor's favour by delivering up to him his rival, the author of the preſent calamitous war; and accordingly ſurrounded the houſe where he lodged, to prevent his eſcape. It was probably on this occaſion that *Magnentius* addreſſing himſelf to his men, they, inſtead of liſtening to him, cried out with one voice, *Long live* Conſtantius Auguſtus. This at leaſt to us ſeems more probable than what we read in *Socrates* [d] and *Sozomen* [e], *viz.* that *Magnentius*, endeavouring in a ſet ſpeech to encourage his men, whoſe ſpirits began to ſink under their ill fortune, they, forced by a ſuperior impulſe, inſtead of *Long live* Magnentius Auguſtus, cried out with one voice, *Long live* Conſtantius
e Auguſtus. From this miracle, add theſe two authors, *Magnentius* concluded, that his rival was favoured by heaven; and therefore, from that time forward, laying all other thoughts aſide, ſtudied only how to make his eſcape. The tyrant, well appriſed of the intention of his men, and thereupon tranſported with rage and deſpair, firſt flew with his own hand his mother, his brother *Deſiderius*, whom he had created *Cæſar*, and ſuch of his relations and friends as were with him; and then, fixing his ſword in a wall, threw himſelf upon it, to avoid by that means a more ſhameful death, which he well deſerved, and had juſt reaſon to apprehend, if he fell alive
f into the hands of *Conſtantius* [f]. Such was the deſerved end of the tyrant and uſurper *Magnentius*, the firſt, ſay ſome writers, who brought a ſcandal upon chriſtianity, of which he made an outward profeſſion, by the murder of his lawful ſovereign. But we have ſhewn pretty plain in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, that he was the firſt chriſtian who imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign. All authors agree, that *Magnentius* died this year 353. about the middle of *Auguſt*, ſays *Socrates*, after he had held the ſupreme power three years, and near ſeven months, being, at the time of his death, about fifty years old. His head was, by the emperor's orders, cut off, and carried through moſt of the provinces of the empire [g]. His brother *Decentius*

Magnentius *defeated in* Gaul.

He lays violent hands on himſelf.

[u] SUID. λ. p. 20. [w] PHILOSTORG. l. vii. c. 6. p. 504. SUID. ibid. [x] AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 72. [y] Idem, l. xviii. p. 118. & l. xxi. p. 185. [z] ZONAR. p. 20. CHRYS. in Philip. hom. 5. p. 144. [a] Cod. Juſt. l. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5. p. 544. [b] JUL. orat. ii. p. 137. [c] Burdigal. itin. p. 39. Itin. ANTON. p. 22. BAUD p. 493. [d] SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 32. p. 127. [e] Soz. l. iv. c. 7. p. 544. [f] ZONAR. p. 16. Zos. l. ii. p. 701. JUL. orat. i. p. 73. VICT. epit. [g] VICT. epit. p. 544. AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 227.

Decentius Cæſar, who was marching to his aſſiſtance, and had already reached *Sens*, hearing of his death, and finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy's forces, choſe rather to ſtrangle himſelf, than to fall alive into the emperor's hands. His death happened on the eighteenth of *Auguſt* [h]. On ſome of his medals he is ſtyled *Auguſtus*; and both on his, and thoſe of *Magnentius*, mention is made of a victory gained by the two *Auguſti*, and by *Cæſar* [i]. This victory is perhaps the advantage they gained over *Conſtantius* at *Pavia*, as we have related above; after which *Magnentius* probably gave *Decentius* the title of emperor. *Zonaras* writes, that *Deſiderius* was not killed by *Magnentius*, but dangerouſly wounded; and that, upon his recovery, he yielded himſelf up to *Conſtantius* [k]. That author does not tell us what reception he met with; but *Julian* ſays in general terms, that *Conſtantius*, after the victory, ſheathed his ſword, and ſpared thoſe who were ſuſpected of the greateſt crimes, the tyrant's favourites and confidents, and ſuch as taking upon them to diſcharge his embaſſies, had abuſed their prince in a moſt outrageous manner. The writer means, no doubt, *Titianus*, of whoſe embaſſy to *Conſtantius*, and inſolent behaviour, we have ſpoken above; as does likewiſe *Themiſtius*, where he tells us, that the emperor having got into his power the perſon, with whoſe outrages he had been moſt affected, he not only forgave him, but requited his invectives with innumerable favours, the ſenſe of which kindneſs from the hands of a prince whom he had ſo inſolently abuſed, broke his heart [l]. Thus the panegyriſts. But hiſtorians do not ſpeak ſo favourably of *Conſtantius*; for *Zoſimus* tells us, that, not able to bear his good fortune, he grew proud, haughty, and imperious [m]; and *Libanius*, that thoſe who had ſerved under *Magnentius*, dreading the ſeverity of *Conſtantius*, and not daring to ſhew themſelves, turned public robbers, and infeſted the highways, till they were again taken into the ſervice by *Julian* [n]. *Ammianus* aſſures us, that the emperor ſpared none who had, or were ſuſpected to have, rendered the uſurper any conſiderable ſervice; and that many officers, both civil and military, were under that pretence loaded with chains, and dragged to the tribunal of the emperor, who ſentenced them to death, or ſeized their eſtates, and confined them to deſert iſlands, upon the depoſition of their known enemies, or perſons altogether unworthy of credit; nay, frequently upon bare ſuſpicions, when no one appeared againſt them [o]. Many innocent perſons, ſays the ſame writer, were put to death, or baniſhed; among the latter he names one *Gerontius*, who had been honoured by *Magnentius* with the title of *comes* or *count*, and was therefore firſt racked, by *Conſtantius*'s order, in a moſt inhuman manner, and then ſent into exile [p]. As the emperor gave ear to informations, informers multiplied without number; but the moſt miſchievous of that infamous tribe was one *Paulus*, a *Spaniard*, who had the character of ſecretary, and was nicknamed *Catena*; that is, *Chain*, being remarkable for making accuſations ariſe from one another, and linking them together, as it were, in a chain. He was ſent into *Britain*, to bring from thence the tribunes and other officers, who had ſided with *Magnentius*; that is, who had obeyed the uſurper, when they were not in a condition to oppoſe him. He diſcharged this commiſſion with ſuch cruelty and injuſtice, that *Martinus*, a man of known integrity, and at that time vicar of the iſland, generouſly interpoſing in behalf of the innocent, declared, that, unleſs *Paulus* altered his meaſures, he would withdraw from his government, not being able to ſee the innocent thus tyrannically oppreſſed, and confounded with the guilty. This *Paulus* highly reſented, and even threatened to treat him as a traitor, and ſend him loaded with chains to the emperor. Hereupon *Martinus* drawing his ſword, attempted to kill the informer; but he, dexterouſly avoiding the puſh, received only a ſlight wound; and the brave *Martinus* buried his ſword in his own breaſt [q]. Notwithſtanding the odium which the death of ſo deſerving a man caſt upon the reign of *Conſtantius*, all thoſe, whom *Paulus* brought to him, were ſtripped of their eſtates, and either proſcribed, baniſhed, or put to death [r]. The name of *Paulus* is frequently mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who relates ſeveral inſtances of his cruelty. *Libanius* likewiſe ſpeaks of one *Ariſtophanes*, whom that inhuman miniſter cauſed to be beaten with balls of lead till he was ready to expire [s]. The emperor was this year, on the ſixth of *September*, at *Lions*, as appears from a law bearing that date, which declares void all the public acts of the uſurper, and promiſes indemnity

Decentius Cæſar *ſtrangles himſelf.*

Conſtantius's *clemency extolled by the panegyriſts;*

From whom hiſtorians differ.

And give us ſeveral inſtances of his cruelty.

Paulus Catena, *a noted informer, ſent into* Britain.

His cruelty.

[h] Vict. ibid. Zos. p. 701. Socrat. p. 128. Zonar. p. 16. [i] Birag. p. 483---485. [k] Zon. p. 16. [l] Themist. orat. vi. p. 80. [m] Zos. l. ii. p. 701. [n] Liban. orat. xii. p. 285, 286. [o] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 9. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem, p. 9, 10. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Liban. orat. ix. p. 214.

a nity and pardon to all concerned in his revolt, excepting thoſe who were guilty of five crimes, which the laws puniſhed with death. *Gothofredus* endeavours to explain this law [t]. By another law of this year, the date of which is much diſputed, he granted many valuable privileges and exemptions to the clergy, to their wives, children and domeſtics [u]. From *Lions* the emperor removed to *Arles*, where he paſſed the winter, and ſolemnized with great pomp and rejoicings the end of the thirtieth year of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæſar*; that is, from the eighth of *November* 323 [w]. Some modern writers pretend, that on occaſion of this ſolemnity was erected at *Arles* the obeliſk, which was not long ſince diſcovered there [x]. But this is a mere conjecture; for we have no poſitive proof even of its
b having been raiſed in honour of *Conſtantius*. Before the emperor left *Arles*, he ſummoned a council there, and on that occaſion gave many inſtances of his irreconcileable hatred to the orthodox, whom he had already begun to perſecute, and to the biſhops, who ſtood up in defence of the faith of the council of *Nice*, eſpecially to the great *Athanaſius*, and the holy biſhop *Paulinus*, who was driven from *Treves*, and ſent into exile [y]. *Gaul* was this year miſerably ravaged by the barbarians beyond the *Rhine*, and the diſhanded troops of *Magnentius*. At *Rome* the populace roſe on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions, and committed great diſorders. In *Aſia* the *Iſaurian* robbers over-ran *Lycaonia* and *Pamphylia*, and even laid ſiege to *Seleucia*, a great and populous city, and the capital of *Iſauria*. Count *Caſtricius* defended the
c place with three legions, ſays *Ammianus*; which ſhews, that the legions were not at this time near ſo numerous as formerly, but much the ſame with our regiments. *Gallus Cæſar* no ſooner received news of the ſiege of *Seleucia*, than he diſpatched *Nibridius*, count of the eaſt, to the relief of the place, who obliged the *Iſaurians* to abandon the enterprize, and take refuge in their inacceſſible mountains [z]. At the ſame time the *Saracens* committed dreadful ravages in *Meſopotamia*; and the *Perſians*, under the command of *Nohadarus*, attempted to ſurpriſe the city of *Batne* in the province of *Anthemuſia* on the *Euphrates*, on occaſion of a great fair which was annually held there for the vent of *Indian* and *Chineſe* commodities [a]. But the eaſtern provinces were not ſo much haraſſed by the barbarians as by *Gallus* himſelf, who
d commanded there with the title of *Cæſar*, and governed more like a tyrant and madman, than a prince. His unexpected advancement at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, his great quality, (for he was the nephew of *Conſtantine*, the couſin and brother-in-law of *Conſtantius*) ſome ſlight advantages obtained over the *Jews*, *Perſians*, and *Iſaurians*, and the flattering panegyrics of *Libanius* and others, pronounced before him, inſpired him with ſuch pride and arrogance, that he became altogether inſupportable, and abandoning himſelf to every act of violence and oppreſſion. He is even ſaid to have entertained thoughts of revolting from *Conſtantius*, and ſetting up for himſelf [b]. He was naturally inclined to cruelty; and his wife *Conſtantina*, inſtead
e of ſoftening his ſavage temper, took pains to encourage him in his cruelty, and to exaſperate him againſt ſuch as did not yield to her the moſt ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, being puffed up beyond meaſure with the thought that ſhe was the daughter and ſiſter of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the wife of *Cæſar*. *Ammianus* ſtyles her the *Megæra* or fury of her ſex, and adds, that her cruelty was equal to her ambition [c]. *Gallus*, being thus egged on by his natural cruelty, and the reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit of his wife, broke out into all acts of violence imaginable. Some were murdered upon bare ſuſpicions; others deprived of their eſtates, and baniſhed. The prince entertained an incredible number of informers and ſpies, who, inſinuating themſelves into all companies, related to *Gallus* and his wife, and exaggerated, what they had heard of them; and the perſons thus accuſed were, without ſo much as being heard, hur-
f ried to execution, or privately diſpatched. *Gallus* himſelf, in order to make diſcoveries, uſed to walk the ſtreets in the-night-time in diſguiſe, and to mix with the populace in public-houſes; but he did not long continue ſo ſhameful a practice, having been often known, by reaſon the ſtreets of *Antioch*, where he reſided, were illuminated the whole night with a great number of lights. His ſuſpicious and cruel temper being once diſcovered, ſuch as had private enemies laid hold of the prince's foible to gratify their own hatred, nothing being more eaſy than to deſtroy the moſt inno-

Conſtantius *perſecutes the orthodox.*

The Iſaurians *over-run ſeveral provinces.*

The extravagant behaviour of Gallus.

His crueley and ſuſpicious temper.

[t] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 2. p. 270. [u] Cod. Theodo. tit. 6. p. 34, 35. [w] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 8, 9. Nor. dec. c. 1. p. 78, 79. [x] P. Pagi, p. 353. [y] Zonar. p. 16. [z] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 10—15. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem, p. 31. Socrat. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. Liban. vit. p. 34. [c] Ammian. p. 2, 3.

innocent perſons, and procure the confiſcation of their eſtates; for under *Gallus* it a
was one and the ſame thing to be accuſed or ſuſpected, and condemned. By this
means all the cities and provinces were filled with blood and ſlaughter, and no man,
ſays *Ammianus*, however free from guilt, was ſure to live or enjoy his eſtate a whole
day. Among the many innocent perſons, whom *Gallus* unjuſtly deprived of their
lives, liberty, or eſtates, authors particularly mention one *Clematius*, a nobleman of
Alexandria, who refuſing to comply with the luſtful deſires of his wife's mother, ſhe
turning her love into hatred, applied to *Conſtantina*, and preſenting her with a
necklace of great value, obtained a warrant to *Honoratus*, count of the eaſt, to put
him to death, which he did accordingly [d]. *Thalaſſus*, at that time prefect of the
eaſt, was greatly concerned at the conduct of *Gallus*; and, had he been a man of b
prudence and diſcretion, might have eaſily corrected it, and prevented many diſor-
ders; but being himſelf of a haughty and imperious temper, inſtead of admoniſhing
Gallus of his faults with the reſpect that was due to his rank, he oppoſed him with
too much heat, and checked him with a great deal of roughneſs and ill-nature;
and not ſatisfied with that, he informed the emperor of all his actions, exaggerating
every thing to a great degree, not privately, but in public, with a deſign *Gallus*
ſhould know he had done it; which, inſtead of reclaiming him, prompted him to
ſtill greater exceſſes, that he might not ſeem to yield to his inferior [e].

Thalaſſus's *imprudent behaviour.*

The following year, *Conſtantius* was conſul the ſeventh time, and *Gallus* the third.
The emperor, having paſſed the winter at *Arles* went early in the ſpring to *Valence*, c
with a deſign to march againſt *Gondomadus* and *Vadomorus*, two brothers, and both
kings of the *Alemans*, who had made frequent inroads into that part of *Gaul*, which
lay next to their territories. The rendezvous of the troops deſigned for this expe-
dition was at *Challon*, on the *Sône*, where they began to mutiny for want of pro-
viſions, the heavy rains that had fallen preventing the arrival of the corn that was
expected from *Aquitaine*. *Conſtantius* was inclined to ſend to the mutinous army
Rufinus, prefect of *Gaul*, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, to expoſe him to the fury
of the incenſed ſoldiery, he being very powerful, and by the mother's ſide uncle
to *Gallus*, on whoſe ruin the emperor had already reſolved. But *Rufinus*'s friends
at court prevailed upon the emperor to change his mind; and *Euſebius*, *Conſtantius*'s d
great chamberlain, gained over the moſt mutinous and refractory by diſtributing
money among them underhand. The emperor ſtaid ſome time at *Valence*, and there
received certain advice of what *Gallus* had done [f]; that is, as we conjecture, of the
murder of *Domitian*, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon. The mutiny being appeaſed,
and the expected convoys arriving ſoon after, the army marched chearfully towards
Raurucum on the *Rhine*, a little above the preſent city of *Baſle*, where the emperor
attempted to lay a bridge over that river; but the *Germans* from the other ſide of
the *Rhine* plied the workmen ſo warmly with inceſſant ſhowers of darts and arrows,
that the deſign was laid aſide as altogether impracticable. This reduced the emperor
to great ſtreights; but while he was at a loſs what courſe to take, a perſon well c
acquainted with the country, ſhewed him a place where the river was fordable. They
were, however, prevented from croſſing it, by the unexpected arrival of deputies from
the enemy's camp to ſue for peace; which the emperor, by the advice of his council,
and approbation of the army, readily granted, that he might be at leiſure to conſult
what meaſures might be taken with reſpect to his couſin *Gallus Cæſar*, of whoſe
extravagant conduct new complaints were daily laid before him. With this view
he left *Gaul*, as ſoon as the treaty was concluded, and repaired to *Milan* [g]. He was
on the twenty-ſecond of *June* at *Ceſena* in *Romagna*, and on the twenty-firſt of *July*
at *Ravenna*; whence he went to *Milan*, the uſual place of his reſidence, and there
paſſed the winter [h]. We ſhall now give a ſuccinct account of the affairs of the eaſt, f
and the ſtrange conduct of *Gallus* there, which gave juſt occaſion to the complaints
of the people, and induced the emperor to reſolve upon his ruin. What happened
there the preceding year, we have related above. In the beginning of the preſent
year, great diſturbances were raiſed at *Antioch*, on account of the ſcarcity of provi-
ſions. For *Gallus* commanding the magiſtrates to lower the prices, and they repre-
ſenting, that this, inſtead of mitigating, would increaſe the evil, he cauſed ſome of
them to be publicly executed, and others to be dragged to priſon. But *Honoratus*,
who

Conſtantius *marches againſt the* Alemans.

Attempts in vain to lay a bridge over the Rhine.

Grants a peace to the Alemans.

[d] Idem, p. 27. [e] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 3. [f] Idem, p. 23. [g] Idem ibid. p. 23—25. [h] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 52.

a who was ſtill count of the eaſt, oppoſed this wild decree, and, in ſpite of *Gallus*, ſet the priſoners at liberty [i]. Some time after *Gallus* being to ſet out for *Hierapolis*, the people of *Antioch* beſeeching him to give orders before his departure for the conveying of corn to their city from other countries, he anſwered, that if they were not ſupplied, it was the fault of *Theophilus*, governor of *Syria*. This anſwer the people remembered, and the price of proviſions riſing, four or five mean perſons threw themſelves upon *Theophilus* in the circus; and the mob immediately riſing, they not only murdered him, but, tranſported with rage, dragged his body about the ſtreets; a treatment which he no-ways deſerved, having diſcharged his employment with great mildneſs and integrity. They attempted to treat *Eubulus*, one of the chief b men in the city, and his ſon, in the ſame manner; but they found means to eſcape the fury of the populace, who nevertheleſs burnt their houſes [k]. The death of *Theophilus*, thus abandoned by *Gallus* to the rage of the multitude, and his protecting one *Serenianus*, who was univerſally hated by all good men, and had even aſpired at the empire, greatly prejudiced *Conſtantius* againſt him. The emperor, however, wrote ſeveral obliging letters to him; but at the ſame time, under various pretences, drew the flower of his troops into the weſt. About this time *Thalaſſus*, prefect of the eaſt, dying, *Conſtantius* named in his room one *Domitian*; and, in giving him his inſtructions at his departure, told him, among other things, he had been informed that *Gallus* was deſirous of coming to *Italy*, and paying him a viſit; adding, *If* c *you think it proper, you may conduct him to my preſence; but let it be done with all the duty and reſpect owing to his birth and ſtation.* *Domitian* underſtood the emperor's meaning; but as he was the ſon of a tradeſman, he wanted politeneſs and addreſs to execute his tacit orders, agreeable to the prince's intention. For on his arrival at *Antioch*, he went directly to the houſe where the prefects lodged, without paying his reſpects to *Cæſar*, though he paſſed before his palace; and, under colour of being indiſpoſed, kept ſeveral days at home, informing himſelf of the conduct of *Gallus*, and ſending to the emperor an exaggerated account of all he heard. At length *Gallus* ſending him word that he ſhould be glad to ſee him, he went to court; and coming up to the prince, *You muſt go*, ſaid he abruptly, *to* Italy; *for ſuch is the emperor's* d *will and pleaſure; which, if you refuſe to comply with, I ſhall ſtop the neceſſary appointments for the maintenance of your houſhold.* Having thus ſpoken, he withdrew without uttering a ſingle word more, or waiting the prince's anſwer, who called him back, and afterwards often ſent for him; but could never prevail upon him to appear again at court. *Gallus*, highly provoked, and not without reaſon, at the conduct of the prefect, ordered him to be put under arreſt. *Montius*, or, as others call him, *Magnus*, then quæſtor, foreſeeing the evil conſequences that muſt inevitably attend the execution of this order, thought himſelf obliged to prevent them, and with great frankneſs told *Gallus*, that he ought to pull down the ſtatues of *Conſtantius* before he thought of arreſting or putting to death a prefect [l]. Others ſay, that addreſſing himſelf to *Gallus*, he ſpoke the following words with an air of contempt; e *The emperor has not thought fit to truſt you with the power of creating a ſingle magiſtrate, and you talk of putting a prefect to death* [m]! *Gallus*, offended at the liberty which the quæſtor had taken, complained of it to his guards, who immediately ſeizing *Montius*, and faſtening cords to his feet, dragged him to the houſe of *Domitian*, whom they threw down ſtairs, and dragged with *Montius* through the chief ſtreets of *Antioch*, caſting, after many inſults, both their bodies into the river [n]. This bold attempt, in which *Conſtantina* is ſaid to have had a great ſhare, was followed by many other cruelties and murders, committed in all the provinces of the eaſt, at the inſtigation of *Gallus* and his wife *Conſtantina*, whoſe thirſt after blood was f as great as that of her huſband. The reader will find in *Ammianus Marcellinus* [o] a detail of theſe cruel and inhuman executions. It being diſcovered, that a purple garment was making privately at *Tyre*, the two *Apollinares*, father and ſon, the former governor of *Phœnicia*, and the latter ſon-in-law to the prefect *Domitian*, were by *Gallus*'s orders arreſted, as if they aſpired at the ſovereignty, and, without any farther inquiry, condemned to baniſhment. But thoſe who conducted them, at ſome diſtance from *Antioch*, purſuant to their private orders, broke their thighs, and then put them to death [p]. *Urſicinus*, general of the horſe, was obliged to abandon the defence

Theophilus, *governor of* Syria, *abandoned by* Gallus *to the rage of the populace*

The imprudent conduct of the prefect Domitian.

He and Montius *murdered,*

And many others.

of

[i] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 25. Liban. vit. p. 399. [k] Ammian. p. 16. Julian. p. 111. Liban. or. xiv. [l] Ammian. l. xivi p. 16, 17. Zonar. p. 16. [m] Philostorg. l. iii. p. 61. [n] Socr. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. Ammian. p. 17. Zon. p. 17. [o] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 18—23. [p] Idem, p. 21, 22.

of *Niſibis*, and haſten to *Antioch*, to preſide at the inquiry which the emperor ordered a
to be made into this affair; but the other judges being named, and well inſtructed
before-hand by *Gallus* and *Conſtantina*, he could not proceed as he would have other-
wiſe done; for *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who ſerved under him, ſpeaks every-where
of him as a man of an unblemiſhed character. As this commiſſion gave him an
opportunity of diſcovering many things till then not known, he acquainted the
emperor with the ſtate of affairs in the eaſt, and preſſed him to redreſs the many evils
which afflicted thoſe provinces [q]. Beſides the informations the emperor received of
Gallus *accuſed of aſpiring at the ſovereignty.* *Gallus*'s male-adminiſtration and cruelties, he was told, that, not ſatisfied with the
dignity of *Cæſar*, he aſpired at the ſovereignty, and harboured evil deſigns againſt
the emperor. This charge was believed by *Socrates* [r], and is not denied by *Ammi-* b
anus [s]. But other writers will have theſe to have been mere inventions of *Dynamus*
and *Picentius*, two mean and infamous informers [t]. To them *Zoſimus* adds the prefect
Lampridius, a man of great ambition, and the eunuchs of the court, who had a great
aſcendant over the emperor, eſpecially his chief chamberlain *Euſebius*. *Conſtantius*,
giving credit to their accuſations, whether true or falſe, reſolved upon the ruin and
death of *Gallus*, tho' his couſin-german and brother-in-law; but, leſt he ſhould openly
revolt, he carefully concealed his intention, and wrote a very friendly and obliging
Gallus *and* Urſicinus *invited into* Italy; letter to *Gallus*, inviting him to *Italy*, that he might adviſe with him on certain affairs
of great importance. At the ſame time, he wrote to *Urſicinus*, at that time *magiſter* c
equitum, or general of the horſe in the eaſt, to come with all ſpeed to *Milan*, in
order to deliberate about the moſt proper meaſures that might be taken with reſpect
to the *Perſians*, who were aſſembling their forces, as was pretended, with a deſign
to invade *Syria*. This was likewiſe a pretext, which the emperor made uſe of to
remove *Urſicinus*, leſt he ſhould raiſe diſturbances in the eaſt during the abſence of
Gallus. For the eunuchs and couriers, dreading the merit and abilities of that
worthy man and great warrior, filled the emperor's mind with ſuch fears and jea-
louſies, in order to compaſs his ruin. One *Proſper*, a *comes* or count, was ſent to
ſucceed him, but only with the title and character of his deputy, to remove from
him all apprehenſions of his being ſuſpected [u]. *Urſicinus*, on the receipt of the
emperor's letter, ſet out immediately, accompanied by *Ammianus* the hiſtorian, and d
arrived at *Milan* much ſooner than he was expected, to the great joy of the emperor,
who now thought of nothing but getting *Gallus* into his power. In order to this,
And likewiſe Conſtantina. beſides the above-mentioned letter to *Gallus*, he wrote ſeveral others to *Conſtantina*,
expreſſing a great deſire to ſee her, and inviting her to court, with the moſt tender
inſinuations imaginable; for he thought that the readieſt way to draw *Gallus* thither.
They were both too ſenſible of their evil conduct not to apprehend the worſt from
the emperor: however, *Conſtantina*, who was well acquainted with her brother's
temper, hoped by her artful inſinuations to diſarm his rage; and, without any farther
deliberation, ſet out on her journey, leaving *Gallus* at *Antioch*: but ſhe had ſcarce
entered the province of *Bithynia*, when ſhe was ſeized with a fever at a place called e
Conſtantina *dies on her journey.* *Cæni Gallicani*, of which ſhe died, leaving behind her one daughter, of whom no
farther mention is made in hiſtory. Her body was carried to *Rome*, and buried on
the *Nomentan* way, where ſtood the church of the martyr *Agnes*, which ſhe had
founded [w]. Her death threw *Gallus* into the utmoſt perplexity; as he had now loſt
his only advocate with the emperor, he deſpaired of being able to appeaſe him;
and therefore began to think of aſſuming the title of *Auguſtus*, which he had done,
had he met with the leaſt encouragement; but moſt of his friends deſerting him
on account of his inconſtant temper, and the reſt hating him for his cruelty, and
dreading the power of *Conſtantius*, he was obliged to lay aſide all thoughts of openly
revolting. In the mean time, the emperor, with frequent letters and repeated meſ- f
ſages, importuned him to come with all ſpeed to court. Among the reſt, he ſent
one *Scudilo* to him, a crafty inſinuating man, who, by giving him all imaginable
Gallus *ſets out from* Antioch. aſſurances on the emperor's part, prevailed him to leave *Antioch*, and begin
his journey to *Italy*. He ſtopt ſome time at *Conſtantinople*, where, like a man who
apprehended no danger, he exhibited public ſhews, and diverted himſelf and the
people with the circenſian ſports. This confident behaviour increaſed the emperor's
fears and jealouſies, who thereupon ordered all the gariſons to be removed out of
the

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Socrat. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. [s] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 1. [t] Zos. l. ii. p. 701. [u] Ammian. xiv. p. 26. [w] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 27. Philostorg. p. 62.

a the cities and towns through which he was to paſs, leſt he ſhould debauch them; and at the ſame time diſpatched ſeveral officers to him, who, under colour of attending him, were to keep a watchful eye over him; which they did with ſuch ſtrictneſs, that, though the *Thebean* legions encamped in *Thrace*, upon his arrival at *Arianople*, ſent deputies to him, aſſuring him, that they were ready to ſtand by him, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, yet, during the twelve days he ſtaid in that city, the deputies could never have an opportunity of ſpeaking with him. In the mean time, he received freſh letters from the emperor, requiring him to make what haſte he could, and public carriages were provided for his equipage; but the officers ſent to him by *Conſtantius* adviſing him to leave his court at *Adrianople*, he ſet out with

Is carefully watched by the officers of Conſtantius.

b a ſmall retinue for *Milan*, where the emperor then was; but upon his arrival at *Petavium* in *Noricum*, he was there met by *Barbatio*, who, entering the ſame evening the houſe where he lodged with a company of ſoldiers, ſtript him of all the enſigns of his dignity, and diſpatched one *Apodemus* with his purple ſhoes to the emperor, aſſuring him, in the mean time, by repeated oaths, that nothing elſe was intended by the emperor againſt him; but nevertheleſs, putting him into a cloſe litter, he hurried him away to *Flanona*, now *Fianone*, in *Dalmatia*, not far from *Pola*, where *Criſpus Cæſar*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, had been put to death twenty-eight years before. Thither the emperor ſent his two moſt inveterate enemies, *Euſebius* the eunuch and *Pentades* his ſecretary, to examine him about the death of the prefect *Domitian*, and

Is arreſted at Petavium, *and ſtript of the enſigns of his dignity.*

c others, and to hear what plea he could make [x]. *Julian* [y] and *Libanius* [z] write, that he was condemned without ſo much as being heard; and truly a prince, who hears only with the ears of his favourites, may be ſaid not to hear at all. *Gallus* owned moſt of the crimes that were laid to his charge; but alledged, that they proceeded chiefly from the inſtigation and evil counſels of his wife *Conſtantia*. The emperor, provoked at this plea, which reflected in ſo high a meaſure on his ſiſter, and conſequently on himſelf, and egged on by the enemies of *Gallus*, perſuading him, that his ſafety depended upon the deſtruction of ſo dangerous a rival, reſolved to put an end to his own fears, and the other's life, and accordingly ſigned a warrant for his execution [a]. Some authors write, that the emperor, ſoon after, changing his mind,

And put to death.

d countermanded the execution; but that *Euſebius*, and the other enemies of *Gallus*, pretended that it came too late [b]. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Gallus* was beheaded, and atoned with his own blood for the blood of many innocent perſons, which he had ſhed. Thus fell *Gallus Cæſar*, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after having reigned near four years. His death was chiefly owing to his own tyrannical conduct, but in great meaſure to the malice of *Euſebius*, *Scudilo*, and *Barbatio*, his avowed enemies, who charged him with more crimes than he had really committed [c]. All thoſe who had been any-ways concerned with him in the death of the prefect *Domitian*, the quæſtor *Montius*, and his other crimes, felt the weight of the emperor's diſpleaſure. Multitudes of people of all ranks were brought out of the

e eaſt in chains to *Aquileia*, where they were tried by *Euſebius* and one *Arbora*, men deſtitute of all mercy and compaſſion, and on that very account charged by *Conſtantius* with that commiſſion. Theſe mercileſs judges, without making any diſtinction between the guilty and innocent, ſentenced ſome to the rack, and after that to baniſhment, others to ſervile offices in the army, and great numbers to death, ſparing none but ſuch as could redeem themſelves with large ſums. *Luſcus*, the firſt magiſtrate of *Antioch*, was burnt alive. But *Gorgonius*, *Gallus*'s great chamberlain, the moſt guilty of all, eſcaped by bribing his judges, and the eunuchs of the court. *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*, though no-ways concerned in his crimes, was kept ſeven months under cloſe confinement, and would have been put to death, had

f he not been ſaved by the favour of the empreſs *Euſebia* [d]. By the death of *Gallus*, the *Roman* empire became united under one prince, after it had continued divided for the ſpace of near ſeventy years, that is, from the year 285. or 286. when *Dioclefian* took *Maximian* for his collegue; for ever ſince that time there had been either ſeveral emperors, or one *Cæſar*. *Ammianus* obſerves, that *Conſtantius*, ſwelled with pride upon ſeeing himſelf ſole maſter of the empire, aſſumed the title of *eternal*, ſtyled himſelf *lord of the univerſe*, and gave ear to the flatteries of his ambitious and inſinuating courtiers [e]. As for *Urſicinus*, general of the horſe in the eaſt, of whom

[x] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 178. & l. xiv. p. 27---29. [y] Julian. ad Athen. p. 500. [z] Liban. or. xii. p. 266. [a] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 29. & 31. [b] Idem. p. 30. [c] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 31. [d] Idem. l. xiv. p. 18. l. xv. p. 34. Julian. ad Athen. p. 501. [e] Ammian. l. xv. p. 32, 33.

whom we have ſpoken above, he was accuſed of having put *Gallus* upon all the wrong meaſures he had taken, in order to render him obnoxious to the people, and make the empire fall to his own children. But *Ammianus*, his faithful friend and inſeparable companion, aſſures us, that his only crime was the umbrage which the eunuchs, and other courtiers, took at his great power and extraordinary abilities. However, after the death of *Gallus*, it was reſolved in a council, which was held privately in the emperor's apartment, that the following night he ſhould be conveyed out of the city, and executed without any farther trial. But the emperor changing his mind, *Urſicinus* eſcaped, and *Conſtantius* was ſoon after obliged to have recourſe to the valour and addreſs of ſo brave and experienced a commander, as we ſhall ſee anon [d].

THE next conſuls were *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*. During their adminiſtration, the emperor enacted two remarkable laws; the one addreſſed to *Voluſianus*, vicar of *Rome*, and dated the thirtieth of *April*, forbidding the marriage of a brother or ſiſter-in-law, and declaring the children born of ſuch a marriage illegitimate: the other dated the twenty-third of *September*, and addreſſed to one *Severus*, ordaining biſhops to be judged by biſhops, and not by the civil magiſtrates [e]. In the beginning of this year, *Conſtantius* ſummoned a council of biſhops at *Milan*, and baniſhed *Liberius*, biſhop of *Rome*, into *Thrace*, becauſe he would not conſent to the ſentence paſſed by the council againſt the great *Athanaſius* [f]. Before the emperor left *Milan*, *Africanus* and *Vincentius*, governor of *Pannonia Secunda*, was brought priſoner to that city, with ſeveral others, who, after being tortured in a moſt cruel manner, were thrown into priſon, becauſe they had at an entertainment expreſſed themſelves with great freedom on matters of ſtate; whence it was concluded, that they were carrying on ſome plot, and that *Africanus* aſpired at the ſovereignty. A tribune, by name *Marinus*, who was preſent at this entertainment, choſe rather to lay violent hands on himſelf at *Aquileia*, than to endure the torture [g]. *Ammianus*, who relates this, does not tell us in this place what became of *Africanus* and the other priſoners; but ſeems elſewhere [h] to inſinuate, that they were all put to death. The emperor ſoon after left *Milan* to march againſt the *Germans*, who made frequent inroads into the empire towards the *Brigantine* lake, now the lake of *Conſtance*. The emperor himſelf remained in the plains of the country now belonging to the *Griſons* in the neighbourhood of the preſent city of *Coira*, and detached *Arbetio* with the flower of the army againſt the enemy. *Arbetio* fell into an ambuſcade, and loſt great numbers of his men; but this loſs was ſoon retrieved by the valour of *Arintheus*, who became famous under the emperor *Valens*, and of two other officers, who falling upon the *Germans*, without waiting the orders of their general, put them to flight, and obliged them to abandon the *Roman* territories. The emperor, ſatisfied with this, returned to *Milan*, and there took up his winter-quarters [i]. From *Milan*, he wrote a long letter to the ſenate of *Conſtantinople* in commendation of the philoſopher *Themiſtius*, whom he had created ſenator of that city. *Themiſtius* anſwered this letter ſoon after by a panegyric on *Conſtantius*, wherein he endeavours to prove, that he was the greateſt philoſopher in the whole empire [k]. The emperor's letter and the oration of *Themiſtius* are ſtill extant [l]. The tranquillity which *Conſtantius* enjoyed at this time was ſoon interrupted by the apprehenſion of a pretended conſpiracy, which produced a true one. *Sylvanus*, the ſon of *Bonitus*, a leading man among the *Franks*, commanded in *Gaul*, and had performed there great exploits againſt the barbarians. He owed his preferment to the artifices of rival courtiers, eſpecially of *Arbetio*, the conſul of this year, who, jealous of his extraordinary merit, had propoſed him to the emperor as the beſt qualified perſon in the empire for driving the barbarians out of *Gaul*, and reſtoring that province, diſtreſſed by their frequent inroads, to its former condition. And truly *Sylvanus* well deſerved the character which *Arbetio* gave him; but the conſul's main deſign in commending him, and extolling his military talents, was to remove him from the emperor's preſence, in order to compaſs his ruin, which he did in the following manner: One *Dynames*, keeper of the emperor's mules, leaving *Gaul*, begged of *Sylvanus* letters of recommendation to his friends at court; which being granted, the traitor eraſed all but the ſubſcription; and having inſerted directions to the friends of *Sylvanus* for the carrying on of a conſpiracy, delivered the letters to the prefect *Lampridius*, who

Several others cruelly tortured upon bare ſuſpicions.

The Germans *defeated.*

Sylvanus *falſly accuſed of aſpiring at the empire.*

[d] Idem, l. xiv, p. 26. 33, 34. [e] Cod. Theodoſ. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296. & l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 12. [f] HILAR. or. in Conſt. [g] AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 34---36. [h] Idem. l. xvi. p. 67. [i] Idem, l. xv. p. 36, 37. [k] THEMIST. or. Conſ. p. 18. & or. ii. p. 24---40. [l] Idem ibid.

a who being privy, as was ſuppoſed, to this wicked contrivance, ſhewed them to the emperor. Hereupon orders were immediately iſſued for the apprehending of ſuch perſons as were named in the letters. As there were at that time great numbers of *Franks* of diſtinction at court, they all interpoſed in favour of their countryman; among the reſt, *Malaricus*, their chief, well appriſed that the whole was a mere calumny, offered to go into *Gaul*, and bring the ſuppoſed criminal before the emperor; adding, that if perſons, whom *Sylvanus* miſtruſted, ſhould be ſent for that purpoſe, he might be prompted by fear, to attempt what he was falſly accuſed of having already attempted. But *Conſtantius*, without hearkening to the juſt and reaſonable propoſal of *Malaricus*, was perſuaded by *Arbetio* to name *Apodemus*, a declared enemy to all men of probity, to inquire into this affair. He immediately
b ſet out for *Gaul*; but inſtead of preſenting to *Sylvanus* as ſoon as he arrived, purſuant to his inſtructions, the emperor's letter commanding him to repair forthwith to court, he ſeized on his eſtate, and cauſed his friends in *Gaul* to be apprehended and put to the torture. This coming to the ears of *Sylvanus*, who was then at *Cologn*, and too well acquainted with the emperor's ſuſpicious temper, and the aſcendant his enemies at court had over him, to ſuffer himſelf to be arreſted, he reſolved at firſt to take ſhelter among the *Franks*, his countrymen; but being perſuaded by his friends not to truſt a people ſo remarkable for their ficklenefs and treachery, he determined, for his own preſervation, to do what otherwiſe he would never have thought of; and accordingly aſſumed the purple, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor *Is forced to*
c by the troops under his command[l]. Some of his coins have reached us, on which *aſſume it in his*
he bears the title of *Auguſtus*, and the prænomen of *Flavius*, common, ſince *Conſtan-* *own defence.*
tine's time, to ſuch as had none of their own, eſpecially foreigners[m]. While theſe things paſſed in *Gaul*, *Dynames*, to ſtrengthen his accuſation againſt *Sylvanus*, forged a letter in the name of that general, and of *Malaricus*, to a tribune, deſiring him to get every thing ready, without explaining himſelf further. The tribune, being at a loſs about the meaning of it, ſent it to *Malaricus*, who, knowing it to be forged, complained aloud of the treachery, and, with the other *Franks*, demanded vengeance on thoſe who were by ſuch malicious contrivances endeavouring to prejudice the
d emperor againſt thoſe of their nation. This occaſioned an inquiry, and unravelled the whole ſcene of iniquity. The emperor, well appriſed of the innocence of *Syl-* *He is declared*
vanus and the malice of his accuſers, depoſed the prefect *Lampridius*, and even *innocent.*
ordered him, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, to be put to the torture, on which ſome of them owned the whole to be a mere calumny. They were, however, in the end all abſolved, ſo great was the power of their faction at court; and *Dynames* was even preferred to the government of *Hetruria*. As *Sylvanus* was declared innocent, they were all greatly ſurpriſed by the arrival of a meſſenger from *Gaul*, diſpatched to acquaint the emperor, that *Sylvanus* had actually aſſumed the title of emperor. The meſſenger arrived at *Milan* about the cloſe of the evening, and the
e emperor, thunder-ſtruck at the unexpected tidings, ſummoned a council the ſame night, the reſult of which was, that *Urſicinus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, Urſicinus *ſent*
ſhould be ſent forthwith into *Gaul*, the courtiers, who dreaded *Urſicinus* no leſs than *againſt him.*
Sylvanus, hoping by that means to get rid of one whom they hated, and perhaps of both. *Urſicinus* made what haſte he could to reach *Cologn*, that *Sylvanus*, ſuppoſing his revolt not to be yet known at court, might the more readily comply with the emperor's injunctions. For *Urſicinus* was charged with letters from the emperor to *Sylvanus*, confirming him in his poſt of general, injoining him to repair to court, and in the mean time deliver up the command of the army to *Urſicinus*. But *Urſicinus*, notwithſtanding the haſte he made, came too late, the news of *Sylva-*
f *nus*'s revolt being known at court having got to *Cologn* before him; which obliged him to change his meaſures, and pretend, that he had deſerted *Conſtantius*, and was come to ſhare with *Sylvanus* his ſucceſs or misfortunes, waiting in the mean time a favourable opportunity of diſpatching him. This was a dangerous expedient, and altogether unworthy of that greatneſs of ſoul which *Ammianus* ſo much admires in his hero. *Sylvanus* received him with extraordinary demonſtrations of kindneſs, freely opened all his thoughts to him, adviſed with him about the meaſures that were to be taken for their mutual ſecurity, and repoſed in him an intire confidence; which gave *Urſicinus* an opportunity of gaining over ſome of his guards with large promiſes, who

[l] Ammian. p. 39, 76. Julian. ad Athen. p. 503. & or. ii. p. 183. [m] Goltz. p. 131.

who early one morning forcing unexpectedly the gates of the palace, and entering sword in hand, met *Sylvanus*, while he was attempting to make his escape, and take sanctuary in a neighbouring church, and cut him in pieces, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor only twenty-eight days [n]. Thus fell one of the bravest and most deserving officers of the empire, whom the crafty malice of jealous courtiers, and the credulity of the emperor, had obliged in his own defence to assume the purple. He had served under *Magnentius*; but deserting him with a numerous body of cavalry under his command before the battle of *Mursa*, had ever after distinguished himself in the wars of *Constantius*, who, in regard of his eminent services, had raised him to the post of *magister peditum*, or general of the foot. But no merit or services, however great, are a sufficient antidote against the poisonous tongues of artful and insinuating courtiers, when they have once gained the confidence, and engrossed the favour, of a jealous, weak, and timorous prince. *Constantius* expressed an extraordinary joy at the news of *Sylvanus*'s death; but though he owned, that he had nothing more to fear, yet he proceeded with great rigour against such as had been any-ways concerned in his revolt. *Pemenes*, who had defended *Treves* against *Decentius*, and many other persons of distinction, were condemned and executed. The courtiers were for putting all the friends of *Sylvanus* to death, without distinction; but were therein opposed by the emperor, alledging that friendship ought not to be punished as a crime; nay, he ordered the effects and estate of the unhappy *Sylvanus* to be reserved for his son, who was then very young, and had been left by his father as an hostage at court, perceiving, when it was too late, that the malice of his enemies, and not his ambition, had prompted, and in a manner forced him, to revolt [o].

Sylvanus *slain by the treachery of* Ursicinus.

The empire in great danger.

The barbarians, whom the brave *Sylvanus* had driven out of *Gaul*, that is, the *Franks*, *Alemans*, and *Saxons*, no sooner heard the news of his death, than they broke into that province with greater fury than ever, and took and pillaged above forty cities, and among the rest *Cologn*, which they levelled with the ground [p]. At the same time, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, entering *Pannonia*, laid all waste before them [q]; and the *Persians* over-ran without opposition *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, *Prosper*, who had succeeded *Ursicinus*, and the prefect *Mausonianus*, being more intent upon pillaging than defending the countries committed to their care [r]. *Constantius*, apprised of the danger that threatened the empire, but not thinking it advisable to stir out of *Italy* himself, after various consultations, resolved in the end to raise his cousin *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*, to the dignity of *Cæsar*. This design was opposed by all the sycophants at court, who, extolling the emperor's prudence, conduct, and courage, told him, that he was capable of sustaining the burden of the empire alone, insinuating at the same time, that it was no-ways safe for him to raise *Julian* to that high station. But the empress *Eusebia*, interposing in favour of *Julian*, prevailed upon her husband to pursue his intentions. The emperor therefore, being returned to *Milan* before the thirty-first of *October* from a short progress, ordered *Julian* to quit his philosophical cloak, and gave him an apartment in the palace; and on the sixth of *November* having assembled the army, he ascended the tribunal, and placing *Julian* on his right hand, he acquainted the soldiers with his design of dignifying his cousin with the title and authority of *Cæsar*, and asked their consent. The army with one voice approved of his resolution; whereupon the emperor cloathed him with a purple robe, saluted him with the title of *Cæsar*, and of *most loving brother*; appointed him governor of *Gaul*, and, in committing that province to his care, told him, that he placed him over a stout army, not doubting but upon occasion he would signalize at their head his own courage, and be witness of theirs. This ceremony and speech were followed by loud acclamations, and great encomiums bestowed by the whole army on the emperor and the new *Cæsar*. A few days after *Constantius* gave him his sister *Helena* in marriage; and this new favour and mark of distinction was likewise owing to *Eusebia*, who, besides many other things of great value, presented the young prince on this occasion with a large and well-chosen library [s]. But at the same time his whole house was changed, the emperor pretending thereby to do him honour; but his real design was to remove all in whom he had any confidence: guards were placed at his apartment, not so much to defend as to watch him; all his letters were opened before they came to his hands, insomuch, that he

Julian *created* Cæsar.

He marries Helena, *the emperor's sister.*

[n] Ammian. l. xv. p. 38---42. Zonar. p. 17. [o] Ammian. p. 44. & Julian. or. i. & ii. p. 89, 183, 184. [p] Ammian. l. xv. p. 47. [q] Zos. p. 702. [r] Ammian. ibid. p. 57. [s] Ammian. p. 47---49. Zos. l. iii. p. 709. Julian, ad Athen. p. 504. Socr. l. ii. c. 34.

a he thought it adviſeable to deſire his beſt friends to forbear viſiting him, leſt they ſhould expoſe themſelves or him to danger[t]. Before he ſet out for *Gaul*, the emperor gave him inſtructions under his own hand, regulating his whole conduct, even the expences of his table; as if he had been a child, ſays *Ammianus*[u], ſent to ſchool. At the ſame time, he greatly reſtrained and curtailed his authority, injoining the generals who ſerved under him, to watch his actions with no leſs care than thoſe of the enemy, and inveſting one *Marcellus* with the command of the army who was ſent to ſucceed *Urſicinus*, though the latter was ordered to continue in *Gaul*, till the war was ended with the title of general, but without any command, the emperor being ſtill in ſome degree prejudiced againſt him[w]. *Julian* was, above all, ſtrictly injoined not to give any largeſſes to the army; and authors obſerve, that *Conſtantius* himſelf, contrary to
b cuſtom, gave none upon his promotion[x]. Several writers tell us, that the emperor ſent *Julian* into *Gaul* on purpoſe to deſtroy him[y]. But what others write ſeems to us more probable, *viz.* that he treated him thus on account of his youth, and want of experience, and to deprive him of all means of revolting, and ſetting up for himſelf. *Julian* ſet out from *Milan* on the firſt of *December*, the emperor himſelf accompanying him as far as *Pavia*, from whence he purſued his journey to the *Alps*, attended only by three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers. On his arrival at *Turin*, he was firſt acquainted with the loſs of *Cologn*, which had been kept concealed from the emperor. He arrived at *Vienne* before the end of the year, and was received by the people of that city and the neighbourhood, with extraordinary marks of joy[z]. While he
c was entering the city, an old woman, who had been long blind, cried out, if *Ammianus* is to be credited, that he would one day reſtore the temples of the gods[a].

His power gives the emperor jealouſy.

He is ſent into Gaul.

The following year, 356. *Conſtantius* took upon him his eighth conſulſhip, and choſe *Julian* for his collegue. The latter paſſed the winter at *Vienne*, deliberating about the operations of the enſuing campaign. During his ſtay there, he received intelligence, that the city of *Autun* was beſieged by the barbarians, but defended with great bravery by the veterans, who had repulſed the enemy when they were already ſcaling the walls, which had encouraged the other troops to make a vigorous ſally. However *Julian*, having aſſembled what forces he could, marched to the relief of the place; but finding the ſiege raiſed, from *Autun* he went in purſuit
d of the barbarians to *Auxerre*, croſſing with no ſmall danger thick woods, and from *Auxerre* to *Troies*. On his march he found himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, killed great numbers of them, and took ſome priſoners. From *Troies* he haſtened to *Rheims*, where the main body of the army, commanded by *Marcellus*, waited his arrival. Leaving *Rheims*, he took his rout towards *Decempagi*, now *Dieuze*, on the *Seille* in *Lorrain*, with a deſign to fall upon the *Germans*, who were buſied in ravaging that country. But the enemy, taking advantage of a dark and wet night, attacked his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two legions, had not the reſt of the army, alarmed at the ſudden noiſe, turned back to
e their aſſiſtance. The *Germans* themſelves were defeated a few days after, though not with great loſs, in the neighbourhood of *Brocromagus*, now *Brumt*, in *Alſace*, between *Straſbourg* and *Haguenau*[b]. This ſmall victory opened him a way to *Cologn*, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and entered, after it had been ten months in their hands. The barbarians had neglected to fortify it; but *Julian* ordered the ancient fortifications to be with all ſpeed repaired, and the houſes rebuilt[c]. *Libanius* adds, that he re-eſtabliſhed another great city in that country, perhaps *Tongres* or *Treves*, which had been often attacked by the barbarians, and was reduced to a miſerable condition. During his ſtay at *Cologn*, one of the kings of the *Franks*,
f dreading his arms, ſent deputies to him to ſue for a peace; but *Julian* granted him only a ſhort truce. Having repaired the city and fortifications of *Cologn*, he removed to *Buſle* to ſupport the emperor, who was making war upon the *Germans* in *Rhætia*, and to prevent their eſcaping from him into *Gaul*. He continued there till winter, when he retired to the city of *Sens*, and there took up his quarters[d]. This campaign proved, according to the account which *Ammianus* gives us of it, very glorious for *Julian*. But the many advantages which he is ſaid to have gained, muſt either have

Autun *beſieged by the barbarians; who raiſe the ſiege.*

Cologn *retaken by* Julian, *and rebuilt.*

[t] Julian. ad Athen. p. 509. [u] Ammian. l. xx. p. 168. [w] Idem, l. xvi. p. 60. [x] Idem, l. xxii. p. 206. [y] Eunap. c. 5. p. 76. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. Sozom. l. v. c. 2. p. 596. [z] Ammian. l. xv. p. 50. Liban. or. xii. p. 270. [a] Ammian. l. xv. p. 50. [b] Idem, p. 59. Liban. or. ix. p. 237. & or. xii. p. 271. [c] Ammian. p. 40. Julian. p. 512. [d] Ammian. p. 61. 72.

Authors disagree about his first campaign.

have been leſs conſiderable than they are repreſented by that writer, or counterbalanced by equal loſſes, ſince *Julian* himſelf writes, that his firſt campaign proved unſucceſsful, and that during this ſummer he performed nothing worthy of notice [d]. Beſides, we ſhall ſee him the next winter beſieged in *Sens* by the barbarians, and obliged to fly before them, which he himſelf owns [e]; but *Ammianus* has paſſed it over in ſilence. *Libanius* ſays, that the greateſt victory he gained this year was over himſelf, in reſtraining his courage, and bearing with patience the evil offices of thoſe about him, who, inſtead of ſeconding his great deſigns, made it their whole buſineſs to thwart them, in compliance with their private inſtructions, and to humour the jealous temper of *Conſtantius* [f]. The ſame writer adds, ſpeaking, we ſuppoſe, like an orator, that *Julian* was allowed not to act, but only to ſhew himſelf [g]. As for *Conſtantius*, it appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, that he did not ſtir from *Milan* till after the eleventh of *April* [h], and then took a progreſs into *Illyricum* [i]. He was returned to *Milan* on the twenty-ninth of *October*, as appears from a law bearing that date, which confirms to the clergy of the city of *Rome* all their privileges [k]. He left *Milan* ſoon after to make war upon the *Germans*, who had for their kings the two brothers *Gondomadus* and *Vadomarus*. He paſſed the *Rhine*, entered their dominions on the ſide of *Rhætia*, and meeting with no oppoſition, laid waſte their country far and wide. This obliged them to ſue for peace, which the emperor readily granted, and then returned to *Milan*, the uſual place of his reſidence [l]. While the emperor was abroad on this expedition, the empreſs *Euſebia* viſited the city of *Rome*, and was received there by the ſenate, who went out to meet her, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. During her ſtay in that metropolis, ſhe gave great largeſſes to the people, and upon her departure made rich preſents to the heads of the tribes [m]. The ſame year, *Conſtantius*, exerting his zeal for the doctrine of *Arius*, drove *Athanaſius* from his ſee at *Alexandria*; and put *Georgius*, an *Arian* in his room. He likewiſe baniſhed the orthodox biſhops, *Hilarius* of *Poitiers*, and *Rhodanes* of *Toulouſe*. But as for *Athanaſius*, he perſecuted him even beyond the limits of the empire, writing letters againſt him to the princes of *Auximus* in *Ethiopia*, where he imagined the perſecuted biſhop had taken ſhelter. The ſame year, the emperor enacted two remarkable laws, the one, dated the twentieth of *February*, condemning thoſe to death who ſhould for the future ſacrifice, or pay any manner of worſhip, to idols [n]; the other, dated the eighth of *March*, declaring the effects of condemned perſons, except in caſes of magic or treaſon, to belong to their children and relations within the third degree [o]. But this law the emperor himſelf revoked in two years after [p].

Conſtantius *obliges the* Germans *to ſue for peace.*

Forbids, upon pain of death the worſhipping of idols.

The next conſuls were, *Conſtantius* the ninth time, and *Julian* the ſecond. The latter had taken up his winter-quarters at *Sens*, as we have related above, and had kept with him but a ſmall number of troops, the reſt being diſperſed about the country for the convenience of their quarters in a province ſo often ravaged and laid waſte. The barbarians, appriſed of this, came in great numbers, and laid ſiege to the place, hoping to take *Julian* himſelf priſoner. But he, with the few forces he had, made ſo vigorous a defence, that the enemy, deſpairing of ever being able to reduce the town, drew off their forces, and retired, after they had lain a whole month before it. All this while *Marcellus*, the commander in chief, never ſtirred to reſcue *Julian*, or relieve the place, though he was quartered in the neighbourhood [q]. *Ammianus* tells us, that for this neglect he was by the emperor deprived of his command, and confined to *Sardica*, the place of his nativity [r]. But *Julian* ſays only, that *Conſtantius* began to ſuſpect him, and look upon him as unequal to the command with which he was inveſted [s]. *Libanius* writes, that he dreaded the barbarians, oppreſſed the ſubjects of the empire, treated *Julian* himſelf with great haughtineſs, thwarted all his deſigns, and upon his removal repaired to *Milan* to diſcredit him with the emperor. But *Julian*, well acquainted with the malice of the one, and the jealouſy and credulity of the other, ſent the eunuch *Eutherius*, his great chamberlain, to anſwer ſuch things as might be alledged againſt him; which he did ſo effectually, that the emperor remained fully ſatisfied with the conduct of *Julian* [t]. *Ammian* beſtows great encomiums upon this eunuch. Not long after *Conſtantius* declared *Julian*

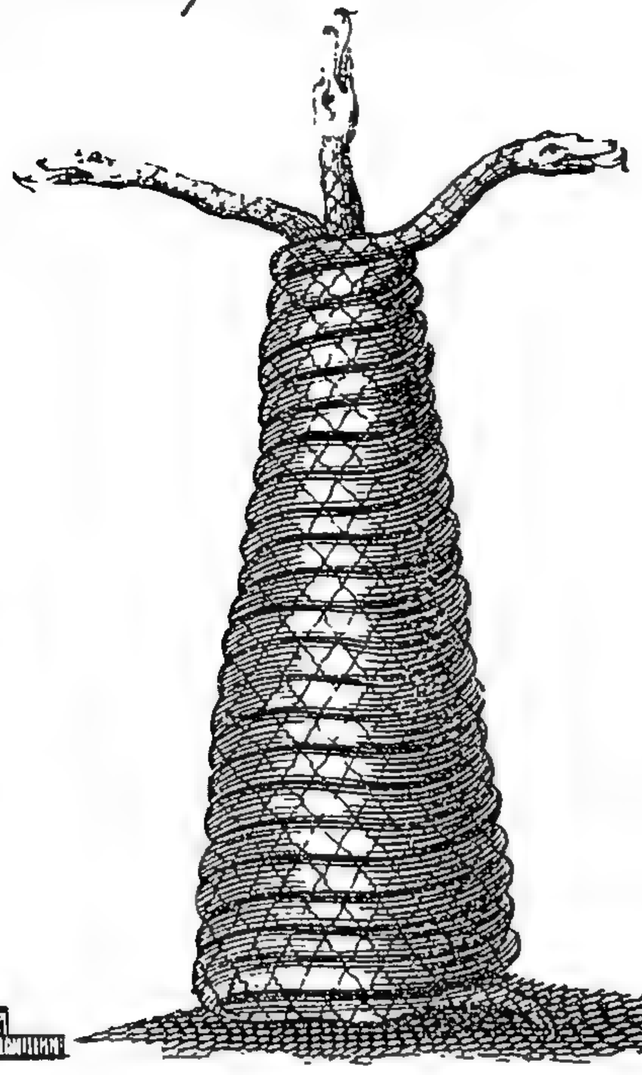
Julian *beſieged in* Sens.

[d] Julian. ad Athen. p. 510. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Liban. or. ix. p. 237. [g] Idem, or. xii. p. 271. [h] Cod. Theodoſ chron. p. 55. [i] Athanas. ſolit. p. 841. [k] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 13. p. 39. [l] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 77, &c. Julian. or. iii. p. 240. [m] Julian or. iii. p. 240, 241. [n] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 6. p. 266. [o] Ibid. l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 2. p. 329. [p] Ibid. leg. 4. p. 331. [q] Julian. p. 510. Ammian. p. 61. [r] Ammian. ibid. p. 64, 66. [s] Julian. p. 511. [t] Ammian. p. 64, 65.

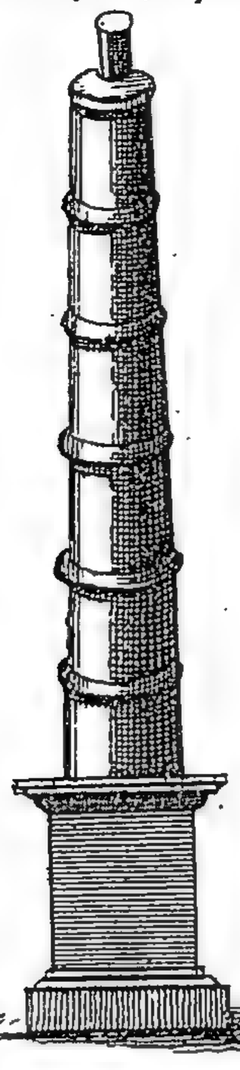
THE HISTORICAL PILLAR
from *Du Fresne Lib. 1 Pag. 9.*



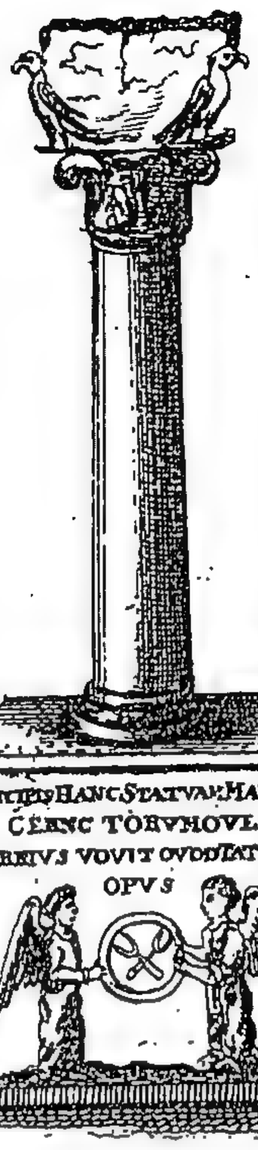
The Serpentine Pillar



The Porphyry Pillar



The Pillar of the Emp: Marcian



The Hippodrom *with the* Thebean Obelisk *and* Engines *by which it was erected*

P. Simms

a *Julian* commander in chief of all the forces in *Gaul*, being perſuaded to it either by the empreſs, or the eunuch *Eutherius*, or probably by both [u]. At the ſame time he appointed *Severus*, an officer of great experience, and of a quite different temper from *Marcellus*, to command under him. Upon his arrival in *Gaul*, *Julian*, who received him with great joy, raiſed new troops, and ſupplied them with arms, which he luckily found in an old arſenal [w]. This year *Conſtantius* ſentenced to death a great many perſons convicted of having conſulted the magicians, and publiſhed a law forbidding, on pain of death, any one to have recourſe to the augurs, aruſpices, or any other diviners whatſoever [x]. By another law, dated the fourth of *December*, he condemned all magicians to be devoured by the wild beaſts [y]. This year, the emperor

b took a progreſs to *Rome*, which he had never yet ſeen, with the empreſs *Euſebia*, and his ſiſter *Helena*, the wife of *Julian*. He entered the metropolis of the empire on the twenty-eighth of *April*, in a gilt chariot, adorned with an incredible number of precious ſtones, being attended by the ſenate, and the whole nobility, who came out in their robes and richeſt apparel to meet him. The reader will find a very particular account of his triumphal entry in *Ammianus*, who deſcribes it at length [z]. He was wonderfully taken with the grandeur and magnificence of the place, with the multitude of the people, with the loftineſs of the buildings; but chiefly admired the temple of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, the public baths, the amphitheatre, *Pompey*'s theatre, and the ſquare of *Trajan*. He is ſaid to have complained of fame, far exceeding

c truth in other things, but coming ſhort of it in what related to *Rome*. He harangued both the people and the ſenate, the former from the roſtra, and the latter in the ſenate-houſe. He is thought to have celebrated in that great metropolis the thirty-fifth year of his reign, reckoning from 323. when he was created *Cæſar*; and it was perhaps on occaſion of that ſolemnity that he ordered public ſports to be exhibited, not only in *Rome*, but in all the other cities of *Italy* [a]. During his ſtay at *Rome*, he was preſented with golden crowns of an extraordinary weight by ſeveral cities, and among the reſt by the city of *Conſtantinople*, which had appointed *Themiſtius* to preſent it; but he falling ſick, the diſcourſe, which he had compoſed for the occaſion, was ſent to the emperor, who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he ordered

d a ſtatue to be erected in honour of the orator; which prompted him to write a ſecond diſcourſe or panegyric [b]. The emperor, deſiring to add ſomething of his own to the ornaments of the city, gave orders for the conveying of an obeliſk thither, which had been removed by his father *Conſtantine* from *Heliopolis* in *Egypt* with that deſign, and had been carried as far as *Alexandria*. But, that prince dying in the mean time, it ſtill remained there. *Conſtantius* therefore ordered it to be brought to *Rome*, where it was with much difficulty ſet up in the *Circus Maximus* about the beginning of the following year [c]. This is the obeliſk which was erected in *Rome* in the pontificate of *Sixtus* V [d]. *Conſtantius* would not enter the place, where the ſenate aſſembled, till the ancient altar of *victory* was removed from thence, leſt he ſhould defile his

e eyes, ſays St. *Ambroſe* [e], with the unhallowed ſight of an altar conſecrated to the infernal ſpirits. He was greatly taken with the pleaſures and diverſions of *Rome*, ſays *Ammianus* [f]; but was ſoon obliged to abandon them, upon intelligence that the *Suevians* had entered *Rhætia*, the *Quadians Valeria*, and the *Sarmatians Lower Pannonia* and *Upper Mœſia*. He therefore left *Rome* on the twenty-ninth of *May*, after he had been there about a month, and was at *Milan*, if no miſtake has crept into the code, on the third of *June*, and likewiſe on the thirteenth of *July* [g]; whence we may conclude, that the barbarians withdrew of their own accord. While *Conſtantius* was at *Milan*, he received letters from *Muſonianus*, prefect of the eaſt, informing him, that *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, was engaged on the moſt remote

f frontiers of his kingdom in a mighty war with the *Chionitæ* and other people; that he had ſuffered great loſſes, and conſequently would, in all likelihood, hearken to a treaty of peace and amity with the *Romans*, which *Muſonianus* had taken care to propoſe to *Tamſapor*, the *Perſian* general on the frontiers of *Meſopotamia*, who had written on that ſubject to his maſter. Theſe negotations came to nothing, as will appear anon. However, the emperor ſent for *Urſicinus*, who was ſtill in *Gaul*, in order to adviſe with him about the moſt proper method of dealing with the *Perſians*.

He is created commander in chief of all the forces in Gaul.

Conſtantius *takes a progreſs to* Rome.

Is taken with the grandeur and magnificence of the city.

He returns to Milan.

Urſicinus *recalled from* Gaul, *and ſent into the eaſt.*

[u] Zos. l. iii. p. 703. AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 72. [w] Zos. l. iii. p. 704. [x] Cod. Theodoſ. ix. tit. 16. l. iv. p. 119. [y] Ibid. leg. p. 121, 122. [z] AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71, &c. [a] AMMIAN. ibid. [b] THEMIST. or. iv. p. 53—57. [c] AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 92. [d] BARON. ann. 357. [e] AMBROS. rel. ſym. p. 196. [f] AMMIAN. p. 72. [g] Cod. Theodoſ. chr. p. 56, 57.

ſians. In the mean time, *Conſtantius*, leaving *Milan* about the middle of *July*, went a to *Trent*, and from thence into *Illyricum*, viſited the frontiers of the empire towards the *Danube*, and conferred with the chiefs of the *Quadians* and other neighbouring nations, who aſſured him of their friendſhip. *Urſicinus* found him at *Sirmium*, and was, after ſeveral conferences, ſent by him into the eaſt, with the character of general, and the ſame power with which he had been inveſted before his diſgrace [h]. The emperor was at *Milan* on the fourth and ſixth of *December*; but returned to *Sirmium* before the eighteenth of *December* [i], and, according to *Ammianus* [k], paſſed the winter there.

To return to *Gaul:* The emperor, reſolved by all means to put an end to the dreadful devaſtations committed there chiefly by the *Alemans*, wrote to *Julian*, to b

Barbatio *ſent into* Gaul.

march with all his forces againſt them, and at the ſame time ſent *Barbatio*, who had been created general of the foot in the room of *Sylvanus*, out of *Italy*, with a body of twenty-five or thirty thouſand men, in order to ſurpriſe and incloſe the enemy between the two armies. *Barbatio* was generally eſteemed a good officer [l]; but all his bravery conſiſted, according to *Ammianus* [m], only in words. He had betrayed *Gallus*, under whom he ſerved, and ſtudied how to check the progreſs of *Julian*; who no ſooner heard of his arrival at *Baſle*, than he took the field, having with him only thirteen

The Germans *attack* Lions *in vain, and are cut in pieces by* Julian.

thouſand men: but the *Leti*, a *German* nation, paſſing between the two armies, advanced as far as *Lions*, with a deſign to ſurpriſe and pillage that wealthy city. As they met with a warmer reception from the inhabitants than they expected, they gave c over all thoughts of taking the place, and contented themſelves with ravaging the country all round it. *Julian*, upon the firſt notice of what had happened, detached ſtrong parties to guard the paſſes, through which he knew they muſt return; by this means they were all cut off, except thoſe who marched near the camp of *Barbatio*, who was ſo far from cutting off their retreat, that he complained by a letter to *Conſtantius* of ſome officers for attempting it, who thereupon ordered them to be caſhiered. One of theſe was *Valentinian*, afterwards emperor [n]. The other barbarians either fortified themſelves in the countries which they had ſeized, ſtopping up all the avenues with huge trees, or took ſhelter in the iſlands formed by the *Rhine*. *Julian* reſolved, firſt to attack the latter, and with this view ſent to demand ſome boats of *Barbatio*, who, d

Barbatio *endeavours to thwart his deſigns.*

inſtead of complying with his juſt requeſt, immediately burnt all his boats, as he did on another occaſion the proviſions which had been ſent for both armies, after he had plentifully ſupplied his own. It is uncertain whether he behaved thus out of pique to *Julian*, or in compliance with private inſtructions from the emperor to thwart all his enterprizes [o]. Be that as it will, *Julian*, not in the leaſt ruffled or diſheartened at the unaccountable conduct of *Barbatio*, perſuaded ſome of the moſt reſolute among his men to wade over to one of the iſlands, where they killed all the *Germans* who had taken ſhelter there; and ſeizing their boats, purſued the ſlaughter in ſeveral other iſlands, till the enemy, abandoning them all, retired with their wives, and what booty they could carry, to their reſpective countries [p]. After this, e

Julian *rebuilds* Saverne.

he undertook the rebuilding of the *Tres-tabernæ*, a fort near *Straſbourgh* in *Alſace*, now known by the name of *Saverne*, which the enemy had demoliſhed. As it was ſo ſituated as to curb the nations beyond the *Rhine*, and prevent their irruptions into *Gaul*, *Julian* not only repaired the ancient fortifications, but added new works to them, ſtored the place with proviſions for a whole year, and left a numerous gariſon in it, to keep the neighbouring country in awe [q]. While *Julian* was buſied in this work, *Barbatio* was employed in laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine:* but the enemy, appriſed of this, threw a great number of huge trees into the river, which, being carried by the ſtream againſt the boats, ſunk ſeveral of them, and parted the

Barbatio *put to flight by the barbarians.*

reſt. *Barbatio*, ſeeing his work ruined, thought it adviſeable to retire; but the f enemy falling unexpectedly upon him in his retreat, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took moſt of his baggage, laid waſte the neighbouring country, and returned in triumph, loaded with booty. Hereupon *Barbatio*, putting his troops into winter-quarters, as if the campaign had been over, though it was then but harveſt-time, returned to court, to make war there upon *Julian* with his calumnies and ill offices [r]. The barbarians, elated with this ſucceſs, aſſembled in great numbers, under the banners of

[h] Ammian, ibid. p. 72. Julian. ad Athen. p. 513. [i] Cod. Theod. p. 57. [k] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 103. [l] Liban. orat. xii. p. 272. [m] Ammian. p. 73. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem p. 73. 74. [p] Idem ibid. & Liban. orat. xii. p. 273. [q] Julian. p. 512. Liban. p. 273. [r] Ammian. p. 75.

a of *Chnodomarius*, a prince of great renown among them, and of ſix other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Straſbourgh*. Being informed there by a deſerter, that *Julian* had only thirteen thouſand men with him, *Chnodomarius* ſent him a haughty and menacing meſſage, commanding him to abandon forthwith the country which the *Germans* had conquered by their courage and valour [s]. *Libanius* adds, that the meſſenger produced to him the letters of *Conſtantius*, promiſing to relinquiſh to them what countries or cities they ſhould ſeize in *Gaul* [t]. By ſuch promiſes *Conſtantius* is ſuppoſed to have ſtirred them up againſt the tyrant *Magnentius*. But *Julian*, paying no regard to them, detained the meſſenger as a ſpy, and purſued the works he had begun at *Saverne*, till he received intelligence, that the enemy were
b advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, leaving *Saverne*, he marched directly againſt them. When he was about half way, he halted, with a deſign to reſt his men, and put off the battle to the next day; but both officers and ſoldiers demanding to be led without delay againſt the enemy, he purſued his march, and found the *Germans*, who had been informed of his approach, ready to receive him. They were thirty-five thouſand ſtrong, headed by ſeven kings, ten princes, and many other lords of great diſtinction. Both armies engaged with great reſolution and intrepidity, and the victory continued long doubtful; the *Roman* cavalry even gave way, nor could *Julian*, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to rally and return to the charge: but the vigorous reſiſtance made by the foot ſo diſheartened
c the enemy, that, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuoſity; which the *Romans* perceiving, they made a laſt effort; and charging the barbarians, already quite ſpent, put them to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. Great numbers of them threw themſelves into the *Rhine*, which was in their rear, and were drowned. *Chnodomarius* himſelf was taken in a wood, and preſented to *Julian* in the ſight of the whole army, who thereupon ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*; which he rejected with great indignation, telling his ſoldiers, That the glory of the action was chiefly owing to *Conſtantius*, under whoſe auſpices they had fought [u]. He loſt in the battle only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the *Germans* ſix, or,
d as others will have it, eight, thouſand men were killed in the field; but a great number of dead bodies were ſeen floating on the river [w]. *Zoſimus* writes, that ſixty thouſand of the enemy were killed on the ſpot, and an equal number drowned; but he muſt have been miſled by bad memoirs, which make us queſtion the truth of what he adds, *viz.* that, after the battle, *Julian* obliged ſix hundred of his horſemen, who had fled, to appear before the whole army in the apparel of women [x]. The battle of *Straſbourgh* is famous in hiſtory. *Julian* himſelf ſtyles it a ſucceſsful action, which reſtored *Gaul* to its ancient liberty [y]. *Mamertinus* ſays, that, by this ſingle battle, the war was ended, and *Germany* ruined [z]. It is at leaſt certain, that the barbarians were intirely driven out of *Gaul*. This memorable battle was fought in
e the plains near *Straſbourgh*, when the corn was ripe, and the moon in the laſt quarter [a]. *Julian* aſcribed the whole glory of it to *Conſtantius*, and immediately ſent his royal captive *Chnodomarius* to him, whom he had treated with great reſpect, looking upon him as an inſtance of the inſtability of all human grandeur. *Conſtantius* ſent him to *Rome*, where he died ſoon after a natural death [b]. This victory was greatly leſſened by the ſycophants at court, and all the other actions of *Julian* turned into ridicule; which, however, was leſs prejudicial to him, than if they had extolled and magnified his exploits to a ſuſpicious, weak, and timorous prince. *Conſtantius* was not aſhamed to aſcribe the whole glory of this great action to himſelf, as appears from an edict publiſhed about this time, wherein he ſpeaks of himſelf as if he had fought
f at the head of his army, without ſo much as mentioning the name of *Julian* [c]. *Aurelius Victor*, who wrote about the latter end of his reign, ſpeaks in the ſame ſtrain [d]; and *Themiſtius*, in magnifying his victories over the *Germans*, and the valour with which he delivered *Gaul* from their inroads, and reſtrained them within their ancient limits, quotes the letters which the emperor himſelf had ſent to the ſenate of *Conſtantinople* [e]. *Julian*'s firſt care, after the battle, was to cauſe all the dead to be buried, without diſtinction of friend or enemy. Having performed this pious office, he returned

Julian marches againſt them.

The battle of Argentoratum *or* Straſbourg.

The Germans *intirely defeated.*

Conſtantius *aſſumes to himſelf the whole glory of this action.*

[s] Idem, l. xvi. p. 75, 76. [t] Liban. orat. xii. p. 269. [u] Ammian. p. 84, 85. Liban. orat. x. p. 237. Julian. ad Athen. p. 512. [w] Ammian. ibid. [x] Zos. l. iii. p. 704. [y] Ammian. l. xx. p. 160. [z] Panegyr. xi. p. 223. [a] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 78. [b] Idem, l. xvii. p. 103. [c] Idem, l. xvi. p. 86. [d] Aur. Vict. p. 528. [e] Themist. or. p. 57.

returned to *Saverne*, to finiſh the works begun there, and then advanced with all a
his army to *Mayence*, where he built a bridge over the river, and entered *Germany*, having with much-ado prevailed upon his army to follow him. The *Germans*, alarmed at the boldneſs of the young general, ſent deputies to ſue for peace, and almoſt at the ſame time others to threaten him and his army with immediate deſtruction, if they did not forthwith retire; but the brave commander, deſpiſing their menaces, continued ravaging their country till after the equinox; and then the ſnow preventing him from advancing farther, he began to repair the fort of *Trajan*, which ſome take to be the caſtle of *Cromburgh*, about three or four leagues from *Francfort*. This undertaking alarmed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that they ſent new deputies to ſue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms; but a truce was granted b
them for ten months, upon their promiſing to ſtore with proviſions the fort which was building in their country, in order to curb and awe them [f]. After this, he returned to *Gaul* with a great number of captives; but being informed on his march, that ſome *Franks*, having ravaged the country about *Rheims* during his abſence, had ſhut themſelves up in two caſtles on the *Meuſe*, he marched againſt them, and obliged
Julian *obliges ſome* Franks *to ſurrender, and ſends them to the emperor.*
them to ſurrender, after they had defended themſelves with great bravery for the ſpace of fifty-four days; that is, the greateſt part of *December* and all *February*. The priſoners were all ſent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops. *Julian*, having thus ended this long and glorious campaign, put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in *Paris*, which we find about this time firſt c
mentioned in hiſtory. It was then only a caſtle ſituated on the iſland formed by the *Seyne*, which is now but a very ſmall part of that great metropolis [g]. This year the
Some laws of Conſtantius.
emperor enacted a law, dated the third of *July*, commanding the effects of thoſe to be confiſcated, who ſhould renounce the *Chriſtian* to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion; by another he obliges all ſenators to reſide at *Rome*, or in the neighbourhood, many of them having retired from that metropolis, and ſettled in *Achaia*, *Macedon*, and the other provinces of *Illyricum*, on account of the great expences attending that dignity at *Rome*. By a third, addreſſed to *Felix* biſhop of *Rome*, he exempts all merchandizing eccleſiaſtics, their wives, children, and domeſtics, from every impoſition, whether ordinary or extraordinary, ſuppoſing the gains they made to be applied by d
them to the relief of the poor.

The next conſuls were *Cerealis*, uncle to *Gallus Cæſar* on the mother's ſide, and *Datianus*, who, though of a mean deſcent, bore the title of *comes* in 349. and was afterwards raiſed to the rank of a patrician [h]. We have obſerved above, that the *Perſian* general *Tamſapor* had been perſuaded by *Muſonianus*, prefect of the eaſt, to write to his maſter about renewing the ancient treaties with the *Romans*; but as *Sapor* had not only concluded a peace with the *Chionitæ*, but entered into an alliance with them before *Tamſapor*'s letters came to his hands, in anſwer to the propoſals tranſmitted to him by that general, he wrote a haughty letter to *Conſtantius*, which he
Embaſſies from Sapor *to* Conſtantius, *and from* Conſtantius *to* Sapor.
ſent by one *Narſes*, with preſents for the emperor. The contents of the letter were, e
that he might lawfully inſiſt upon the emperor's yielding to him all the countries beyond the river *Strymon* in *Macedon*; but leſt his demands ſhould ſeem unreaſonable, he would be ſatisfied with *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*, which, with the utmoſt injuſtice, had been taken from his grandfather *Narſes*. He added, that, unleſs they were reſtored, he was determined to do himſelf juſtice, and try whether he could recover them by force of arms. In this letter *Sapor* ſtyled himſelf *king of kings*, *brother of the ſun and moon*, &c. *Narſes*, who was charged to deliver it to the emperor, arrived at *Antioch* about the end of the preceding year, where *Themiſtius* ſaw him; and, after having reſted ſome time there, purſued his journey to *Conſtantinople*, which he entered with great pomp on the twenty-third of *February* of the preſent year 358. From f
Conſtantinople he repaired to *Sirmium*, where the emperor then was, and, in a public audience, preſented to him *Sapor*'s letter, wrapped up in a piece of white ſilk. *Conſtantius*, without entering into any negotiation with him, wrote back to *Sapor*, that as he had maintained the *Roman* dominions in their full extent while he was poſſeſſed only of the eaſt, he could not ſuffer them to be curtailed now that he was maſter of the whole empire. He added, that he was ready and deſirous to conclude a peace with the *Perſian* monarch, provided it were upon honourable terms. With this letter he

[f] Ammian. p. 68. Liban. orat. xii. p. 277. [g] Ammian. p. 240. in fol. [h] Philostorg. l. viii. c. 8. p. 113. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 8.

a he diſmiſſed *Narſes*; but a few days after ſent a ſolemn embaſſy into *Perſia*, with letters and preſents for the king, being deſirous at leaſt to put off the war till he had ſecured the northern provinces againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, that he might employ all the forces of the empire againſt ſo powerful and formidable an enemy. The *Roman* embaſſadors found *Sapor* at *Cteſiphon*; but not being able to prevail upon him to abate any thing of his demands, they returned about the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*. Count *Lucillianus* and *Procopius*, who uſurped the ſovereignty in the reign of *Valens*, were ſent to the *Perſian* court ſoon after, to amuſe that warlike prince with new propoſals; but he, inſtead of hearkening to them, kept the embaſſadors ſome time under cloſe confinement, threatening to treat them as ſpies, but in the end diſmiſſed them unhurt [i]. While the emperor reſided at *Sirmium*, the *Quadi* and *Sar-*
b *matians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mœſia*; and the *Juthunges*, a *German* nation, into *Rhætia*. The latter were defeated and driven back by *Barbatio*; but the emperor marched in perſon againſt the former ſoon after the vernal equinox; and having croſſed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, laid waſte the territories of the *Sarmatians*, who thereupon came in great numbers, with the *Quadi*, pretending to ſue for peace; but their true deſign was to ſurpriſe the *Romans*, who, ſuſpecting it, fell upon them ſword in hand, and cut them all to a man in pieces. This obliged the reſt to ſue for peace in good earneſt; which they obtained, upon their ſetting at liberty the priſoners they had taken, and delivering up hoſtages [k]. The emperor then marched againſt
c the *Limigantes*, that is, thoſe ſlaves, who, in 334. had driven the *Sarmatians* out of their country, and ſeized it for themſelves, as we have related elſewhere. They too had made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories; but, upon the approach of the army, came in great numbers to meet the emperor, pretending to ſubmit; but prepared to fall upon him unexpectedly, if an opportunity offered. The emperor, obſerving their ſurly looks, and diſtruſting them, aſcended his tribunal, attended by the chief officers of the army, and his guards, in order to acquaint them with his pleaſure. While he was ſpeaking to them, his troops, purſuant to their private orders, inſenſibly ſurrounded them on all ſides. When the emperor had done, the *Limigantes*, diſſatisfied with the conditions he had offered them, laid their hands on
d their ſwords; which being obſerved by the *Romans*, who watched all their motions, they fell upon them at once, and began the ſlaughter. The *Limigantes*, finding it impoſſible to make their eſcape, made with great fury towards the tribunal; but were repulſed by the guards forming themſelves into the ſhape of a wedge, and all to a man cut in pieces, not one of them deigning to aſk quarter. After this, the *Romans* entering their country on one ſide, and the *Sarmatians*, their ancient maſters, with the *Taïfales*, on the other, and deſtroying all with fire and ſword, they were obliged in the end to comply with the only condition the emperor offered them, which was, to quit their country, and remove to a more diſtant place, that they might not be tempted to infeſt the empire anew. *Conſtantius* reſtored the country to
e the *Sarmatians*, its ancient owners, twenty-four years after they had been driven from it; appointed one of their nation, by name *Zizais*, to rule over them with the title of king, and declared them a free people [l]. For theſe exploits the army ſaluted *Conſtantius* with the ſurname of *Sarmaticus*, who ſoon after, that is, about the end of *October*, returned to *Sirmium*, which he entered in triumph, and put his troops into winter-quarters [m].

The Quadi *and* Sarmatians *overcome by* Conſtantius

The Limigantes *driven out by him, and the country reſtored to the* Sarmatians.

In the mean time, *Julian*, having ſpent the firſt months of this year at *Paris*, in regulating the taxes paid by the province, ſo as to find the neceſſary ſupplies, without laying any new burdens on the people, already quite drained and exhauſted, took the field as ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, with a deſign to conquer the *Franks*,
f before the truce which he had granted to the *Alemans* was expired. The *Franks* were at this time divided into ſeveral tribes or clans; but the moſt powerful among them was that of the *Salii*, who, being driven by the *Saxons*, according to *Zoſimus* [n], from the lands they poſſeſſed in *Germany*, had ſettled in *Batavia*; that is, in the iſlands formed by the ſeveral branches of the *Rhine*, and in *Toxandria*, which country began, according to the beſt modern geographers, about a league from *Maſtricht*, and extended about twenty-five leagues along the *Meuſe*, where ſtand at preſent the cities of *Boiſleduc*, *Breda*, and *Antwerp* [o]. Againſt theſe *Franks Julian* marched firſt, and

[i] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. & l. xvii. p. 94. Themist. orat. iv. p. 57. Zonar. p. 17. Petr. legat. p. 28. [k] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 103, 104. [l] Idem, p. 106—112. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Zos. l. iii. p. 707. [o] Notit. Gall. p. 558.

and was already arrived at *Tongres*, when he met their deputies on their journey to *Paris*, where they ſuppoſed they ſhould find him. They had been ſent to beg he would ſuffer them to remain as friends in the country which they poſſeſſed. *Julian*, upon ſome difficulties which he ſtarted, ſent them back for more particular inſtructions. They imagined, that he deſigned to wait their return at *Tongres*; but they were no ſooner gone, than he followed them; and having entered their country, and obliged them to ſubmit, he allotted them lands in *Gaul*, and incorporated great numbers of them into his cavalry [p]. He then marched againſt the *Chamavi*, another nation of *Franks*, who had ſettled in *Gaul*; and having overcome them in battle, and taken many of them priſoners, he obliged them to retire beyond the *Rhine*; whence they ſent deputies to ſue for peace, which he granted them upon ſuch terms as he thought fit to preſcribe. Having thus reduced the *Salii* and *Chamavi*, he rebuilt three forts on the *Meuſe*, which the barbarians had demoliſhed; but wanting proviſions, in a country ſo often ravaged by the enemy, to ſtore them, to ſupply his army, and to maintain the many captives, whom he had obliged the enemy to ſet at liberty, he ordered ſix or eight hundred veſſels, as we read in *Zoſimus*, to be built in *Britain*, for the conveying of corn from thence into *Gaul*. *Julian* continued in the country of the *Chamavi*, till the truce he had granted to the *Alemans* was expired; and then laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*, he entered their country, putting all to fire and ſword. Hereupon two of their kings, *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, came in perſon to him, and obtained a peace, upon their promiſing to ſet at liberty all the captives they had taken, to ſupply a certain quantity of corn when required, and to furniſh wood, iron, and carriages for the repairing of the cities which they had ruined. The priſoners, whom he reſcued out of the hands of the barbarians during this campaign, amounted to twenty thouſand and upwards [q]. The campaign being thus ended, he put his troops into winter-quarters; but we are not told where he took up his own. This year, on the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, about ſix in the morning, a moſt dreadful earthquake was felt in *Aſia*, *Pontus*, and *Macedon*, which greatly damaged an hundred and fifty cities, and utterly ruined that of *Nicomedia*, where it was ſo ſudden and violent, that all the houſes were overturned at once, and the inhabitants to a man buried in the ruins. This calamity is deſcribed at length by *Ammianus* [r], by *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* [s], *Ephrem* of *Edeſſa*, who wrote an elegy on that ſubject [t], and *Libanius*, who bemoaned in an oration the deſtruction of a city, which he ſtyles the fifth of the empire for greatneſs, and inferior to none in beauty [u]. When *Julian* paſſed that way in 362. he could not refrain his tears, in comparing the condition it was in then, with that in which he had formerly ſeen it [w]. *Ariſtenetus*, who reſided there in quality of vicar; *Cecrops* biſhop of the place, and another biſhop, periſhed with the reſt; but not in the church, nor with many biſhops, as the pagans gave out, to inſult the chriſtians [x]. The church, which was a magnificent ſtructure, and had been built by *Conſtantine* about the year 330. underwent the ſame fate with the other edifices [y]. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the thirteenth of *July*, and addreſſed to *Taurus* prefect of *Italy*, declaring all magicians, aſtrologers, augurs, aruſpices, and pretenders to the art of divination, enemies to mankind; and ſuch of them as ſhall be found in the prince's court, guilty of treaſon, as giving the world occaſion to belive, that he ſuffers or countenances them. By the ſame law he orders the latter, whether diſcovered in his own palace, or in that of *Julian*, to be put to the rack, if they deny the charge, and ſpecifies the various kinds of tortures which he will have them to undergo, without any regard to their rank or quality [z]. Authors think, that, by this law, the emperor meant to drive theſe impoſtors from the court of *Julian*, who was ſuſpected of privately favouring them, and giving credit to their predictions [a].

Julian *overcomes the* Salii,

And the Chamavi.

He obliges the Alemans *to ſue for peace.*

Nicomedia *overturned by an earthquake*

A law againſt magicians, augurs, &c.

The following year 359. the two brothers *Euſebius* and *Hypatius* were conſuls, being raiſed to that dignity by the empreſs *Euſebia* their ſiſter [b]. *Ammianus* begins his hiſtory of this year with the exploits of *Julian* in *Gaul*, where he was buſied in erecting magazines, in viſiting the cities which had ſuffered moſt by the inroads of the barbarians, and giving proper orders for the rebuilding of their walls, and repair-

[p] Ammian. p. 99. Julian ad Athen. p. 514. [q] Jul. ibid. Ammian. p. 102. Liban. orat. xii. p. 280. Zos. p. 70. [r] Ammian. p. 97. [s] Greg. Nyſſ. p. 75. [t] Marc. chron. p. 66. [u] Liban. orat viii. p. 203. [w] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 219. [x] Soz. l. iv. c. 16. p. 559. [y] Philost. l. iv. c. 10. p. 70. [z] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 6. p. 124, 125. [a] Vide Baron. ad ann. 358. [b] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 113.

a ing their fortifications. After this, he aſſembled all his forces at *Mentz*, and paſſing the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, entered *Germany*, and advanced as far as a place or country called *Pallas*, where the territories of the *Alemans* and *Burgundians* ended, pillaging and laying waſte their country far and wide. There he was met by two kings, *Macrianus* and *Hariobaudus*, who were brothers, come in perſon to ſubmit to *Julian*, who granted them a peace, as he did ſoon after to three other kings, *Urias*, *Urſicinus*, and *Veſtralpus*, upon their promiſing to deliver up all the priſoners they had taken, and to furniſh a certain quantity of corn when required. After this, *Julian* left *Germany*, and, as the ſeaſon was already far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters, and retired himſelf to *Paris*[c]. To return to *Conſtantius*: That prince,

b having intercepted a letter to *Barbatio* from his wife *Aſſyria*, giving him ſome hopes of being raiſed one day to the ſovereignty, ordered them both to be executed. Many innocent perſons were involved in their ruin, and put to death, as privy to their deſigns. A tribune, by name *Valentine*, was ſeveral times racked in a moſt inhuman manner; but, as he conſtantly denied the charge, the emperor, convinced in the end of his innocence, to make him ſome amends, gave him the command of the troops in *Illyricum*[d]. Before the end of the winter, the emperor received intelligence, that the *Limigantes*, quitting the country in which they had been placed by him the preceding year, were advancing towards the borders of the empire. Hereupon, leaveing *Sirmium* early in the ſpring, he haſtened to the banks of the *Danube*, to prevent

c them from croſſing that river, and invading *Pannonia*. Upon his arrival he ſent deputies to them, deſiring to know what had induced them to abandon the country which had been allotted to them. The *Limigantes* anſwered in appearance with the greateſt ſubmiſſion imaginable, that they were willing to live as true ſubjects of the empire, in what part ſoever the emperor ſhould think fit to place them; but that the country, which they had abandoned, was altogether uninhabitable, as they were ready to demonſtrate, if the emperor would give them leave to croſs the river, and lay their complaints before him. *Conſtantius*, pleaſed with their propoſal, granted them their requeſt, and received them in the neighbourhood of *Acumincum*, which moſt geographers take to be the preſent town of *Kamanez* on the *Danube*, near *Peterwaradin*, in

d the territory of *Sirmium*. But while he was aſcending his tribunal, they unexpectedly fell upon his guards ſword in hand, and would have killed the emperor himſelf, had he not with much-ado ſaved himſelf by flight. Several of his guards were ſlain; but in the mean time the reſt of the troops, taking the alarm, flew to arms, ſurrounded the *Limigantes*, and cut them all to a man in pieces[e]. *Conſtantius* then returned to *Sirmium*, where he was on the twenty-ſecond of *May*, this year the eve of *Pentecoſt*; but ſoon after ſet out from thence for *Conſtantinople*, for he was on the eighteenth of *June* at *Singidunum* in *Mœſia*[f]. He paſſed the remaining part of this year at *Conſtan-*

tinople, ready to march, upon the firſt advice, againſt the *Perſians*. During his ſtay in that metropolis, he diſtinguiſhed it with a prefect or governor; an honour till this

c time peculiar to *Rome*. The firſt prefect of *Conſtantinople* was one *Honoratus*, inveſted with that dignity on the eleventh of *December*, according to *Idatius*, or of *September*, as we read in the chronicle of *Alexander*. He had before been prefect of *Gaul*[g]. This year the emperor diſpatched into the eaſt the ſecretary *Paulus Catena*, famous for his cruelty, to proſecute ſeveral perſons accuſed of having conſulted the oracle of an idol named *Beſa* in the city of *Abydus*, on the moſt diſtant borders of *Egypt*. *Modeſtus*, then count of the eaſt, and afterwards prefect, was appointed to judge the criminals, *Hermogenes*, who had ſucceeded *Muſonianus* in the office of prefect, being thought unfit for that commiſſion, on account of his mild and compaſſionate temper. *Modeſtus* eſtabliſhed his tribunal at *Scythopolis* in *Paleſtine*, whither perſons of both ſexes, and

f of every rank and condition, were daily dragged in crowds from all parts, and either confined to dungeons, or torn to pieces in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner on the rack, or publicly executed. *Ammianus* gives us a moſt frightful idea of this, as we may call it, inquiſition; but at the ſame time owns, that ſeveral perſons were cleared, and others puniſhed with far leſs ſeverity than was expected[h]. *Parnaſus*, who had been governor of *Egypt*, was condemned to loſe his head, for having conſulted an aſtrologer, by means of one *Ariſtophanes*; but *Modeſtus* ſoftened the rigour of that ſentence, and only ſent him into baniſhment; as he did *Simplicius* the ſon of *Philippus*, who had been

Julian *obliges ſeveral* German *nations to ſue for peace*

Barbatio *and ſeveral others executed.*

The treachery of the Limigantes.

They are all cut off.

Several perſons condemned for conſulting an oracle.

[c] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 113. & l. xx. p. 154. [d] Idem, l. xviii. p. 118. [e] Idem ibid.
[f] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 59 [g] Idem ibid. Socrat. l. ii. c. 37. p. 139. Soz. l. iv. c. 23. Chron. Alex. p. 682. [h] Ammian. l. xix. p. 150, 151.

been prefect, and conſul in 348. though accuſed of aſpiring at the empire. The latter was only baniſhed from his own country; nor would *Modeſtus* ſuffer him to be racked, though he had poſitive orders for it from the emperor. As for *Ariſtophanes*, he was, by the order of *Paulus*, whom he had provoked with his freedom of ſpeech, beaten with balls of lead faſtened to cords, till he was ready to expire; when *Modeſtus*, pitying him, ordered the executioner to forbear, and ſent *Ariſtophanes* into baniſhment. *Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Cythras*, a philoſopher, ſtricken in years, being convicted of having ſacrificed to the idols, was tortured with great cruelty for many hours; but afterwards ſuffered by *Modeſtus* to return to *Alexandria* his native city. *Parnaſus* and the reſt, excepting *Ariſtophanes*, who had been baniſhed on this occaſion, were recalled three years after, and pardoned [i].

The Perſians *begin hoſtilities.*

In the mean while, *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*, was encouraged and preſſed to begin hoſtilities by an officer of *Conſtantius*, named *Antoninus*, who, finding his affairs ruined at home, had fled to the court of *Perſia*, hoping to make his fortune there, and brought with him an exact account of the ſtate of the empire and all its forces. At the ſame time, *Euſebius* the eunuch, who had been long contriving the ruin of *Urſicinus*, as the only perſon who was independent of him and ſcorned his ſupport, perſuaded the emperor to remove him, as a perſon not to be truſted, from the command of the troops in the eaſt, and to appoint in his room *Sabinianus*, a decrepit old man, poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, but every way unfit for that employment. This change was no ſooner known at the *Perſian* court, than *Antoninus*, who was well acquainted with the character of *Sabinianus*, preſſed *Sapor* anew to begin the war without delay, adviſing him to march ſtrait to the *Euphrates*, without loſing time in beſieging towns, to croſs that river, and enter *Syria*, which he might eaſily reduce, while defended by ſo unfit a commander. The *Perſian*, approving the ſcheme, began to aſſemble his troops from all quarters, in order to put it in execution. This alarmed *Conſtantius*, who immediately ordered *Urſicinus* to haſten back into *Syria*, with the character of general of the foot, in the room of *Barbatio* lately beheaded; but without any authority, or even troops under his command. This too was a malicious contrivance of *Euſebius* and the other eunuchs, that, if the mighty deſigns of the *Perſians* were defeated, *Sabinianus* might have the honour of it; but, if they were attended with ſucceſs, *Urſicinus* might bear the whole blame. That brave commander had no ſooner reached *Syria*, than he was informed, that the enemy's vanguard had already paſſed the *Tigris*. Upon this intelligence he haſtened into *Meſopotamia*, to give the neceſſary orders there, in caſe the enemy ſhould attack the city of *Niſibis*. From *Niſibis* he flew to *Amida*, another city in the ſame country; and, though he travelled in the night-time, he narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands, whoſe parties were ſpread all over the country. From *Amida* he ſent *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the hiſtorian, to reconnoitre the enemy, who, upon his return, informed him, that to him they ſeemed at leaſt an hundred thouſand ſtrong; that they had already paſſed *Nineve* in the province of *Adiabene*, and were arrived at the bridge of the *Anzabas*, a river in *Aſſyria*. Hereupon *Urſicinus* diſpatched orders to *Caſſianus*, duke of *Meſopotamia*, and to *Euphronius*, governor of the province, to warn the inhabitants to withdraw with their effects into places of ſafety; to abandon *Carrhæ*, which was an open city; and to ſet fire to the forage, and likewiſe to the corn, though already ripe, that the enemy might find no ſubſiſtence, either for themſelves or their horſes, between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. At the ſame time he took care to fortify the banks of the *Euphrates* with forts and paliſades, ſupplying the former with warlike engines of all kinds. Theſe wiſe precautions having obliged *Sapor* to lay aſide his deſign of marching ſtrait to the *Euphrates*, he turned to the left, and took his rout, purſuant to the advice of *Antoninus*, by the foot of the mountains which part *Meſopotamia* from *Armenia*, not doubting but he ſhould find there plenty of forage, and the *Euphrates* fordable nearer its head. *Urſicinus*, appriſed of his deſign, immediately left *Amida*, to give the neceſſary orders on that ſide likewiſe; but being ſurrounded by one of the enemy's parties, he narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the hiſtorian, was purſued as far as *Amida*; which place was inveſted a few days after by *Sapor*'s whole army, in which ſerved ſeveral princes of different nations, and among the reſt the king of *Albania*, and *Grumbates*, king of the *Chionitæ*, a prince renowned for his valour and conqueſts. The *Perſian* took on his march to *Amida*

Urſicinus *enters* Meſopotamia.

Wiſe precautions taken by Urſicinus.

[i] Idem, p. 152.

a *Amida* two *Roman* forts, *Reman* and *Buſan*, the ſoldiers who gariſoned them, opening the gates to him upon the firſt ſummons, though they were both places of great ſtrength, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country had retired to them with all their effects. In both the forts *Sapor* found ſome virgins, conſecrated, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus*, to the worſhip of God, according to the diſcipline of the chriſtians, and was ſo far from offering them any injury, that, on the contrary, he injoined his ſoldiers not to interrupt or diſturb them in their uſual exerciſes of piety, hoping, by that gentle treatment, to remove the prejudice, which his former cruelties had begotten in the minds of the neighbouring people [k]. He appeared before *Amida*, not with a deſign to beſiege the place, but only to ſound the diſpoſition of
b the gariſon; and, in caſe they refuſed to ſubmit, to purſue his march into *Syria*, agreeable to the plan ſuggeſted by *Antoninus*. But the *Romans* having diſcharged againſt him, as he approached the walls to ſhew himſelf in all his pomp and majeſty, a ſhower of darts, arrows, and javelins, one of which pierced his royal robes, and another laid the ſon of *Grumbates*, a youth of great expectation, dead at his father's feet, he was ſo tranſported with rage, that, laying aſide his former ſcheme, he reſolved at all adventures to revenge the affront offered to himſelf and the death of the young prince, with the utter deſtruction of the city, and a general maſſacre of all its inhabitants. The reader will find a very particular and diſtinct account of this memorable ſiege in *Ammianus*, who was ſhut up in the town, and an eye-witneſs of
c all that paſſed both within and without the walls. Never was place aſſaulted with more fury, nor defended with more vigor, reſolution, and intrepidity; but in the end moſt of the gariſon being killed, and thoſe who ſurvived quite ſpent with labour and watching, the walls being in ſeveral places levelled with the ground, and the ditches filled up with dead bodies, the *Perſians* made a laſt effort, and entered the town ſword in hand, after having lain ſeventy-five days before it, and loſt, during that time, thirty thouſand men and upwards. The city was razed, the chief officers crucified, and the reſt, with the ſoldiers and inhabitants, either put to the ſword, or carried into captivity, except our hiſtorian and two or three more, who, in the dead of the night, eſcaped through a poſtern not obſerved by the enemy. As for *Sapor*, the
d ſummer being already far ſpent, and his army greatly fatigued, he thought it adviſeable to return to his dominions, having but little to brag of this expedition, which coſt him the lives of ſo many men, and prevented him from purſuing the advantageous deſigns ſuggeſted to him by *Antoninus* [l]. *Sabinianus* was buſied, during the whole time of the ſiege, in exerciſing his men near *Edeſſa* [m]. *Urſicinus* was continually preſſing him to take the field, and haraſs, at leaſt, the enemy, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys; which he might have eaſily done, and by that means diverted them from purſuing the ſiege with ſo much vigor, and perhaps obliged them to raiſe it. But *Sabinianus* returned no other anſwer, than that his
e inſtructions were not to expoſe the army to any danger. He is ſuppoſed to have had likewiſe private inſtructions from *Euſebius*, the favourite eunuch, his patron, to give *Urſicinus* no opportunity of performing any thing that might redound to his honour [n]. Thus was that great officer obliged to continue inactive, and ſee, with the utmoſt regret, one of the ſtrongeſt cities in the eaſt reduced, and ſo many brave men fall unrevenged. *Ammianus*, after his eſcape from *Amida*, found him at *Miletene* in the *Leſſer Armenia*, on his way to *Antioch*, whither he followed him ſoon after. From *Antioch Urſicinus* repaired to court, where he was, to his great ſurprize, charged with the
f loſs of *Amida*, and all the wrong ſteps taken during that unhappy campaign. *Arbetio* and *Florentius*, two of *Euſebius*'s creatures, were appointed by the emperor to inquire into his conduct, and examine by whoſe fault *Amida* was loſt. Theſe two judges, however partial and corrupt, could not lay the blame on *Urſicinus*; but, on the other hand, not caring, through fear of offending *Euſebius*, to expoſe *Sabinianus*, ended their inquiries, without clearing, as they were in juſtice bound to do, the former, or condemning the latter. *Urſicinus*, highly provoked at ſuch proceedings, appealed to the emperor, who, he ſaid, would not fail to puniſh with due ſeverity the authors, whoever they were, of the late miſcarriages. In the tranſport of his paſſion, he let drop the following unguarded expreſſion, *viz. That the emperor himſelf, though he marched into* Meſopotamia *the next ſpring at the head of his army, would not be able to protect that country,*

Sapor *takes two* Roman *forts.*

He lays ſiege to Amida,

Which, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, is taken, and razed.

Urſicinus *accuſed at court, but found innocent.*

ſo

[k] Idem, l. xviii. p. 124---132. [l] Idem, p. 144---146. [m] Idem, p. 127. [n] Idem ibid. & l. xix. p. 136.

ſo long as he was thus governed by eunuchs. This being carried immediately to the emperor, as it generally happens in courts, with malicious aggravations, *Conſtantius*, without any further inquiry, ordered that brave and loyal officer to retire to his native country, after having diveſted him of his employment, and given it to one *Agilo* a *German*, who, in 354. had been *tribunus ſtabuli*, which anſwers our maſter of the horſe [o]. Thus was this weak and deluded prince induced to deprive himſelf, and the empire, which lay at ſtake, at ſo critical a conjuncture, of the ſkill, counſels, and experience of the beſt officer of the age, to gratify the avarice, ambition, and revenge of a wicked courtier, ſacrificing to his private ends the public intereſt, and the welfare and glory both of his prince and country. a

He is diſgraced

The Perſians *make themſelves maſters of ſeveral places in* Meſopotamia.

The following year, *Conſtantius* being conſul the tenth time, and *Julian* the third, *Sapor*, entering *Meſopotamia* early in the ſpring, took by aſſault *Singara*, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, and carried both the gariſon and inhabitants into captivity. Then leaving *Niſibis*, where great part of the *Roman* army lay encamped, on the left, he took his rout towards *Bezabde*, called alſo *Phœnicia*, a ſtrong town on the *Tigris*. After ſeveral attacks, in which great numbers fell on both ſides, the biſhop of the place went out to exhort the king to withdraw, and put an end to ſo deſtructive a war; but *Sapor*, without returning him any anſwer, purſued the ſiege, made himſelf maſter of the place, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and reduced the reſt, with the biſhop and all his clergy, to ſlavery. Some ſuſpected the biſhop, named, as we are told [p], *Heliodorus*, of ſecretly favouring the *Perſians*; but *Ammianus* clears him of this charge [q]. *Sapor* did not demoliſh *Bezabde*, as he had done *Singara*; but repaired the fortifications, and leaving a gariſon in it, led his army againſt *Virta*, or *Birtha*, on the moſt diſtant borders of *Meſopotamia*; but not being able to reduce it, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attacks, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired to his own dominions, without engaging in any other enterprize this campaign. While *Sapor* was thus, by degrees, reducing *Meſopotamia*, *Conſtantius* was ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, raiſing new troops, and ſoliciting the *Goths* and other barbarians to join him. At length he left that metropolis, when the ſpring was already far advanced, and ſet out for *Syria*. Upon his arrival at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, he was met by deputies ſent to him by *Julian*, who had been declared emperor at *Paris*, as we ſhall relate anon. He was thunder-ſtruck with this news, and long in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould march againſt *Julian* or *Sapor*; but was in the end perſuaded to purſue his march into the eaſt. Leaving therefore *Cappadocia*, he advanced to *Miletene* in the *Leſſer Armenia*, paſſed the *Euphrates* at *Samoſata* in *Syria*, and arrived at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, where he was obliged to wait the coming of his troops, and the warlike engines, till after the autumnal equinox, when he purſued his march to *Amida*, which he could not behold, buried, as it was, in its ruins, without ſhedding many tears. From *Amida* he continued his rout to *Bezabde*, with a deſign to retake that place; but being in ſeveral aſſaults repulſed by the *Perſian* gariſon, he reſolved to reduce it by famine, which he might have done, the *Perſian* army being long before diſperſed, and, according to cuſtom, returned to their reſpective homes, had not the heavy rains and ſevere weather obliged him to drop the enterprize and retire to *Antioch*, which he did not reach before the end of the year; for, on the ſeventeenth of *December*, he was at *Hierapolis* in *Euphrateſiana* [r]. b c d e

Conſtantius *marches into* Meſopotamia

We ſhall now return to *Julian*, whom we left the preceding year in his quarters at *Paris*, where he was informed in the beginning of the winter, that the *Picts* and *Caledonians*, about this time firſt diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by the name of *Scoti* or *Scots*, had broken into the *Roman* province, and committed dreadful ravages there. Upon this intelligence, he ſent his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, who had ſucceeded *Severus* in that poſt, with ſome troops into *Britain*. *Lupicinus* ſet ſail from *Boulogne* in the depth of winter, and in a few days reached *London*, where he landed his forces [s]. But of this expedition we find no farther account in hiſtory: and indeed *Lupicinus*, tho' he was an officer of great bravery and experience in war, had not time to perform any remarkable exploits, being recalled ſoon after, as we ſhall relate anon. In the mean while, *Conſtantius*, wholly intent upon aſſembling a mighty army for his intended expedition againſt the *Perſians*, ſent *Decentius*, one of his ſecretaries, into *Gaul*, to bring from thence all the *Batavians* and other auxiliaries, with three hundred men choſen f

The Scots *and* Picts *break into the* Roman *territories.*

The emperor ſends for part of Julian's *army.*

o Idem, p. 144, 145, & l. xiv. p. 24. p Menæa, 9 Apr. p. 76. q Ammian. l. xx. p. 165.
r Cod. Theodoſ. p. 60. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. & l. xx. p. 170—177. s Idem, l. xx. p. 154.

a choſen out of each corps ſerving under *Julian*, that is, the flower of that prince's army. The emperor's orders were not addreſſed to *Julian*, to whom he only wrote, warning him not to oppoſe them; but to his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, and to *Gentinus*, or, as others call him, *Sintula*, his *tribunus ſtabuli*, or maſter of the horſe. Moſt writers are of opinion, that the emperor took this reſolution, rather with a deſign to weaken *Julian*, than to ſtrengthen himſelf; for he began to be jealous of that prince's glory, and apprehenſive of his power. The common report was, that the emperor was induced to take this ſtep by private letters from *Florentius*, at that time prefect of *Gaul*, and in his heart a great enemy to *Julian*[s]. Be that as it will, *Julian* found himſelf reduced, by the above-mentioned order, to the unhappy dilemma, either of
b falling a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the emperor, if he refuſed to comply with it; or periſhing by the arms of barbarians, if he obeyed it, being well appriſed that they, unmindful of their promiſes and treaties, would be tempted to break into *Gaul*, as ſoon as they ſaw that province deſtitute of troops to defend it. In this dangerous ſituation, he reſolved, without heſitating a ſingle moment, to obey, but at the ſame time to abdicate the dignity of *Cæſar*, that he might not be charged with the loſs of *Gaul*. He thought himſelf, however, bound to acquaint *Decentius*, that the auxiliaries raiſed in *Gaul* and *Germany* had entered into the ſervice, upon condition of their not being obliged to paſs the *Alps*; and that the violation of this article, always inſiſted upon by the people beyond the *Rhine*, might prevent their
c liſting themſelves for the future. But *Decentius* giving no ear to his juſt remonſtrances, he ſubmitted to the emperor's will without reply. As *Lupicinus*, to whom the emperor's orders were addreſſed, was abſent in *Britain*, *Decentius* himſelf choſe all the beſt men out of each corps, not excepting *Julian*'s own guards; which was no ſooner done, than *Julian* wrote to their reſpective commanders, injoining them to quit their winter-quarters, and begin their march without delay. This order threw all *Gaul* into the utmoſt confuſion; nothing was heard but complaints, outcries, and lamentations, as if the barbarians had already entered the province: ſeveral libels, againſt *Conſtantius*, and in commendation of *Julian*, were privately handed about, and diſperſed among the ſoldiery. *Ammianus* mentions one, in which the ſoldiers
d complained of their being baniſhed to the moſt remote parts of the earth, while their wives, children, and relations were carried into captivity by the barbarians. To obviate this complaint, *Julian* ordered them to carry their families with them, ſupplying them with public carriages for that purpoſe. When the troops were ready to depart, *Julian* adviſed *Decentius* not to ſuffer them to approach *Paris*, where he ſtill was in winter-quarters; but *Decentius*, fearing they might mutiny, if they left *Gaul* without ſeeing their general, led them thither to take their leave of him, which proved a very injudicious ſtep. *Julian* received them in a moſt obliging manner, and encouraged them chearfully to ſubmit to the emperor's commands, who would not fail to reward their valour. But on the other hand, the people conjured
e them not to abandon a country which they had defended with ſo much glory; and the ſoldiers ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to comply with their requeſt. Hereupon *Julian*, aſcending the tribunal, told them, that it was not by any means lawful for them to deliberate about a thing already decided by the emperor; and upon that ſubject made a long diſcourſe, which the ſoldiers heard with attention, and withdrew in ſilence. After this, *Julian* invited the chief officers to dinner, entertaining them with no leſs tenderneſs than magnificence, and deſiring them, when they took leave of him, to let him know in what he could be ſerviceable to them. The officers, greatly concerned to part with ſo obliging a commander, and to quit their country, returned in the utmoſt affliction to their quarters[t]. However, they continued all
f quiet till about ſun-ſet, when the ſoldiers, ſtirred up, according to *Zoſimus*[u], by libels diſperſed under-hand among them by their officers, flew all at once to arms, and haſtening to the palace, ſurrounded it, and with a tumultuous noiſe proclaimed *Julian* emperor[w]. *Julian* calls all the gods to witneſs, that he had not the leaſt knowledge of this deſign, nor the leaſt ſuſpicion of its being on foot, but was withdrawn with his wife when he firſt heard himſelf ſaluted with the title of *Auguſtus*[x]. *Libanius* too aſſures us, that the deſign was not premeditated, but ſudden[y]. *Julian*, ſhewing himſelf highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of the ſoldiery, ordered all the gates

Julian *complies with the emperor's orders.*

The ſoldiers unwilling to leave him.

They proclaim him emperor.

[s] Idem, p. 157, 158. [t] Idem, p. 169. LIBAN. or. xii. p. 283. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 518, 519.
[u] Zos. l. iii. p. 710. [w] AMMIAN. l. xix. p. 159. LIB. or. xii. p. 284. [x] JULIAN. or. xii. p. 284.
[y] LIBAN. or. x. p. 241.

gates of the palace to be kept ſhut; inſomuch, that the ſoldiers, eager to ſee him, were obliged to wait till the next morning. In the mean time, he invoked his gods, intreating them to reveal to him their will by ſome prodigy; and they commanded him, as we are told, to comply with the deſires of the ſoldiery. *Ammianus* writes, that *Julian* told his friends in confidence, that a ſpectre appeared to him that very night, repreſenting the genius of the empire, as it was painted in thoſe days, and diſappeared, after having uttered theſe words, *I am come to ſtay with you, but only for a ſhort time* [z]. *Eunapius* aſſures us, that before he accepted the ſovereignty, he performed certain ceremonies in private with a pagan pontiff, whom he had ſome time before ſecretly ſent for out of *Greece* [a]; which, in the language of that writer, imports, that he had recourſe to magic. As ſoon as day appeared, the ſoldiery, breaking down the gates of the palace, obliged *Julian* to ſhew himſelf, and ſaluted him anew with the title of *Auguſtus*, which he continued to reject, reminding them of their duty, and promiſing to prevail upon the emperor to countermand the orders which had given occaſion to their complaints, mutiny, and revolt. But all was to no purpoſe; nay, the ſoldiers, well appriſed that *Conſtantius*, notwithſtanding all his promiſes, would in the end treat them as rebels, threatened *Julian* with immediate death, if he perſiſted any longer in declining the honour they intended to confer upon him. To theſe menaces he yielded, and was thereupon lifted up by the ſoldiers on ſhields, and ſhewn to the multitude, who, with loud acclamations, proclaimed him emperor, while an officer, by name *Maurus*, placed upon his head his golden collar, enriched with precious ſtones, inſtead of a diadem. When this ceremony was over, *Julian*, to animate his ſoldiers, promiſed them five pieces of gold and a pound weight of ſilver a man [b]. After this, he ſhut himſelf up in the palace, diſpleaſed and uneaſy at what had happened; which gave occaſion to the report of his having been murdered. This alarmed the ſoldiery, who immediately flew to the palace, where, to their great ſatisfaction, they found him, not only ſafe, but clad in the imperial robes [c]. *Libanius* writes, that the eunuch, his chamberlain, had in reality been bribed to murder him [d]; and *Julian* himſelf, that money had been diſtributed among the ſoldiery to debauch them [e]. However that be, the ſoldiers, imagining he had been in danger, preſſed him to put all the friends of *Conſtantius* to death, who had oppoſed his promotion; but he reſolutely declared, that he would not by any means ſuffer the leaſt injury to be offered to them; nay, he generouſly forgave the eunuch, who had attempted to take away his life [f]. Some troops had already begun their march towards the eaſt, but they were no ſooner informed of what had paſſed at *Paris*, than they returned with their leader *Sintula*, and joined the reſt. *Julian*, having aſſembled them all in a neighbouring plain, appeared at their head with all the badges of majeſty; and aſcending the tribunal, in a very elegant and lively ſpeech commended their valour, put them in mind of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, encouraged them to defend and protect a prince, whom they themſelves had raiſed, and ended with aſſuring them, that he was determined to rule with juſtice and moderation, and to prefer ſuch only as were men of merit, without ſuffering himſelf to be biaſſed by the recommendations of any perſon whatſoever [g]. Such is the account which *Julian* himſelf, and after him *Libanius*, *Ammianus*, and *Zoſimus*, his admirers, or rather adorers, give us of his promotion to the imperial dignity. But on the other hand, the chriſtian writers, namely *Gregory* of *Nazianzus* [h], *Philoſtorgius* [i], *Theodoret* [k], and *Sozomen* [l], ſeem to have thought him privy to the deſign of the ſoldiery; nay, *Zonaras* tells us in plain terms, that either prompted by ambition, or apprehending in the end the doom of his brother *Gallus*, he gained under-hand the officers, who by his private directions ſtirred up the ſoldiers to threaten him as they did, that, to the eyes of the world, he might ſeem to have accepted the ſovereignty to ſave his life [m]. The former writers betray, no doubt, a great partiality for *Julian*, and the latter an equal prejudice againſt him. We ſhall therefore, in deſcribing his reign and actions, impartially relate, unbiaſſed as we are by any favour or prejudice, what we find in writers of both parties, leaving the reader to judge which of them deſerves moſt credit. All authors agree,

Julian rejects the title.

But is forced to accept of it.

His generoſity.

His ſpeech to the ſoldiery.

Diſagreement among authors about the manner of his promotion.

[z] Ammian. p. 162. [a] Eunap. c. 5. p. 76. [b] Ammian. p. 160. Lib. or. v. p. 179. Zos. p. 711. Zonar. p. 18. [c] Julian. ibid. p. 522. Ammian. p. 160. [d] Liban. or. xii. p. 285. [e] Julian. ibid. [f] Idem, p. 522. & Lib. p. 285. [g] Ammian. l. xx. p. 161, 162. Julian. Liban. Zos. ibid. [h] Greg. Naz. p. 58, 67. [i] Philostorg. l. vi. c. 5. p. 84. [k] Theodor. l. ii. c. 28. p. 636. [l] Sozomen. p. 18. [m] Zonar. p. 18.

a agree, that *Julian* was raiſed to the imperial dignity in the year 360. but as to the day, we are quite at a loſs: but as the troops were, at the time of his promotion, ſtill in their winter-quarters, it muſt have happened in the month of *May* or *April*. He had no ſooner accepted the imperial title, than *Decentius* haſtened back into the eaſt, whither he was ſoon followed by the prefect *Florentius*, who, conſcious to himſelf of his conduct towards *Julian*, and dreading his reſentment, was in ſuch haſte to get out of *Gaul*, that he left his whole family behind him; but *Julian* not only gave them leave to follow him, but ordered them to be ſupplied for that purpoſe with public carriages. *Lupicinus*, *Julian*'s lieutenant, an officer of great experience, courage, and addreſs, was capable of imbroiling matters; but as he was ſtill in *Britain*,

b *Julian*, by ordering all the veſſels on the coaſt to be ſtopped, prevented his receiving intelligence of what had paſſed; ſo that upon his landing at *Boulogne* to execute the emperor's orders, addreſſed to him, as we have related above, he was arreſted by an officer ſent thither for that purpoſe, but treated by *Julian* with the utmoſt humanity and good-nature [n]. And now *Julian*, well appriſed that the emperor would be alarmed, and highly provoked, at what had happened, in order to appeaſe his wrath, and allay his fears, wrote an obliging letter to him, which he ſent by two of his chief officers, *Pentadius* and *Eutherius*. In the letter he acquainted him with what had happened, begged he would ſuffer him to enjoy the title which he had been forced to accept, promiſed to obey him, even in that ſtation, with the ſame

c readineſs and alacrity as if he were a private perſon, offered to ſend him ſome troops, and even to leave him the nomination of the prefect; but at the ſame time he reſerved to himſelf the creating of the other officers, and remonſtrated with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, that *Gaul* was ſo far from being able to ſpare any of its natives, that, on the contrary, it ſtood in need of aſſiſtance from other provinces. *Julian* not only wrote himſelf, but perſuaded the whole army to write to the emperor, earneſtly intreating him to confirm what they had done, and to agree with *Julian*, who had obliged them to take an oath not to raiſe any diſturbances, if *Conſtantius* ſuffered him to continue in *Gaul* with the title of *Auguſtus* [o]. *Julian*, in his letter, contented himſelf with the title of *Cæſar* [p]; and he himſelf aſſures us, that, in writing

d to the emperor, he never aſſumed any other [q]. But to this public letter, as we may ſtyle it, he added a private one, highly injurious and abuſive, as we read in *Ammianus*, who tells us, that though it had been communicated to him, yet he ſhould have thought it indecent and unbecoming to inſert it in his hiſtory [r]. The deputies from *Julian* met the emperor at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, who, upon his firſt reading the letter, was ſo tranſported with rage, that he drove them from his preſence, and was ſome time in ſuſpenſe, as we have ſaid, whether he ſhould proceed in his expedition againſt the *Perſians*, or turn his arms againſt his new rival; but upon mature deliberation, cooler counſels prevailed, and *Conſtantius*, diſmiſſing the deputies without any anſwer, diſpatched *Leonas*, his quæſtor, into *Gaul*, with a letter to *Julian*, acquainting him,

e that he could not by any means approve of his uſurpation, and exhorting him, as he tendered his own ſafety, and that of his friends, to be ſatisfied with the title of *Cæſar*, which he ſtill allowed him to enjoy, but diſapproved and annulled whatever elſe had been done. *Leonas* ſoon reached *Paris*, where he was kindly received by *Julian*, to whom he delivered the emperor's letter the day after his arrival. *Julian* received it ſitting on his tribunal, in the preſence of the ſoldiery and people, whom he had aſſembled for that purpoſe, and cauſed it to be read aloud. When he underſtood, that the emperor would not by any means allow him the title of *Auguſtus*, addreſſing himſelf to *Leonas*, he told him, that he was willing to lay down that title, provided the ſoldiery conſented to it; but otherwiſe could not, without betraying

f them, and expoſing them to the reſentment of *Conſtantius*. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the whole aſſembly confirmed to him with repeated acclamations the title they had given him, declaring, that they were determined to ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their blood. *Julian* wrote to the emperor by *Leonas*, acquainting him with the diſpoſition of the people and ſoldiery, and telling him, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to abandon them to his reſentment. Several meſſages and embaſſies paſſed between *Conſtantius* and *Julian*; the former inſiſting upon his abdicating the ſovereignty, and the latter declining, under various pretences, to relinquiſh the

Decentius *and* Florentius *retire from* Gaul.

Lupicinus *arreſted, but treated with humanity.*

Julian *ſends deputies, and writes to the emperor.*

Conſtantius *refuſes to acknowledge him emperor.*

Julian's *conduct on this occaſion.*

[n] Ammian. p. 171. Julian. ad Athen. p. 515. [o] Ammian. l. xx. p. 167. Julian. p. 518. Zonar. p. 18. [p] Zonar. ibid. [q] Julian. ibid. p. 523. [r] Ammian. ibid. p. 169.

the authority with which he had been inveſted by the ſoldiery and people, but at the ſame time aſſuring the emperor of his good intentions and zeal for his ſervice[a].

In the mean time, the emperor being wholly taken up with the *Perſian* war in the eaſt, *Julian*, to keep his army in action, and maintain the reputation he had acquired, paſſed the *Rhine* at *Triceſima*, which ſome take to be *Cleves*, others *Kellen*, in that neighbourhood; and falling ſuddenly upon the *Atthuarii*, the inhabitants of the preſent countries of *Cleves* and *Munſter*, who had made frequent inroads into *Gaul*, laid waſte their territory, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſubmit to ſuch laws as he thought fit to impoſe upon them. In this expedition he ſpent three months, and then repaſſing the *Rhine*, he viſited all the forts on that river as far as *Baſle*, recovered ſome places that were ſtill held by the enemy, fortified them, and, as the year was already far ſpent, retired by the way of *Beſançon*, which he deſcribes in a letter[t], to *Vienne*, where he took up his winter-quarters. About this time died his wife *Helena*, the ſiſter of *Conſtantius*, and her body was ſent to *Rome*, to be there interred near that of her ſiſter *Conſtantina*[u]. She is ſtyled on moſt of her medals *Flavia Julia Helena*, and on ſome bears the title of *Auguſta*[w], which we ſuppoſe her to have taken after the promotion of her huſband. This year, on *Monday* the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, happened a great eclipſe of the ſun, which began at half an hour paſt four in the morning, and laſted above two hours[x]. *Ammianus* takes notice of it in his hiſtory[y].

Julian overcomes the Atthuarii.

His wife Helena *dies.*

The next conſuls were *Flavius Taurus*, prefect of *Italy*, who had preſided the year before at the famous council of *Rimini*, and *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, who had fled from that province upon the promotion of *Julian*. This year *Julian*, finding *Conſtantius* would not hearken to any terms, began to prepare for war, being incited to it alſo by his magicians, who aſſured him of ſucceſs, and encouraged by ſeveral dreams, in one of which he is ſaid to have known, that *Conſtantius* was near his end, nay, that he was to die about the month of *November*[z]. He ſtill made an outward profeſſion of the chriſtian religion, ſays *Ammianus*[a], to gain the chriſtians to his party, though he had long ſince renounced that in his heart, and embraced the religion of the ancient *Romans*; nay, the better to impoſe on them, on the feaſt of the *Epiphany*, which was celebrated with extraordinary ſolemnity in the church, he publicly aſſiſted at divine ſervice, and offered up with the reſt his ſolem prayers[b]; which expreſſion of *Ammianus* ſome underſtand of his receiving the euchariſt. *Zonaras* writes, that this happened on the feaſt of our Saviour's nativity, which was then celebrated by the *Greeks* on the ſixth of *January*; and adds, that *Julian* by this hypocriſy hoped to ſecure the ſoldiers to his party, who were for the moſt part chriſtians[c]. When he had made the neceſſary preparations for war, and was ready to march into *Italy*, and thence into the eaſt, againſt *Conſtantius*, if he perſiſted in refuſing him the title of emperor, advice was brought him, that the *Alemans*, and among the reſt the ſubjects of *Vadomarius*, whoſe country lay near *Baſle*, had broken into *Gaul*, on the ſide of *Rhætia*, and committed dreadful ravages there. *Vadomarius* pretended to have the greateſt reſpect imaginable for *Julian*, and to be much concerned for the hoſtilities committed by his countrymen; but, in the mean time, *Julian*, having intercepted a letter from him to *Conſtantius*, filled with bitter invectives againſt himſelf, found means to have him arreſted at a banquet, and baniſhed him into *Spain*[d]. He had already ſent *Libano*, one of his commanders, with a ſtrong detachment againſt the *Alemans*; but he being killed, and his men put to the rout near *Sanctio*, now *Seckingen*, in the neighbourhood of *Baſle*, *Julian* advanced in perſon againſt them, paſſed the *Rhine*, and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to reſtore the booty they had taken, and ſue for peace; which he granted them upon his own terms[e]. *Libanius* aſſures us, that *Conſtantius* had, by letters and large ſums, tranſmitted to the heads of the *German* nations, ſtirred them up, and encouraged them to invade *Gaul*, in order to divert *Julian* from forming other ſchemes[f]. This, ſays *Ammian*, was the common report[g], and *Julian* pretended to have in his cuſtody the very letters, and to ſhew both them, and others, which the emperor was ſuppoſed to have written to the barbarians in

Julian's *hypocriſy.*

He reduces the Alemans;

And grants them a peace.

[a] Idem, p. 170. Lib. or. xii. p. 286. Zon. p. 19. [t] Julian. epiſt. xxxviii. p. 180. [u] Ammian. l. xx. p. 172. &. l. xxi. p. 178. [w] Byzan. famil. p. 41. [x] Petav. doctr. temp. l. xi. c. 45. p. 373. [y] Ammian. l. 20. p. 155. [z] Liban. or. xii. p. 286. Ammian. ibid. p. 179. [a] Ammian. l. xxi. p 180. [b] Idem, p. 181. [c] Zonar. p. 19. [d] Ammian. ibid. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Liban. or. v. p. 180. [g] Ammian. ibid.

a in the time of *Magnentius*, animating them to invade *Gaul*[s]; which greatly eſtranged from him the minds of the people. However, *Ammianus* does not take upon him to affirm it, but only ſays, that it was a flying report[t]. In the mean time, *Conſtantius* having ordered magazines to be formed at *Briancon* in *Dauphiny*, at *Bregentz* on the lake of *Conſtance*, and at ſeveral other places on the *Alps*, *Julian* concluded from thence, that he was bent upon war; and reſolving to be before hand with him, he threw off the maſk, and obliged his ſoldiers to take an oath of allegiance to him, which they all did very readily, except *Nebridius*, who had ſucceeded *Florentius* in the prefecture of *Gaul*. That officer frankly declared, that he would not, upon any conſideration whatſoever, take an oath, which obliged him to draw his b ſword againſt his lawful ſovereign. Upon this, *Julian* ſuffered him to retire unmoleſted into *Hetruria*[u]. The loyal, generous, and diſintereſted conduct of this officer deſerved a better name than that of effeminacy, with which *Libanius* has been pleaſed to ſtigmatize it[w]. In his room, *Julian* appointed one *Germanicus* to diſcharge the functions of the prefect. As his thus obliging the ſoldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himſelf was openly revolting from *Conſtantius*, he wrote to ſeveral cities and among the reſt to *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, acquainting them with the motives that had prompted him to take that ſtep, being well appriſed, ſays *Libanius*, that good princes are willing to ſubmit their actions to the judgment of the whole world, whereas tyrants dread the leaſt ſcrutiny[x]. Of all theſe letters, or rather c apologies, only that has reached our times which he wrote to the *Athenians*, and a few lines of a letter which he wrote to the inhabitants of *Corinth*, when he was already maſter of great part of the empire. In theſe he pretends to have been animated by his gods to make war upon *Conſtantius*, and by them aſſured of ſucceſs[y]. And now *Julian*, finding he could depend upon the fidelity of his army, and reſolved to purſue his deſigns with vigour, ſent part of his forces into *Pannonia* under the conduct of *Nevita*, *Jovinus*, and *Jovius*, ordering them to take different routs, that they might ſeem the more numerous, and ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, while he, leaving *Baſle*, marched through woods and by-ways into *Illyricum*. *Nevita*, *Jovinus*, and *Jovius*, had with them about twenty thouſand men, but *Julian* himſelf only d three thouſand. They were all to meet at *Sirmium*, the place of the general rendezvous. Upon the firſt news of *Julian*'s march, *Taurus*, prefect of *Italy*, and *Florentius*, whom *Conſtantius* had lately appointed prefect of *Illyricum*, abandoning their provinces betook themſelves to flight, and haſtened to the emperor to acquaint him with the motions of *Julian*. As they were both conſuls this year, *Julian* ordered them, if *Zoſimus* is to be credited[z], to be ſtigmatized in all the public acts with the name of the *runaway conſuls*. By their flight, *Julian* became maſter of *Italy* without ſtriking a blow, and likewiſe of *Sicily*, whither he ſent ſome troops, with orders to keep themſelves in readineſs to paſs over into *Africa*. The different parties, led by *Julian* and the three above-mentioned commanders, purſued their march with e ſuch expedition, that in ten or eleven days time they all arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*, which *Julian* entered in triumph; *Lucilianus*, who commanded there for *Conſtantius*, having been ſurpriſed the night before, and taken priſoner by one of *Julian*'s parties. He ſtaid but two days at *Sirmium*, being eager to make himſelf maſter of the important paſs of *Sucidava*, dividing *Illyricum* from *Thrace*, which he did without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; and having left a ſtrong gariſon there under the command of *Nevita*, he turned back to *Naiſſus*, where he ſeems to have continued, till news was brought him of the death of *Conſtantius*, aſſembling troops from all quarters, in order to reinforce his army before he entered *Thrace*. During his ſtay there, he raiſed *Aurelius Victor*, the hiſtorian, to the government f of *Pannonia Secunda*, and wrote to the *Roman* ſenate a letter filled with bitter invectives againſt *Conſtantius*, which was ill received by the people, and is highly diſapproved of by *Ammianus* himſelf[a]. While *Julian* lay at *Naiſſus*, without the leaſt apprehenſion of an enemy at his back, two of *Conſtantius*'s legions, and a cohort of archers, who had been ordered into *Gaul*, ſurpriſed on their march the city of *Aquileia*, and defended it with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that *Julian* could not by any means reduce it: they were commanded by one *Nigrinus*, who held out till two months

He obliges his ſoldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himſelf.

He writes to ſeveral cities.

He ſets out on his march.

Makes himſelf maſter of Illyricum;

But cannot reduce Aquileia.

[s] Julian. ad Athen. p. 524. [t] Ammian. ibid. [u] Idem, p. 183. [w] Liban. p. 287.
[x] Liban. or. xii. p. 288. [y] Julian. ep. xiii. p. 129. Naz. or. ix. p. 68. [z] Zos. p. 712.
[a] Ammian. p. 190. Lib. or. xi. p. 254. Zos. p. 712.

months after the emperor's death, and was even then with much ado prevailed upon a
to submit to *Julian* [b].

The emperor marries Fauſtina.

In the mean time, *Conſtantius*, being returned from *Meſopotamia* to *Antioch* in the latter end of the preceding year, as we have related above, married in that city, with great ſolemnity, *Maxima Fauſtina*; *Euſebia* being dead ſome time before. Of the parentage and qualities of this new empreſs, no mention is made by the ancients. All we know of her is, that ſome time after the death of *Conſtantius* ſhe was delivered of a daughter, named *Flavia Maxima Conſtantia*, who was afterwards married to the emperor *Gratian* [c]. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor ſpent the remaining part of the winter in preparing for his intended expedition againſt b
the *Perſians*, being reſolved to end that war, or at leaſt to ſecure the empire on that ſide, before he marched into the weſt againſt *Julian*. In the mean time, *Sapor*, having aſſembled a mighty army, took the field, and advanced to the banks of the *Tigris*, with a deſign to croſs that river, and purſue his march ſtrait to the *Euphrates*. This *Conſtantius* no ſooner underſtood, than he left *Antioch*; and, croſſing the *Euphrates*, advanced as far as *Edeſſa*, whence he ſent part of his army under the command of *Arbetio* and *Agilo*, to the banks of the *Tigris*, with expreſs orders to ſpare the troops, and not expoſe them wantonly to dangers. About this time the emperor received certain intelligence, that *Julian* had already made himſelf maſter of *Illyricum*, and the important paſs ſeparating that country from *Thrace*. He was thunderſtruck with this news; but the very next day, an expreſs arrived from his generals on the banks c
of the *Tigris*, aſſuring him, that *Sapor*, frightened by unlucky omens, was marched back to his own dominions with his whole army. *Conſtantius*, overjoyed at theſe tidings, immediately left *Meſopotamia*, and returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to march without delay againſt *Julian*, being encouraged thereunto by his army, who declared with one voice, that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in ſo good and honourable a cauſe. In the mean time, he diſpatched *Arbetio* with a ſtrong detachment to the ſtreights of *Sucidava*, where *Julian* was aſſembling his forces in order to invade *Thrace*, and followed him in perſon with the reſt of his army about the latter end of the autumn. Upon his arrival at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, he was ſeized with a feveriſh diſtemper, occaſioned chiefly by the uneaſineſs and perplexity of his mind; but d
believing he might get the better of it by motion and exerciſe, he purſued his march to *Mopſucrene*, on the borders of *Cilicia*, at the foot of mount *Taurus*, where, by the violence of his diſtemper, which increaſed daily, he was obliged to ſtop. In that place, all remedies proving ineffectual, he died on the third of *November*, being then in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæſar*, but only the twenty-fifth ſince the death of his father [d]. It was commonly ſaid, and believed at leaſt by the chriſtians, that *Julian* had, with the promiſe of a great reward, ſeduced one of his courtiers, whom they do not name, to adminiſter him poiſon, of which he died [e]. Be that as it will, *Julian* no ſooner received the news of his death, than he left *Illyricum*, and on the e
eleventh of *December* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, whither he cauſed the corps of the deceaſed prince to be brought by *Jovian*, afterwards emperor, and ordered it to be interred with the uſual ſolemnity in the church of the apoſtles [f]. *Julian* himſelf aſſiſted at the ceremony in his purple robes, but without the other badges of his dignity [g]. *Gregory Nazianzen* writes, that at the point of death *Conſtantius* betrayed great concern chiefly for three things; which were, his having murdered his neareſt relations, his having raiſed *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and his having perſecuted, at the inſtigation of the *Arians*, the orthodox chriſtians [h]. On the other hand, *Ammianus* tells us, that he was ſaid to have named *Julian* for his ſucceſſor. We can ſcarce believe, that he repented his having perſecuted the church, though *Gregory* f
Nazianzen and, after him, *Theodoret* [i] affirm it, ſince *Athanaſius* aſſures us, that he held the impious tenets of the *Arians* to his laſt breath, and received baptiſm a little before he expired at the hands of the biſhop *Euzoius*, a moſt obſtinate *Arian* [k]. *Socrates* writes, that he was baptized by *Euzoius* at *Antioch* before he ſet out for *Cilicia*; and truly *Euzoius* was the *Arian* biſhop of that metropolis [l]. But *Philoſtorgius* tells us, that

The Perſians *retire.*

Is baptized at the point of death by an Arian *biſhop.*

[b] Ammian. p. 191---195. [c] Idem, l xxi. p. 185. Cange Biz. fam. p. 48. [d] Ammian p. 19[illegible]
Zon. p. 19. Socr. l. ii. c. 47. [e] Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 68. [f] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 205. Socr
l iii. c. i. p. 168. Panegyr. xi. p. 213. [g] Liban. or. xii. p. 289. [h] Greg. Naz. or. xxi. p. 389.
[i] Theodor. l. iii. p. 637. [k] Ath. de ſyn. p. 907. [l] Socrat. l. ii. c. 47. p. 161.

that he received baptiſm at *Mopſucrene*, when he was already at the point of death [i]; wherein he is followed by the chronicle of *Alexandria* [m], which adds, that he ſent for *Euzoius* from *Antioch*. As for his character, all the ancients, whether chriſtians or pagans, paint him as a weak and vain prince: he was intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, eſpecially by his chamberlain *Euſebius*, over whom, however, he had, ſays *Ammianus* pleaſantly, ſome ſmall authority [n]. He admitted none to his confidence, but ſuch as were ſkilled in the art of flattery; whence he had no true friends about him, but ſuch only as, by approving and commending all his meaſures, ſtudied to gain his favour and raiſe themſelves. He uſed to aſcribe to himſelf the whole glory of victories gained by his officers, and ſpeak of them as if he had fought in perſon at the head of the victorious army. The chriſtian writers, both *Arian* and orthodox, complain of his aſſuming to himſelf, too much in eccleſiaſtic matters. Under him employments were not given to the moſt deſerving men, but to ſuch only as were beſt able to purchaſe them of the eunuchs, and other favourites; whence the unhappy people in the provinces were miſerably oppreſſed by their governors, who made it their chief buſineſs to repay themſelves, at their expence, the ſums which they had diſburſed, and to heap up money wherewithal to purchaſe other more profitable employments. He was ſo jealous of his authority, and of ſuch a timerous and ſuſpicious temper, that, upon the leaſt appearance of a plot, he put numbers of perſons to death, frequently confounding the innocent with the guilty, though accuſed by perſons altogether unworthy of credit. By this means the infamous tribe of informers increaſed under him to ſuch a degree, that no man of fortune, however innocent, was ſafe [o]. As he had no great genius or capacity himſelf, he hated all men of letters, and diſcountenanced every liberal art and ſcience; whence only freed-men applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the law, and that of eloquence was intirely neglected: to be a great philoſopher was reckoned a crime, *Conſtantius* looking upon the philoſophers as magicians, againſt whom he enacted, as we have obſerved, moſt rigorous laws [p]. However, he founded and endowed a library at *Conſtantinople*, enriched it with a large collection of choice books, and appointed a perſon with a handſome ſalary to take care of it [q]. But among ſo many bad qualities, he had ſome good ones. In crimes of treaſon, real or only ſuſpected, he behaved like a tyrant, ſays *Ammianus*; but in other reſpects was not a bad prince [r]. He was of very low ſtature, ſays the ſame writer, but enured to all manner of fatigues, and performed the military exerciſes, eſpecially thoſe of the infantry, with wonderful addreſs [s]. He was ſatisfied with a frugal diet, ſlept little, was an utter ſtranger to luxury, and of ſuch chaſtity and temperance, as not to be even ſuſpected of thoſe vices which uſually reign in courts [t]. He is generally thought to have been the author of the law condemning thoſe to death who were found guilty of crimes againſt nature [u]. He ſometimes performed the meaneſt duties of a ſoldier, but at the ſame time knew how to maintain the grandeur and majeſty of his ſtation [w]. He deſpiſed all manner of popularity, which *Ammianus* aſcribes to a greatneſs of mind worthy of a prince, but perhaps ironically; for elſewhere he derides his affected gravity, telling us, that he appeared in public like a ſtatue, without moving his head or hands, without ſpitting or blowing his noſe, (to theſe particulars that writer deſcends) leſt he ſhould by ſuch vulgar actions degrade the majeſty and grandeur of an emperor [x]. Though he had no genius either for poetry or eloquence, yet he was not quite unacquainted with polite literature [y]; but of this his ſpeeches, which we read in *Ammianus*, are no proof, ſince they, as we may well imagine, were compoſed by that hiſtorian. *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* commend him for the great reſpect he always ſhewed to his father, for his extraordinary modeſty, and for rewarding, with uncommon generoſity, every ſervice done him [z]. *Themiſtius* extols his magnificence, and obſerves, that he enriched all his friends [a]. He finiſhed the walls of *Conſtantinople*, begun by his father; repaired, at a great expence, many of the buildings there; and embelliſhed the city with fountains, baths, and other ſtately edifices [b]. His panegyriſts ſpeak of him as a prince of great moderation, and inclined to

His character

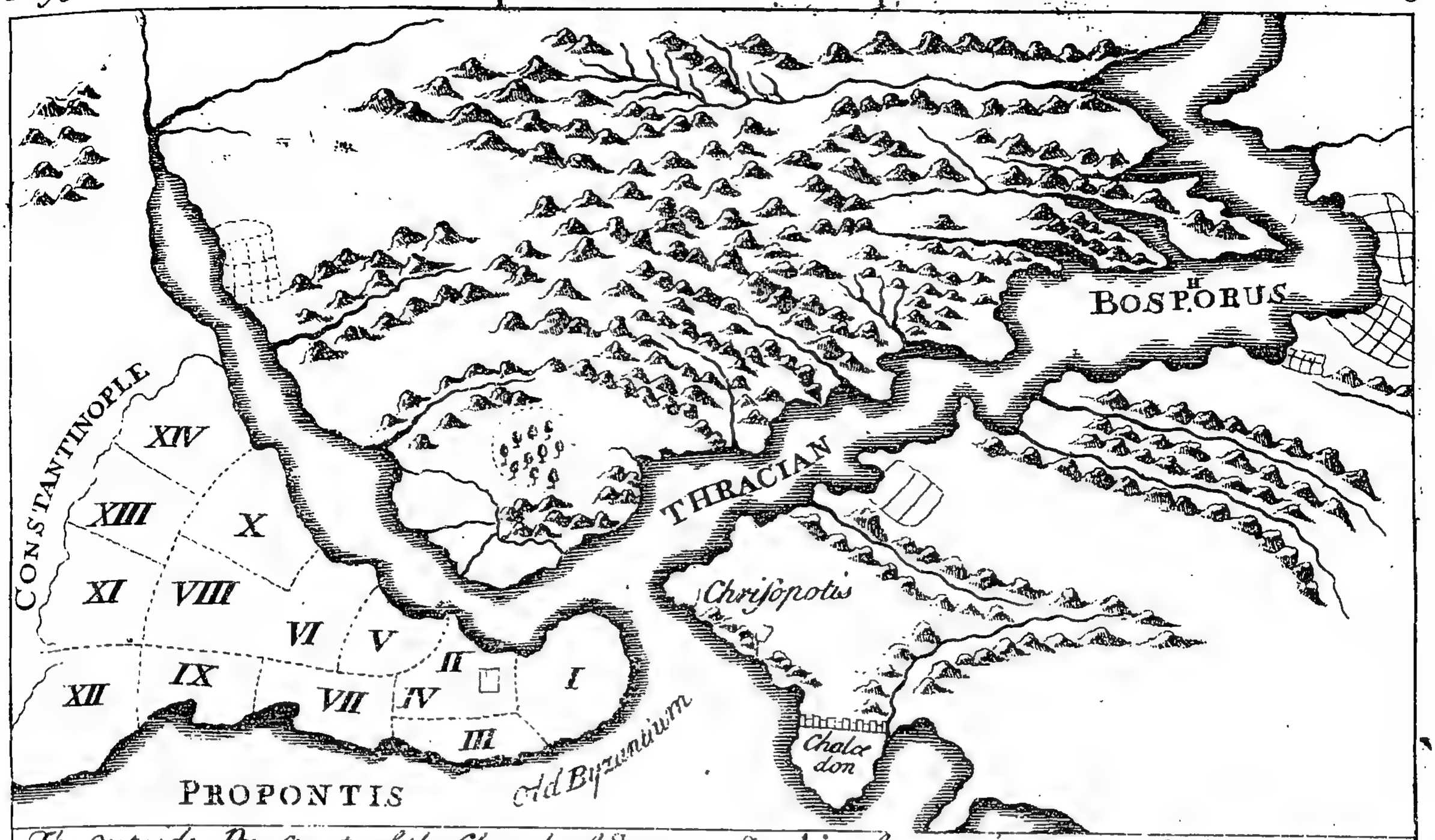
[i] Philost. l. vi. c. 6. p. 85. [m] Chron. Alex. p. 684. [n] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 119. [o] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 203. Liban. or. xxviii. p. 591. [p] Liban. ibid. Eutrop. l. xv. p. 44. [q] Themist. or. iii. p. 45. [r] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 21, 22. [s] Idem ibid. p. 203. [t] Idem ibid. p. 201. & l. xvi. p. 70. Themist. or. i. p. 39. Vict. epit. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. ix. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 59. [w] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 200. [x] Idem, l. xvi. p. 70. [y] Aur. Vict. p. 87. [z] Idem ibid. & Eutrop. p. 183. [a] Themist. or. iv. p. 62. [b] Idem ibid. p. 58.

to mercy; but *Julian* tells us, that he was an utter ſtranger to all mercy and compaſſion, though he was commonly thought to be poſſeſſed of both theſe virtues [c]. Crimes of treaſon he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſays *Libanius* [d]; but bore with great patience, and was ready to forgive, upon the leaſt ſubmiſſion, all other affronts and injuries offered him. To confirm this, he tells us, that the inhabitants of *Edeſſa* having pulled down one of his ſtatues, and publicly whipt it, adding, that he who deſerved to be thus treated, was not fit to govern, the emperor, when informed of the inſult, did not betray the leaſt reſentment, nor ever ſhewed the leaſt ill-will to that city, or the authors of ſuch an outrage, which few princes would have ſuffered to go unpuniſhed [e]. He was a moſt zealous promoter of the chriſtian religion, and enacted ſeveral laws, of which we have taken notice in the hiſtory of his reign, for the utter ſuppreſſion of idolatry. He built a great number of churches, and among the reſt the famous cathedral of *Emeſa* in *Syria*, and the great church of *Alexandria*, called *Cæſarea*. As for that of St. *Sophia* at *Conſtantinople*, it was the work of *Conſtantine*, though commonly aſcribed to his ſon *Conſtantius* [f]. He not only built, but endowed and enriched, many churches with great revenues, and ſhewed, on all occaſions, an extraordinary reſpect and eſteem for the clergy, eſpecially the biſhops, receiving their bleſſing in an humble poſture, entertaining them at his table, exempting them from all manner of impoſts and taxes, *&c* [g]. But theſe favours he beſtowed on thoſe alone who profeſſed the doctrine of *Arius*. As for the orthodox biſhops, they were driven from their ſees, and either baniſhed, or impriſoned; nay, ſome of them were, by the authority or connivance of the emperor, put to death. But to give an account of this perſecution is not our province, but that of the eccleſiaſtic writers. Of the authors who flouriſhed under *Conſtantius*, we ſhall ſpeak in note (G).

[c] Julian. epiſt. 23. p. 141. [d] Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399. [e] Idem ibid. p. 400. [f] Socrat. p. 94. Cange urb. Conſtantinop. deſcrip. p. 144, 145. [g] Hilar. contra Conſtant. or. p. 113, 114.

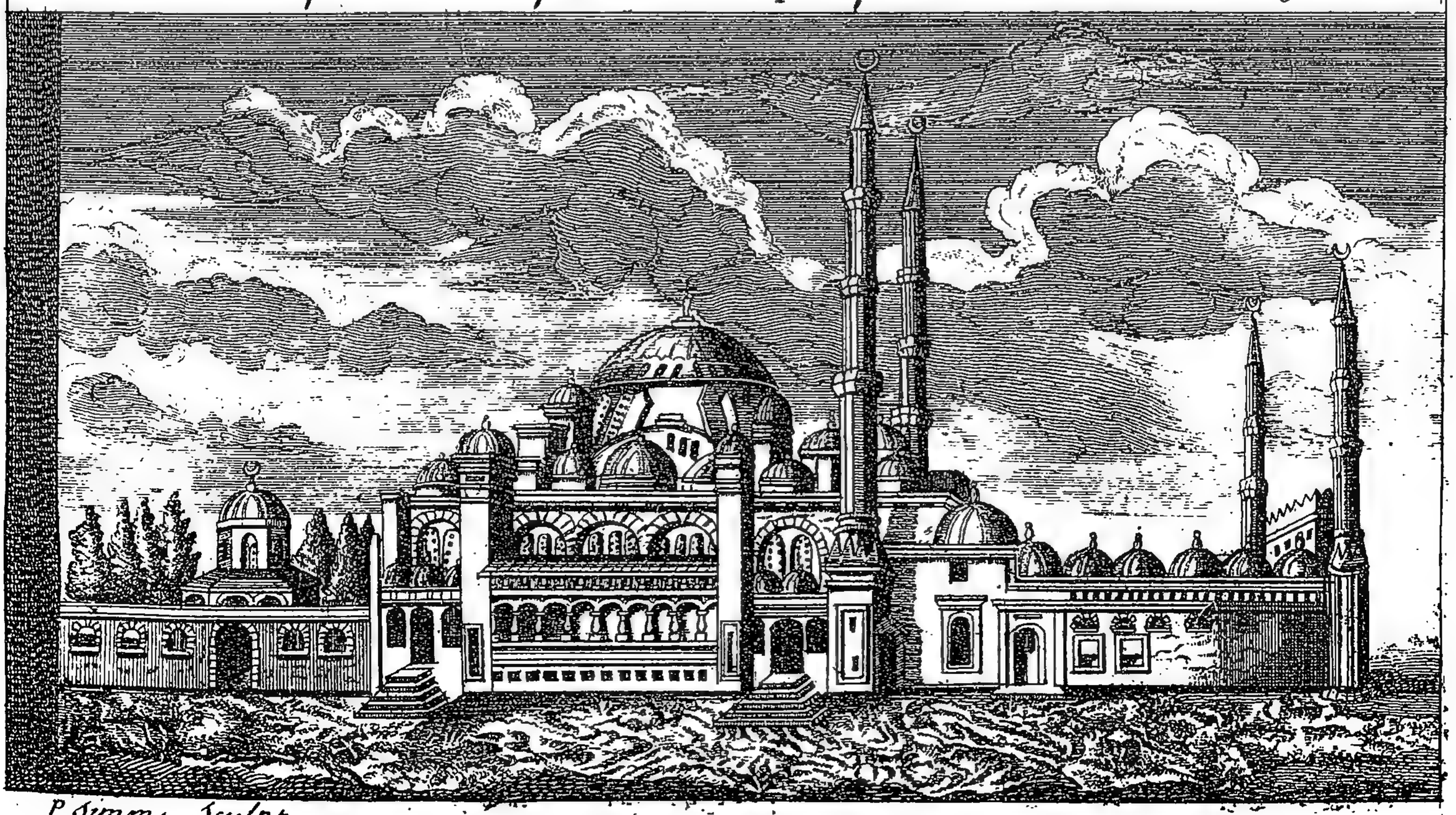
(G) Among the men of learning who flouriſhed under *Conſtantius*, St. *Jerom* mentions *Gennadius*, *Petrus*, *Victorinus*, *Minervius*, *Alcimus*, *Delphidius*, and *Donatus* (1). All we know of the two firſt, is, that they were both celebrated lawyers; that the former lived at *Rome*, and the latter at *Saragoſa* in *Spain* (2). Of *Victorinus* we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Tiberius Victor Minervius* taught eloquence at *Conſtantinople*, at *Rome* about the year 353. and at *Bourdeaux*, the place of his nativity (3). He is highly commended by *Auſonius*, who is proud of having ſtudied under him (4). *Alethius Minervius*, his ſon, was likewiſe profeſſor of eloquence in the ſame city; but died when he was yet very young (5). *Latinus Alethius Alcimus* was a native of the *Agenois*, or territory of *Agen*, and is by *Auſonius* counted among the profeſſors of *Bourdeaux* (6); but he was likewiſe a pleader, and is commended by *Apollinaris Sidonius* for his knowledge of the law, and his extraordinary ſkill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues (7). He publiſhed ſome works, in which he commended the emperor *Julian*, and *Saluſt*, who was prefect of *Gaul* under that prince (8); but none of them have reached our times. *Auſonius*, who had a great value for him, commends his modeſty, the mildneſs of his temper, his gravity, and the regularity of his life (9). *Atticus Tyro Delphidius*, the ſon of the orator *Patera*, or *Paterius*, of whom we have ſpoken in our laſt note, acquired great reputation by his poems (10). As he was by profeſſion a pleader, he accuſed of extortion before *Julian* in 358. *Numerius* governor of *Narbonne Gaul*; but could not make good the charge (11). He embraced the party of a tyrant, hoping by that means to make his fortune; but, without the tears of his father, he had been utterly undone (12). This tyrant can be no other than *Procopius*, who revolted from the emperor *Valens* in 365. Afterwards he taught rhetoric at *Bourdeaux* with great reputation (13), but in the reign of *Valentinian*, and not of *Conſtantius*, if what *Sulpicius Severus* writes be true, *viz.* that dying about the age of forty, he had not the diſpleaſure to ſee his daughter *Procula* ſeduced by the *Priſcillianiſts* in 380. and his wife *Eucrocia*, who had embraced the ſame hereſy, beheaded about the year 384 (14). St. *Jerom* writes, that while he was yet very young, he was famous all over *Gaul* for his compoſitions both in verſe and proſe (15). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (16) and *Apollinaris Sidonius* (17) commend his lively and flowing eloquence. Though we might infer from what we have quoted above out of *Sulpicius Severus*, that he was a chriſtian, yet St. *Jerom*, in writing to *Hedibia* deſcended from him, ſpeaks of him as a pagan (18). *Donatus*, under whom St. *Jerom* ſtudied, taught grammar at *Rome* with great reputation in 354. wrote comments on *Terence* and *Virgil*, and publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces, often quoted by *Caſſiodorus*, who judged them more proper for children, than any thing written by other grammarians (19). *Gregory* the great ſpeaks of the rules of *Donatus*, as generally taught at the end of the ſixth century (20). Some grammatical pieces, explaining with great clearneſs the firſt principles, have reached us, under the name of *Ælius Donatus* (21). There are ſtill extant comments on *Virgil* and *Terence*, which ſome pretend

(1) *Hier. chron.* (2) *Idem ibid.* (3) *Idem ibid. & Auſon. de profeſſ. Burdigal. carm.* 1. *p.* 137. (4) *Auſon. ibid. carm.* 6. *p.* 150. (5) *Hier. chron. p.* 254. (6) *Auſon. ibid. carm.* 2. *p.* 141. (7) *Sidon. l.* viii. *epiſt.* 11. *p.* 232. (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Auſon. ibid.* (10) *Idem ibid. carm.* 5. *p.* 147. (11) *Ammian. l.* xviii. *p.* 114. (12) *Auſon. car.* 5. *p.* 148. (13) *Idem ibid. p.* 149. (14) *Sulp. Sever. l.* ii. *p.* 173, 177. *& Proſp. chron.* (15) *Hier. epiſt.* 150. *p.* 140. (16) *Ammian. ibid.* (17) *Apoll. Sid. l.* v. *ep.* 10. *p.* 140. (18) *Hier. epiſt.* 150. *p.* 140. (19) *Hier. in Ruf. l.* i. *c.* 4. *p.* 202. *Caſſiod. de orthogr. p.* 255, 256. (20) *Greg. moral. p.* 62. (21) *Vide Baillet. gram. c.* 622. *p.* 37, 38.



The Outside Prospect of the Church of Sancta Sophia *from Du Fresne Lib 3 Pag 1*

The whole view of the Church of Sancta Sophia *from Du Fresne Lib. 3. Pag. 5*



P Simms Sculpt

a BEFORE we proceed to the history of *Julian*'s reign, it will not be foreign to our purpose to give the reader a succinct account of the birth, parentage, education, and studies

pretend to be those that St. *Jerom* ascribes to his master *Donatus*; but critics of more penetration are of opinion, that tho' some observations in the comments on *Virgil* seem worthy of *Donatus*, yet the whole is altogether unworthy of a man of his parts (22). As for the comments on *Terence*, they are thought to have been written by one *Evanthius*, called by some *Eugraphus*, who died in the first year of *Gratian*'s reign, or in 359. under *Constantius*, as we read in the chronicle of St. *Jerom*, who calls him the most learned among the grammarians (23). He taught the *Latin* tongue at *Constantinople*, and, upon his death, *Chrestus* was sent for out of *Africa* to succeed him (24). The life of *Virgil*, ascribed by some to *Donatus*, is, in the opinion of *Vossius*, a very mean performance, done not by *Ælius Donatus*, which he takes to be the name of the grammarian, under whom St. *Jerom* studied, but by one *Tiberius Claudius Donatus* (25). As for the life of *Terentius*, he takes it to have been written by *Suetonius*, and not *Donatus* (26). *Nonius Marcellus*, another celebrated grammarian, lived, as is supposed, about the time of *Constantius*, and was, as we gather from the title of his work on the *propriety of* Latin *words*, a native of *Tivoli*, and a *Peripatetic* philosopher (27). He is quoted and commended by *Priscian*; which seems very strange to *Vossius*, who speaks of him with great contempt, and thinks him commendable for no other reason, but because he has conveyed to us several passages out of the ancients, which are to be found no-where else (28). The works of *Sex. Pompeius Festus* bear a much better character than those of *Marcellus*. He wrote on the *signification of words*; but his work, which was only an abridgment of what *Verrius Flaccus* had written on that subject in the time of *Augustus*, was abridged in the time of *Charlemagne* by *Paulus Diaconus*; and to this abridgment is owing the loss of the far greater part of that which was done by *Festus* (29). At what time *Festus* lived, we are no-where told. Some manuscripts have reached our time on *the art of surveying or measuring land*, done by one *Innocentius*, probably the surveyor of that name, who, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, was at the court of *Constantius* in 359 (30). To him are likewise ascribed some *remarks on the* Roman *laws*, which, in our opinion, were rather the work of *Innocentius* the quæstor, who drew up most of the laws of *Constantius*, as *Eunapius* informs us (31), and published several works both in *Greek* and *Latin*. The latter was grandfather to *Chrysanthus*, under whom *Eunapius* studied, and consequently was more ancient than the surveyor, and superior to him in rank (32). One of *Constantius*'s officers, by name *Innocentius*, took holy orders, and, retiring from the court, led a solitary life on the *Mount of olives* (33). *Vindanius Anatolius*, a native of *Berytus*, wrote ten books on *agriculture*, containing many useful rules, blended with some superstitious and heathenish observations (34). Part of that work has reached our times; but the author is there styled *Vindamonius*, and not *Vindanius*. One *Anatolius*, a pagan, and a native of *Berytus*, was prefect of *Illyricum* in 349, and 359. (35) and died in 360 (36). He was perhaps the author of the above-mentioned work. One *Andronicus* was concerned in the affair of *Parnasus*, governor of *Egypt*, accused in 359. of having consulted the astrologers, as we related among the other transactions of that year; but *Andronicus* was absolved, and afterwards became famous, especially on account of his poetical compositions (37). *Libanius* speaks of a poet, by name *Andronicus*, who, he says, charmed all *Egypt*, and was still alive in 378 (38). *Themistius*, who was contemporary with *Libanius*, mentions a young *Egyptian*, who had a particular talent for writing tragedies (39); and *Photius* takes notice of several theatrical pieces written by one *Andronicus*, senator of the city of *Hermopolis* in *Egypt*, some of which were inscribed to count *Phœbammon* of *Cynopolis* in the same country (40). Whether all these writers speak of one and the same person, we will not take upon us to determine. *Sextus Aurelius Victor* may be ranked among the writers who flourished under *Constantius*, tho' he died long after him, since, in his reign, he wrote his history of the *Roman* emperors. He is commonly thought to have been a native of *Africa*, and to have been born of poor parents in some village of that country (41). He was, at least when he wrote his history, a pagan, as must evidently appear to all who peruse it. It begins with *Augustus*, and extends to the twenty-third year of *Constantius*; that is, to the end of the year 359. or the beginning of 360 (42); for he speaks of the victories gained by *Julian* in *Gaul*; but takes no notice of his assuming the title of *Augustus*, which he would not have omitted, had his history reached so far. He ascribes all the conquests of that prince to *Constantius*, at that time the object of his flattery (43). In the title, the work is said to extend to the tenth consulship of *Constantius*, and the third of *Julian*, which happened in the year 360. This history is but a very concise abridgment. Another abridgment, done by the same writer, has reached our times, comprehending the lives of illustrious men, mostly *Romans*, from *Procas* to *Julius Cæsar*. This work is, by different writers, ascribed to *Cornelius Nepos*, to *Pliny* the younger, to *Æmilius Probus*, to *Tacitus*, and to *Suetonius*; but *Vossius*, and other able critics, adjudge it to *Aurelius Victor* (44). To these two histories is prefixed a third, on *the origin of the* Romans, which likewise passes under the name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, and is thought by *Andreas Scotus* to have really been done by him; but *Vossius* takes it to be the work of some writer, who flourished after his time (45). Another history of the emperors, extending to the reign of *Theodosius*, goes under the name of one *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, whom we must distinguish from the author we are now speaking of. *Ammianus* writes, that *Julian*, while he was at *Sirmium* in 361. saw there *Victor* the historiographer, and soon after created him governor of the *Second Pannonia*, and honoured him with a statue of brass (46). The same writer adds, that he was generally esteemed on account of his wisdom, and was afterwards raised to the government

(22) *Idem*, p. 29, 30. (23) *Hier. chron.* (24) *Idem ibid.* & *Voss. hist Lat. p.* 743. (25) *Id. ibid. p.* 743. & *orat. l.* vi. *c.* 2. *p.* 432. (26) *Idem ibid.* (27) *Vide Baillet. c.* 620. *p.* 34. & *Salmas. in not. in Spart. p.* 241. (28) *Voss. ibid.* (29) *Vide Baillet. p.* 30, 35. (30) *Ammian. l.* xix *p.* 149. (31) *Eunap. c.* 21. *p.* 144, 145. (32) *Idem ibid.* (33) *Pallad. hist Lausiac. c.* 103. *p.* 1022. (34) *Phot, c.* 163. *p.* 349. (35) *Eunap. c.* 1. *p.* 117. (36) *Ammian. l.* xix. *p.* 166. & *l.* xxi. *p.* 185. (37) *Idem, l.* xix. *p.* 152. (38) *Liban. vit. p.* 158. (39) *Vide Ammian. ibid. p.* 230. (40) *Phot. c.* 279. *p.* 1596. (41) *Voss. hist. Lat. p.* 196. (42) *Aur. Vict. p* 528. & 517. *Casaubon. not. in Spart. p.* 119. *Voss. ibid.* (43) *Aur. Vict. p.* 486. (44) *Voss. ibid.* (45) *Idem ibid. p.* 196. (46) *Ammian. l.* xxi. *p.* 190.

Birth, education and parentage of Julian.

and ſtudies of a prince ſo much ſpoken of by the eccleſiaſtic writers. *Julius Conſtantius*, the brother of *Conſtantine the Great*, had two wives, *viz.* *Galla*, by whom he had a

vernment of *Rome*. *Voſſius* and others take this to be the hiſtorian of whom we are now ſpeaking; for he had ended his hiſtory the year before, as we have obſerved above (47). One *Victor* was conſul in 369. whom *Onuphrius* ſuppoſes to have been the hiſtorian mentioned by *Ammianus* (48); but, had it been the ſame perſon, *Ammianus* would, in our opinion, have taken notice of his conſulſhip, as well as his government. In an inſcription of the time of *Theodoſius*, that is, long after the year 369. he is ſtyled governor of *Rome*, but not conſul; which title would not have been omitted, had he ever diſcharged that office. Beſides, it appears from *Themiſtius* (49), that *Victor*, who was conſul in 369. was a commander of great proweſs and renown. *Gothofredus* publiſhed in 1628. *an ancient deſcription of the world*, as he ſtyles it, done in the time of *Conſtantius*, and not of *Conſtantine*, as we read in the text, after that prince had finiſhed the port of *Seleucia*, and after the earthquake which overturned the city of *Duras* (50). The port of *Seleucia* was perfected, according to St. *Jerom*, in 346. and the earthquake happened in 345. The author takes no notice of the earthquake that ruined *Nicomedia* in 358. nor of that which overturned *Berytus* in 348. or rather 349. whence *Gothofredus* concludes that work to have been done about the year 347. He thinks the author inſinuates, that there were then two emperors; and infers from thence, that he wrote after the death of young *Conſtantine* in 340. and before that of *Conſtans* in 350 (51). *Gothofredus*, in publiſhing this work, not only reformed the barbarous and uncouth language of the *Latin* text, and corrected the many faults he found in it, but added to it a *Greek* tranſlation, ſuppoſing it to have been written originally in that language (52); which ſuppoſition is rejected by *Petavius*, as falſe and groundleſs. However that be, the author ſeems to have been better acquainted with the caſtern than the weſtern provinces. He was greatly miſtaken in ſuppoſing *Rome* and *Hetruria* to have been compriſed in what was at that time called *Italy* (53). *Gothofredus* is inclined to believe one *Alypius* of *Antioch*, famous in *Julian*'s time, to have been the true author of this work; becauſe that prince commends the geography, which had been ſent to him by *Alypius*, the brother of *Cæſarius* (54). But this geography ſeems only to have been a map, accompanied with ſome verſes. The author gives us a tolerable account of ſeveral cities, tho', for the moſt part, blended with many fables; which evidently ſhew him to have been a pagan, though he acknowledged a God the author of mankind (55). The beginning of the work beſpeaks it imperfect (56); and beſides, it is plain, that he had written ſeveral things relating to the *Perſians*, which have not reached us (57); whence *Gothofredus* concludes this to be only a ſmall part of a much larger work (58). *Voſſius* was altogether unacquainted with this writer. None of the authors we have hitherto mentioned were chriſtians; but *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who flouriſhed at the ſame time, was not only a chriſtian, but a zealous defender of the religion he profeſſed; for he addreſſed a work to the two emperors, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*, animating them to complete the deſtruction of idolatry. This work is intituled, *the errors and falſhood of profane religions* (59). The author not only expoſes the abſurd notions of the pagans, but explains, with great elegance and erudition, ſeveral articles of the chriſtian faith. He wrote before the year 350. in which *Conſtans* died, and in or after the year 343. for he ſpeaks of his journey to *Britain*, which happened that year (60). Though the ancients ſeem to have been quite unacquainted with this work, yet no writer, we know of, has ever queſtioned its being genuine. The author is diſtinguiſhed, in the title of the work, with the epithet of *clariſſimus*, which was peculiar to the ſenators of *Rome*, and ſufficiently confutes the opinion of *Baronius*, who will have him to have been biſhop of *Milan* (61). Eight books on judicial aſtrology were publiſhed about the ſame time by one *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who was likewiſe a *Roman* ſenator, and is therefore by ſome writers confounded with the above-mentioned author (62); but *Poſſevinus* maintains them to be two different writers (63): and truly the aſtrologer is ſtyled, in the title of his work, *Julius Firmicus Maternus junior*; and the work itſelf is altogether unworthy of a chriſtian. It is addreſſed to *Mavortius Lollianus*, and was begun in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, but finiſhed in that of his ſon *Conſtantius*, about the year 355 (64). With the year 354. the ſeventeenth of *Conſtantius*'s reign, end two ſmall works, publiſhed by *Bucherius* in 1633. with the *paſchal cycle* of *Victorius*. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that they were compoſed that very year, and by the ſame author, to whom he aſcribes three others contained in the ſame manuſcript (65). The firſt of theſe works is a liſt of the conſuls from 205. to 354. with the epacts, biſſextile years, and the day of the week with which each year began. There are ſome miſtakes in the epacts; but the reſt is done with great exactneſs (66). The manuſcript, which *Bucherius* made uſe of, was imperfect; but cardinal *Noris* having diſcovered an intire copy in the emperor's library, containing a liſt of the conſuls, from the two firſt, *Brutus* and *Collatinus*, to thoſe of the year 354. he publiſhed it in 1689. with a learned diſſertation on that work, by him greatly eſteemed (67). He is of opinion, that it was compoſed in 354. the year with which it ends (68). The ſecond work publiſhed by *Bucherius*, is another liſt of the conſuls and governors of *Rome*, from 254. to 354. From the year 288. to the end, the author not only names the governors, but the day on which each of them entered upon his office (69). The third begins with a ſhort necrology of the biſhops of *Rome*, in which are marked, according to the order of the months, the day on which each of them died, and the place where he was buried. It begins with *Lucius*, and ends with *Julius*. In this liſt, *Sixtus* II. and *Marcellus* are omitted; the latter probably by a miſtake of the tranſcriber, confounding him with his predeceſſor *Marcellinus*; and the former perhaps, becauſe he is ſet down in the calendar of martyrs annexed to the necrology, and containing the names of ſeveral martyrs according to the order of the months, and the time of their martyrdom; but they are all of *Rome*, except

(47) *Voſſ. ibid. p.* 196. (48) *Onuph. p.* 298. (49) *Themiſt. orat.* ix. *p.* 121. (50) *Gothofred. vetus orb. deſcrip. p.* 13. & 33. (51) *Idem, p.* 13, 14. (52) *Idem, p.* 7. (53) *Idem, p.* 33. (54) *Julian. epiſt.* 30. *p.* 163. *Gothofred. p.* 10, 11. (55) *Idem, p.* 9. (56) *Idem, p.* 3. (57) *Id. p.* 9. (58) *Idem, p.* 3. & 8. (59) *Firm. Matern. c.* 21. *Bibl. patr. tom.* 4. *p.* 99. (60) *Du Pin. tom.* 1. *p.* 578, 579. *Poſſevin. apar. tom.* 1. *p.* 989. *Matern. c.* 29. *p.* 107. (61) *Baron. ad ann.* 337. (62) *Vide Du Pin. p.* 577. (63) *Poſſevin. p.* 988. (64) *Du Pin. ibid.* (65) *Buch. cycl. p.* 245, 247. (66) *Idem, p.* 247—251. (67) *Noris faſt. conſular.* (68) *Idem, p.* 23. (69) *Buch. p.* 236, 241, 244.

a had *Gallus Cæſar*, and other children, whoſe names are not known, and *Baſilina*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, being the daughter of one *Julian*, who was prefect, and the ſiſter of another, who was count of the eaſt. The ſurname of *Anicius* was common to both, and the *Anician* family was one of the moſt illuſtrious in *Rome* [h]. Perhaps *Baſilina* was the daughter of *Anicius Julianus*, who was conſul in 322. and afterwards governor of *Rome*. She profeſſed the chriſtian religion [i]; but ſeems to have been tainted with the doctrine of *Arius*; for ſhe bore great hatred to *Eutropius*, the famous orthodox biſhop of *Adrianople* [k]. She was married at *Conſtantinople*, and died a few months after ſhe was delivered there of *Julian*, her only child [l]. He was born in 331. after the month of *June*; for writing againſt *Athanaſius* at the end of
b 362. he ſays, that he was then in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, which was not ended on the twenty-ſixth of *June* 363. when he died [m]. He was named *Julian* from his grandfather on the mother's ſide, and is ſtyled in all ancient inſcriptions *Julianus Flavius Claudius*. He was of low ſtature, and a diſagreeable aſpect, which was beſides diſfigured with a long beard, as he is repreſented in moſt of his medals; but at the ſame time well-ſhaped, very nimble, active, and of great addreſs at all ſorts of exerciſes [n]. As for his mind, he was endowed by nature with an extraordinary capacity, learned with ſurpriſing quickneſs, and never forgot what he had once known [o]; inſomuch, that thoſe, whoſe province it was to inſtruct him, though perſons eminent in every branch of learning, uſed to complain, that he too ſoon exhauſted their ſtock
c of knowledge [p]: hence he is by ſome writers equalled, and by others preferred, to the greateſt men *Greece* ever produced [q]. However, he was far better acquainted with the *Greek* than the *Latin* tongue: in the former he came not ſhort of the beſt writers; but did not excel, according to *Eunapius* [r], in the latter. His eloquence was eaſy and flowing, and accompanied by a graceful delivery [s]. In his anſwers off-hand he diſplayed an uncommon penetration, vivacity, and preſence of mind, and, in the greateſt dangers, an undaunted courage and intrepidity [t]. But whether the ſolidity of his judgment was equal to the brightneſs of his genius, we ſhall leave the reader to judge from his actions. He was naturally of a mild and ſweet temper, had a violent thirſt after glory, was greatly attached to his own opinion, which he fre-
d quently preferred to the advice of his ableſt counſellors, and ſtrangely addicted to ſatire and raillery [u]. He was brought up at *Conſtantinople* till the death of his uncle *Conſtantine*, which was followed by the maſſacre of all his relations, in which were involved among the reſt the father and elder brother of *Julian*; but *Julian* himſelf was ſpared on account of his infancy, being then but ſix or ſeven years old, as was his brother *Gallus*, becauſe he happened to be at that time ill of a fever, and thought paſt

h Ammian. l. xiv. p. 31. l. xxv. p. 291. Lib. orat. xii. p. 262. i Pallad. hiſt. lauſ. & vit. Chryſ. p 126. k Athen. ſolit. p. 812. l Julian. ad Athen. p. 502. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 219. m Lib. orat. xii. p. 262. Julian. miſop. p. 80, 81. & epiſt. 58. p. 214. n Ammian, l. xxii. p. 226. o Id. ibid. p Eunap. c. 5. p. 68. q Idem, p. 589. & Vict. epit. p. 545. r Eunap. ibid. s Idem ibid. t Ammian. l. xviii. p. 114. u Idem, l. xiv. p. 31. Eunap. c. 5. p. 68. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 169.

cept St. *Cyprian*, and the famous martyrs of *Africa*, *Perpetua* and *Felicitas* (70). The fourth work for which we are indebted to *Bucherius*, is another catalogue of the biſhops of *Rome*, which ends with *Liberius*, who ſucceeded *Julius*, the laſt in the former liſt. As the election of *Liberius* is marked, and not his death, we may ſuppoſe this catalogue to have been written in his time. It is exceeding exact from *Pontianus* to the end; but full of miſtakes till his time. *Anicetus*, *Eleutherius*, and *Zephyrinus*, are omitted (71). The fourth work begins with the birth-days of the emperors, or the days of their acceſſion to the empire, according to the order of the months. The laſt emperor mentioned there is *Conſtantius*, who is not ſtyled, as the others, *divus*, but *dominus*; a convincing proof, that he was ſtill living (72). This work contains likewiſe ſome verſes, and a calendar of the ſports, and other profane, and even idolatrous, ſolemnities; but from the author's marking the dominical letters, we may conclude him to have been a chriſtian. The work is inſcribed to one *Valentine*, and is ſaid in the title to have been done by *Furius Dionyſius Filoccalus* (73.) The months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June*, are wanting in the edition of *Bucherius*; but are to be found in *Petavius*'s *uranology*, copied by him from *Herwart* (74). *Du Cange* will have the firſt author of the *paſchal chronicle*, or the *chronicle of* Alexandria, to have ended his work in the year 354. for it is manifeſt, that this work was done by different writers, the ſame thing being often repeated, and ſometimes related in a quite different manner. In ſome places the tenets of *Arius* are preached up, and in others condemned (75). As therefore *Holſtenius* found a manuſcript of this chronicle ending in the year 354. *Du Cange* aſcribes it to the firſt author, and what was afterwards added, to another, who not only continued the work to the time of *Heraclius*, but inſerted ſeveral things into the part which had been done by the other (76). But the taſk of examining this point, we are willing to leave to others.

(70) *Idem*, *p.* 268, 269. (71) *Idem*, *p.* 269—273. (72) *Idem*, *p.* 276, *&c.* (73) *Idem*, *p.* 275. (74) *Petav. uranol. p.* 114. (75) *Chron. paſc. prim*, *p.* 289—291. (76) *Idem ibid.*

paſt recovery [w]. Some authors write, that *Julian* was conveyed away privately by *Marcus* biſhop of *Arethuſa* in *Syria*, and concealed in a church [x]; others, that *Conſtantius* ordered both him and his brother to be ſpared [y]. *Julian* himſelf tells us, that the emperor at firſt ordered him to be murdered with the reſt of his relations; but afterwards contented himſelf with ſending him into baniſhment [z]. *Conſtantius* ſuffered *Gallus* to enjoy part of his father's eſtate, and reſtored to *Julian* the eſtates both of his mother and grandmother, which had been confiſcated [a]. *Julian*, at ſeven years old, was put under the tuition of an eunuch formerly belonging to his mother, named *Mardonius*, who diſcharged his truſt with great care, inſpiring him with an utter averſion to all manner of ſports and diverſions, and teaching him how to conquer his paſſions, and get the better of his evil inclinations [b]. The emperor afterwards committed the care of his education to *Euſebius* biſhop of *Nicomedia*, a leading man among the *Arians* [c], by whom he was brought up, partly at *Nicomedia*, and partly at an eſtate in *Bithynia* left him by his grandmother, where he planted with his own hands a vineyard. He took great delight in this place; but nevertheleſs gave it afterwards to one of his friends [d]. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he was, by the emperor's orders, ſent with his brother *Gallus*, who had been all this time confined to his eſtate in *Ionia*, to a caſtle called *Macella*, in the neighbourhood of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*. There they had a royal palace for their habitation, a handſome allowance, a noble court, and the beſt maſters to inſtruct them in all the ſciences; but at the ſame time were ſurrounded by the eunuchs of the court, and kept in a manner priſoners, no one being allowed, as *Julian* complains [e], to viſit them. In this exile or retreat they continued ſix years; that is, till the fifteenth of *March* 351, when *Gallus* was created *Cæſar*. The emperor's chief care was to appoint them ſuch maſters as were capable of inſpiring them with ſentiments of piety, and inſtructing them in the duties of the chriſtian religion, which they were taught to practiſe, by converſing only with perſons of religious and exemplary lives. They ſpent their time, ſays *Sozomen*, not in profane diverſions, but in reading, meditating, viſiting the churches, and the tombs of the holy martyrs [f]. They were even admitted to the office of readers, and read the holy ſcriptures in public, appearing no leſs ſatisfied with that function, than if they had been diſcharging the higheſt office in the ſtate [g]: and truly *Gallus* acted therein with ſincerity, he being not only a true, but a moſt pious, chriſtian; but *Julian* only ſtudied, if *Gregory Nazianzen* is to be credited, to deceive the world with the maſk of piety, and conceal his wicked inclinations [h]. Both that writer and *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſſure us, that he was, from his infancy, inclined to the religion of the ancient *Romans*, that is, to idolatry [i]; but he himſelf tells us, that he was a chriſtian till he was twenty [k]; and *Libanius*, that when he came firſt to *Nicomedia*, which was in 351. or 352. he had an extreme averſion to the *Roman* gods [l]. Be that as it will, the different diſpoſition of the heart, with which the two brothers performed the ſame actions, was laid open to the eyes of the world, as we are told, by the following miracle, which we cannot omit; but intirely ſubmit to the judgment of the reader. They both undertook to build a church over the tomb of St. *Mamas*, a celebrated martyr of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*; but the ſide that was to be erected by *Julian* could never be finiſhed; whereas that which *Gallus* had undertaken, was ſpeedily completed. This miraculous event is not only related by *Theodoret* [m], but by *Gregory Nazianzen*, who aſſures us, that he learnt it of thoſe who had been eye-witneſſes of it [n]; and *Sozomen*, who, in relating it, ſays the ſame thing, and adds, that many perſons were ſtill living, ready to confirm, as eye-witneſſes, the truth of what he relates [o]. From this retreat *Gallus* was called to court, and created *Cæſar*, in the beginning of the year 351. and ſoon after the emperor was, with much-ado, prevailed upon to give *Julian* leave to quit *Macella*, and purſue his ſtudies at *Conſtantinople*, where he ſaw his brother, as he paſſed through that city on his journey into the eaſt, with the title of *Cæſar* [p]. *Libanius* writes, that he met *Gallus* at *Nicomedia*, and obtained leave of the emperor to ſpeak with him [q]. At *Conſtantinople* *Julian* ſtudied oratory, under a ſophiſt of no great eloquence, but choſen by *Conſtantius* for his preceptor,

[w] Julian. ad Athen. p. 497. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. Liban. orat. xii. p. 262. [x] Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 9. [y] Idem ibid. p. 58. [z] Julian. ad Athen. p. 498. [a] Idem ibid. p. 502, 532. [b] Jul. miſopog. p. 80, 81. [c] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 219. [d] Julian. epiſt. 46. p. 199, 200. [e] Julian. ad Athen. p. 499. [f] Sozom. l. v. c. 2. p. 593. [g] Theodoret. l. iii. c. 1. p. 637. [h] Greg. Naz. p. 58. [i] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 208. [k] Julian. epiſt. 51. p. 210. [l] Liban. orat. v. p. 173. [m] Theodor. p. 637. [n] Greg. Naz. p. 59. & 61. [o] Sozom. p. 594. [p] Ammian. l. xv. p. 34. [q] Liban. orat. xii. p. 263.

a ceptor, becauſe he uſed, in all his declamations, to inveigh againſt the idolatrous worſhip of the pagan gods [r]. *Socrates* aſſures us, that this ſophiſt was *Ecebolus* [s], of whom hereafter. *Julian*'s conduct at *Conſtantinople*, his application, and obliging behaviour, ſoon gained him the affections of the inhabitants of that city, though he appeared in the ſchools like a private perſon, and, following the directions of the eunuch *Mardonius*, carefully avoided the leaſt mark of diſtinction. This no ſooner came to the ears of the jealous emperor, than he ordered him to quit *Conſtantinople*, and retire to *Nicomedia*, or what other place in *Aſia* he pleaſed; but ſtrictly injoining him not to frequent the ſchool of *Libanius*, a pagan ſophiſt of great reputation, who, being driven out of *Conſtantinople*, had opened a ſchool at *Nicomedia*; which city he
b was likewiſe obliged to quit ſoon after, and retire to *Antioch*, the place of his nativity [t]. The ſophiſt too, under whom *Julian* ſtudied at *Conſtantinople*, prevailed upon him to promiſe and ſolemnly ſwear, that he would never hear the lectures of *Libanius*. *Julian* obſerved his oath; but, as he had a great eſteem for that orator, he privately read his works, and imitated his ſtyle with better ſucceſs than thoſe who had ſtudied under him [u]. During his ſtay at *Nicomedia*, he became acquainted with one *Maximus* of *Epheſus*, a pagan philoſopher of great reputation, and much addicted to the ſtudy of magic, who, flattering him with the hopes of being one day emperor, inſpired him with an averſion to the chriſtian religion, which condemns all magical practices [w]. *Libanius* writes, that the precepts and inſtructions of a philoſo-
c pher in *Ionia*, meaning, no doubt, *Maximus*, made ſuch a deep impreſſion on the mind of *Julian*, that he immediately renounced the chriſtian religion, and embraced that of the *Romans* [x]. However, he was ſo far from owning his real ſentiments, that, on the contrary, he put on the appearance of a ſincere and zealous chriſtian, cauſing his head to be ſhaved, ſays *Sozomen*, affecting the dreſs and manners of a monk, and performing the office of a reader in the principal church of *Nicomedia*, while he at the ſame time privately adored the heathen deities, and cauſed himſelf to be inſtructed in the abominable myſteries of magic [y]. *Gallus*, who reſided at *Antioch*, hearing ſomewhat of his brother's inclination to idolatry, endeavoured, by ſeveral warm and pious epiſtles, to confirm him in the true religion, and divert him from the idola-
d trous worſhip of the pagan gods [z]. But the ſacrilegious curioſity of knowing future events, ſays *Gregory Nazianzen*, and the deſire of reigning, prevailed over all other conſiderations [a]. Upon the ruin of his brother *Gallus*, he was very near undergoing the ſame fate, being unjuſtly charged with ſeveral crimes, and ſuſpected by the emperor of aſpiring at the ſovereignty, who thereupon ordered him to be arreſted, and kept him for ſeven months ſurrounded by guards, ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another [b], but moſtly at *Milan*, where the emperor himſelf reſided; for he tells us, that he was kept ſix months in the great city which was the emperor's abode; and that, during the whole time he was detained there, he was but once admitted to ſee the emperor, and then by the mediation of the empreſs *Euſebia*, who
e prevailed upon her huſband to hear him, and encouraged him to defend himſelf with liberty and freedom; which he did, without either juſtifying, through fear or complaiſance, the emperor's proceedings againſt his brother, or provoking his vengeance, by complaining of the hard uſage he himſelf had met with. *Conſtantius* promiſed him a ſecond audience; which was put off from day to day, under various pretences, by the eunuch *Euſebius*, the emperor's great chamberlain, who began to apprehend, that *Julian* might, by degrees, gain not only the prince's favour, but confidence [c]. However, *Conſtantius* being in the end convinced of his innocence, by means of the empreſs, he was allowed to return to his own country; that is, to his mother's eſtate in *Ionia* or *Bithynia* [d]. But a report being ſpread, before he ſet out,
f that *Africanus* had revolted in *Illyricum*, *Conſtantius* would not ſuffer him to return to *Aſia*; but, at the requeſt of *Euſebia*, gave him leave to go into *Greece*, which he preferred to all other places, being deſirous, as he pretended, to perfect himſelf in the ſciences; but his true deſign was to confer with the magicians at *Athens*, whom he believed more ſkilled in that art than thoſe in *Aſia* [e]. He arrived at *Athens* about the

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Socrat. l. iii. p. 197. [t] Eunap. c. 14. p. 132. Liban. vit. p. 18. Socrat. p. 165. [u] Liban. orat. xii. p. 263. Socrat. p. 165. Eunap. c. 14. p. 134. [w] Socrat. l. iii. c. i. p. 165. Soz. l. v. c. 2. p. 594. Liban. orat. v. p. 175. [x] Lib. ibid. [y] Socrat. ibid. p. 166. [z] Philost. l. iii. c. 27. p. 59. Liban. orat. x. p. 234. [a] Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 86. [b] Liban. orat. xii. p. 267. Julian. ad Athen. p. 501. [c] Idem ibid. p. 503, 504. Liban. ibid. [d] Julian. ibid. p. 501. Ammian. l. xv. p. 34. [e] Julian. ibid. Eunap. c. 5. p. 74. Themist. p. 479.

the middle of the year 355. and there became acquainted with the two great luminaries of the church, St. *Gregory Nazianzen* and St. *Basil*, who were at that time both improving themselves at *Athens* in the study of eloquence, of which they made afterwards so good an use. With the latter *Julian* read and studied, not only the profane authors, but the books of the holy scripture, carefully concealing, through fear of *Constantius*, his real sentiments [f]; but he could not, with all his disguises, deceive the former, who, from his wild motions and gestures, which he minutely describes, foresaw, and foretold among his intimate friends, what afterwards happened [g]. During his stay at *Athens*, he became familiar with the most zealous advocates for paganism, and the persons best versed in magic, expressing to them, in confidence, his concern for the downfal of paganism, and his desire and intention of restoring it to its former lustre, as soon as it was in his power so to do [h]. He had been but a very short time at *Athens*, when he was recalled, to attend the emperor at *Milan*, who, it seems, had already determined with himself to raise him to the dignity of *Cæsar* [i]. *Julian* left *Greece* with great regret, resolving not to accept the dignity with which he imagined the emperor designed to invest him, either because he loved a retired life, as *Libanius* would make us believe [k], or rather dreading the fate of his brother, as he himself informs us [l]. On his arrival at *Milan*, he lodged in a house without the city, where he was splendidly entertained by the eunuchs of the empress [m]. *Constantius* was not then at *Milan*; but he returned soon after to that city, and immediately communicated to his friends his design of raising *Julian*, who did all that lay in their power to divert him from it; but *Eusebia*, who favoured *Julian*, prevailed; and the emperor ordered *Julian* to shave his long beard, to quit his philosophical cloak, and appear in the attire of a military man and the garb of a courtier [n]. As he had hitherto led the life of a philosopher, or rather of a monk, his aukwardness in acting a part he had never been accustomed to, afforded for some time no small diversion to the other courtiers [o]. The emperor assigned him an apartment in the palace, which he entered with dread and terror, reflecting, that he was to live among those who had shed the blood of his father and brothers, and massacred his whole family. When he found the emperor, in spite of his warm remonstrances, resolved upon his promotion, he earnestly intreated him to appoint such ministers and officers to serve under him, as might supply his want of experience, and to give him in writing directions relating to his whole conduct, that his only business might be to obey [p]. *Constantius* encouraged him, and having calmed his fears, gave him leave to wait on the empress, who removed all his apprehensions [q]. At length, on the sixth of *November* 355. he was declared *Cæsar* with the usual solemnity, appointed governor of *Gaul*, and a few days after, by the interest of *Eusebia*, married to *Helena*, the empress's sister [r]. We have related above [s] in what manner he was treated, and how narrowly watched after his promotion. His household was changed, and of his former domestics only four were left with him, *viz.* two youths, his physician, and his librarian [t]. The latter alone was privy to his sentiments touching religion, as he himself informs us [u]. He left *Milan* on the first of *December*, as we have observed above [w], and arrived at *Vienne* in *Gaul* about the end of the year. His warlike exploits, already described by us in the reign of *Constantius*, seem to us altogether surprising, when we reflect, that they were performed by one who was yet very young; who had been brought up in the country and among books, and consequently was obliged to learn the first rudiments of war while he was leading the army to battle [x].

Julian is declared Cæsar.

His conduct in Gaul.

During his stay in *Gaul*, as soon as he had quitted the field, he betook himself to his studies, especially to that of philosophy, but without neglecting the other sciences, in which he made a wonderful progress, being, according to *Ammianus*, not only an excellent philosopher, but an eloquent orator, a good poet, well versed in the *Roman* and other histories, thoroughly acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and prettey well with the *Latin*, in which he expressed himself with great ease [y]. His two elogies on *Constantius*, his panegyric on the empress *Eusebia*, and his discourse in commendation of *Salust*, which have all reached our times, were the fruit of his studies in *Gaul*; for

[f] Basil. ep. 207. p. 122. [g] Greg. Naz. p. 121, 122. [h] Liban. orat. xii. p. 268. [i] Jul. ad Athen. p. 503. Ammian. l. xv. p. 47. Liban. orat. x. p. 235. [k] Liban. ibid. [l] Julian. ad Athen. p, 505. [m] Liban. orat. xii. p. 268. & Julian. ibid. [n] Idem ibid. p. 505, 506. [o] Ammian. l. xv. p. 47. [p] Julian. ibid. p. 516. [q] Idem ibid. p. 517. & orat. iii. p. 228. [r] Ammian. l. xv. p. 49. Chron. Alex. p. 680. Socr. l. ii. c. 34. Julian. orat. iii. p. 230. [s] Vide p. 296, 297. [t] Julian. ibid. p. 526. Liban. orat. ix. p. 236. [u] Julian. ibid. p. 509. [w] P. 297. [x] Julian. ibid. p. 180. [y] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 62.

a for in the firſt of theſe compoſitions he ſpeaks of his promotion to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and tells us in the ſecond, that he had ſeen the barbarians on the banks of the *Rhine*, and the coaſts of the ocean, which muſt have happened in the campaign of the year 358 [z]. The panegyric on *Euſebia* was written after that princeſs had been at *Rome*, in the latter end of the year 356 [a]. As *Julian* took great delight in learning, men of letters flocked to him while he was in *Gaul* from all parts, eſpecially from *Greece*, and among the reſt the pontiff of *Eleuſina*, with whom he practiſed in private the abominable myſteries of magic, and conſulted the aruſpices and augurs; for, though he outwardly profeſſed the chriſtian religion, he was a heathen in his heart, and ſacrificed every morning to *Minerva* in his cloſet [b]. He obſerved great temperance *His frugality.*
b and ſobriety in his diet, remembering, ſays *Ammianus* [c], the ſaying of *Cato* the elder, *viz. That whoever thinks too much of his table, thinks little of virtue.* Having this maxim conſtantly before his eyes, he would not even ſuffer his table to be ſerved after the manner preſcribed by *Conſtantius*, who had given him inſtructions under his own hand, as we have obſerved above, which were to be the rules of his conduct, and deſcended even to his diet, but contented himſelf with the food of the common ſoldiers [d]. As he fed ſparingly, he was ſatisfied with little ſleep, repoſing on a ſkin ſpread on the ground, and awaking when he pleaſed, which was conſtantly about midnight: the reſt of the night he ſpent in writing, reading, and viſiting before break of day the ſentries and guards in their different ſtations; from this no incle-
c mency of weather ever diverted him [e]. He never ſuffered plays to be exhibited but *He hates all* on the firſt day of the year, and then not for his own diverſion, (for he hated all *ſports.* ſorts of ſports, even thoſe of the circus) but to comply with an ancient cuſtom, and to humour the populace [f]. No dancers, comedians, players upon inſtruments, buffoons, *&c.* were ſuffered to appear at his court; nay, when he was emperor, he would not ſuffer the pagan pontiffs to aſſiſt at the infamous ſports, as he ſtyles them, of the theatre, nor to contract friendſhip with ſtage-players, dancers, drivers of chariots, *&c.* or even enter their houſes: however, he allowed them to be preſent at certain combats, which he names ſacred, and at which no women appeared; but as for the combats, in which men entered the liſts with wild beaſts, he excluded
d from them both the prieſts and their children [g]. The grave and ſevere life he led in *Gaul* gained him the eſteem and affections of the people there, who looked upon him as a prince ſent down to them by heaven, the more becauſe he made it his chief ſtudy to eaſe them of the heavy and inſupportable burdens with which they were *Studies to eaſe* loaded by the emperor's officers, eſpecially by *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, who, on *the people.* that account, conceived an implacable hatred againſt him, and did him all the evil offices at court that lay in his power. But *Julian*, preferring the welfare of the people to his own ſafety, in ſpite of *Florentius*, leſſened the taxes, and reduced them from twenty-five pieces of gold a head to ſeven, which he found ſufficient to defray all the expences of the war [h]; whence he was by all the people in *Gaul* looked upon as the reſtorer of
e their country, and their common father [i]. In what he undertook in favour of the people, he was greatly aſſiſted by one *Saluſt*, a native of *Gaul*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence; which raiſed ſuch jealouſy in the other courtiers, that they took great pains to diſcredit him with the emperor, who was in the end perſuaded to remove him, and appoint one *Lucianus* in his room [k]. *Julian*, ſenſibly affected in ſeeing himſelf deprived of the counſels of ſo truſty a friend, gave vent to his grief in the diſcourſe which he wrote to bid him farewel [l]. From that diſcourſe, which is a kind of panegyric on *Saluſt*, it appears, that *Julian* had communicated to him his moſt ſecret thoughts; whence ſome conclude him to have been a pagan, though a man of great integrity and an unblemiſhed character [m]. The emperor, who was
f then in *Illyricum*, ſent him into *Thrace*; whence he was ſoon after remanded into *Gaul*, where *Julian* left him in 361. with the character of prefect [n]. As *Julian* was univerſally eſteemed and beloved by the people in *Gaul*, no wonder that they readily concurred with the ſoldiery in beſtowing upon him the title of emperor in 360. as we

[z] Julian. or. i. p. 82. & or. ii p. 103. [a] Idem, or. iii. p. 241. [b] Julian. ep. xxxviii. p. 180. Liban. or. x. p. 140. & xii. p. 279. Eunap. c. 5. p. 76, 77. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 180, 181. [c] Ammian. l. xvi. & xxv. p. 61. & 292. [d] Idem ibid. p. 62. Julian. p. 60. Liban. or. xii. p. 304. [e] Ammian. Julian. Lib. ibid. [f] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 292. Julian. miſopog. p. 59, 60. [g] Lib. or. x. p. 240. Julian. or. fragment. p. 555. [h] Panegyr. xi. p. 223. Ammian. l. xvi. p. 58. Julian. ep. xvii. p. 133. [i] Lib. or. xii. p. 281. Julian. ep. ad Athen. p. 518. [k] Liban. ibid. Julian. ep. xvii. p. 135. [l] Julian. or. viii. p. 444. [m] Idem ibid. p. 449. [n] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 187.

we have related above. After his promotion, he continued for ſome time to profeſs a outwardly the chriſtian religion, and publicly aſſiſted at the holy ceremonies of the church on the feaſt of the *Epiphany* in 361 [o]. but threw off the maſk ſoon after; for we are told by *Libanius*, that he no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of *Illyricum*, than he opened the temples of the gods, offered ſacrifices according to the ancient rites, and exhorted all perſons to follow his example, and reſtore to its former luſtre the religion of their anceſtors [p]. This happened before the death of *Conſtantius*, who died on the third of *November* 361. ſince *Gregory Nazianzen* ſuppoſes him to have known, that *Julian* had renounced the true religion [q]; and *Libanius* aſſures us, that before the emperor's death, the *Greeks*, eſpecially the *Athenians*, declaring for *Julian*, had begun to offer ſacrifices as formerly, and practiſe the ceremonies that had been long b neglected, which gave occaſion to a ſedition raiſed at *Athens* among the ſacred families, as *Libanius* ſtyles them, meaning, no doubt, the families of the pontiffs. The ſame writer adds, that *Julian* wrote ſeveral letters, exhorting them to peace and concord [r]. We have mentioned above, what paſſed in *Gaul* and *Illyricum*, from the time *Julian* was declared emperor to the death of *Conſtantius*; and ſhall therefore, without repeating the ſame events, reſume the thread of our hiſtory from that period, generally reckoned the beginning of *Julian*'s reign. *Conſtantius* being dead, the eunuch *Euſebius*, and ſome others, who dreaded the reſentment of *Julian*, and the puniſhment due to their enormous crimes, were for electing another emperor; but no one falling in with them, *Theolaiphus* and *Aliguldus*, both ſtyled counts, were diſpatched c to *Julian* with the news of the emperor's death, and to aſſure him, that all the eaſtern provinces were ready to obey his commands. The two meſſengers found him at *Naiſſus* in *Illyricum*, employed chiefly in ſuperſtitious inquiries into the entrails of victims, and ſometimes promiſing himſelf the beſt, at other times apprehending the worſt events. But the death of *Conſtantius* delivered him from all his doubts and apprehenſions, and put him in poſſeſſion of the empire, without ſtriking a blow [s]. We are told, that when he received the news of the emperor's death, he burſt into tears, appeared the ſame day in deep mourning, and betrayed an extraordinary grief and concern amidſt the repeated acclamations of the ſoldiery, ſaluting him with the title of *Auguſtus* [t]. He immediately iſſued orders for a general mourning, and com- d manded all poſſible honours to be paid to the body of the deceaſed emperor [u]. Soon after the meſſengers, ſeveral horſemen arrived from *Conſtantinople*, aſſuring him, that the troops in thoſe parts had unanimouſly acknowledged him emperor [w]. He therefore ſet out without delay for *Conſtantinople*; and being met by almoſt all the inhabitants of that metropolis at *Heraclea*, he made his public entry on the eleventh of *December* of this year 361. being attended by the ſenate in a body, by all the magiſtrates, and by the nobility in their beſt apparel, every one teſtifying with loud ſhouts of joy the ſatisfaction they felt in ſeeing ſuch a promiſing prince; a prince, who had been born, and ſome time educated, in their city, who had already performed ſuch wonderful exploits, raiſed to the empire without the leaſt expence of blood e or treaſure to the republic [x]. He was anew declared emperor by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*; and as ſoon as that ceremony was over, he cauſed the obſequies of *Conſtantius* to be performed with the greateſt pomp and ſolemnity imaginable [y]. His next care was to form at *Chalcedon* a court of juſtice, to inquire into the conduct of the miniſters of the deceaſed emperor, and to hear the complaints of ſuch as had been injured by them. In this court preſided *Saluſtius Secundus*, whom *Julian* had created prefect of the eaſt, in the room of *Elpidius*, and we muſt take care not to confound with *Saluſt*, prefect of *Gaul*, of whom we have ſpoken above: to diſtinguiſh them, we ſhall call the former *Secundus*, following therein *Ammianus* and other writers. *Julian* repoſed in both an intire confidence; and the prefect of the eaſt, though a f pagan, is highly commended, even by the eccleſiaſtic writers, for his prudence, diſcretion and compaſſion towards the chriſtians perſecuted by *Julian*, whoſe conduct towards them he loudly condemned. With him were joined in commiſſion the two conſuls elect *Mamertinus* and *Nevita*, the former prefect of *Illyricum*, and the latter an officer in the army, with *Arbetio*, *Agilo*, and *Jovinus*, of whom the latter had been lately created general of the horſe in *Illyricum*, and the two others had ſerved under

He cauſes the temples of the gods to be opened.

Julian *acknowledged emperor upon the death of* Conſtantius.

He is received with great joy at Conſtantinople.

He erects a court of juſtice to inquire into the conduct of the miniſters of Conſtantius.

o Zos. l. iii. p. 711. Soz l. v. c. 1. p. 590. Julian. ad Athen. p. 509. p Lib. or. xii. p. 288.
q Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 68, 69. r Lib. or. xii. p. 288. s Ammian. l. xxi. p. 200. & l. xxii p. 204. Zos. l. iii. p. 713. Lib. or. xii. p. 289. t Zonar. p. 21. u Zos. l. iii. p. 713. w Idem ibid.
x Ammian. l. xxi. p. 205. y Socr. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. Lib. or. xii. p. 289. Zos. p. 713.

a under *Conſtantius* in quality of generals. *Arbetio* was univerſally abhorred on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, and was ſaid to have occaſioned the ruin of ſeveral innocent perſons under the late reign: whence the conduct of *Julian* ſeemed to all very ſtrange, in appointing one to judge others, who ought himſelf to have been arraigned as a criminal; nay, we are told, that the whole authority was lodged in his hands, and that the others were named only for form-ſake[y]; which betrayed in *Julian*, ſays *Ammianus*, no ſmall want either of judgment or vigour[z]. Be that as it will, by this court were condemned to be burnt alive the famous *Paulus Catena* and the noted informer *Apodemus*, as the chief authors of all the cruelties committed in the late reign. The eunuch *Euſebius* was likewiſe condemned and executed. Theſe executions were by all the world applauded as juſt and equitable; but the death of *Urſula*, a man of great merit and known integrity, was a ſtain upon the reputation of *Julian*, whom he had ſupplied with money unknown to the emperor, when he was ſent into *Gaul* with the title of *Cæſar*, but without the neceſſary appointments to ſupport that dignity. What prompted *Julian* to put him to death, we are nowhere told; but all authors agree, that he deſerved no ſuch treatment, eſpecially at his hands; and therefore charge him with the blackeſt ingratitude in procuring the death of a perſon to whom he owed the greateſt obligations[a]. *Julian*, to palliate his ingratitude, cruelty, and injuſtice, pretended, that *Urſula* had been condemned and executed without his knowledge; but *Ammianus* himſelf owns this to be but a lame excuſe[b]. To atone in ſome degree for this crying injuſtice, he ordered great part of the eſtate of *Urſula*, which had been confiſcated, to be reſtored to his daughter, his only child[c]. *Florentius*, who was this year conſul, and had, while prefect of *Gaul*, highly diſobliged *Julian*, as we related above, was likewiſe ſentenced to death; but he found means to make his eſcape, and appeared no more[d]: whence we muſt diſtinguiſh him from another of the ſame name, who was taken and beheaded with *Procopius* in 369. Two officers, whom *Julian* had diſcharged, offered to diſcover *Florentius*, provided they were reſtored to their rank; but *Julian* diſmiſſed them, branding them with the name of informers, and adding, that to perſecute an unhappy man, who had been obliged to conceal himſelf, was an action unworthy of a prince[e]. *Taurus*, *Florentius*'s collegue in the conſulſhip, and prefect of *Italy*, was baniſhed to *Vercellæ*, now *Vercelli*, in *Piedmont*, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had fled when *Julian* entered *Illyricum*[f]. With the ſame injuſtice were baniſhed another *Florentius*, who had been *magiſter officiorum* under *Conſtantius*, *Palladius*, who had diſcharged the ſame office in the court of *Gallus*, and many others[g]. *Julian*, not ſatisfied with having puniſhed ſome of *Conſtantius*'s miniſters, deprived the reſt of their employments, without diſtinction, though there were among them ſeveral perſons of unblemiſhed characters, who had diſapproved, and even oppoſed, moſt of the late meaſures. As the vaſt number of officers was become an intolerable burden to the public, he thought himſelf bound to leſſen it; and accordingly diſcharged all uſeleſs perſons about court, preferring the frugality and modeſty of a philoſopher, ſays *Ammianus*, to the vain magnificence of a prince[h]. He reduced among the reſt the officers called *agentes in rebus*, from ten thouſand to ſeventeen[i], and diſcharged thouſands of cooks, barbers, and ſuch-like vermin, who devoured the ſubſtance of the people, and with their large ſalaries drained the exchequer[k]. Hiſtorians relate of him, that having called for a barber, and one appearing in a dreſs far above his condition, *Julian* looking upon him, and betraying great ſurprize, *I called for a barber*, ſaid he, *and not for a governor or a ſenator*[l]. The *curioſi*, whoſe office it was to inform the emperor of what paſſed in the different provinces, were all diſcharged, and that employment intirely ſuppreſſed[m]. This great reform of officers and offices enabled him to eaſe the people of the heavy burdens they groaned under; which he did, abating throughout the whole empire the fifth part of all taxes and impoſts[n]. He recalled from baniſhment all the orthodox biſhops, but with a deſign, as is obſerved both by the pagan and chriſtian writers, to raiſe diſturbances, and ſow diſſentions in the church.

Several of them condemned and executed.

Urſula, and others, condemned unjuſtly.

He reforms the court.

He eaſes the people by leſſening the taxes.

The death of *Conſtantius* was no ſooner known, than deputies were ſent from the chief cities of the empire, to preſent the new prince with crowns of gold, and to congratulate

Deputies ſent from ſeveral cities and nations to congratulate Julian.

[y] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 206, 207. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Lib. or. xii. p. 298, Ammian. ibid. p. 206, 207. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Lib. or. xii. p. 298. [d] Ammian. ibid. p. 206. [e] Idem, l. xxvi. p. 328. & l. xxii. p. 210. [f] Idem, p. 206. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem, p. 213. [i] Lib. or. xii. p. 279. [k] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 206, 207. [l] Idem, l. xxii. p. 213. Zon. p. 21. [m] Ammian l. xxii. p. 207, 208. Lib. or. xii. p. 293. [n] Julian. miſop. p. 102.

congratulate him on his acceſſion to the empire. Their example was followed by a
ſeveral foreign nations, among which, however, we find no mention made of the
Perſians. The deputies of the *Goths* cavilling about the oaths they were to take,
Julian ordered them to return home, and prepare for war; but contented himſelf
with placing ſtrong gariſons in the cities of *Thrace*, and on the banks of the *Danube* o.
Before he left *Conſtantinople*, he wrote to the philoſopher *Maximus*, who had firſt
inſpired him, as we have obſerved above, with an averſion to the chriſtian religion,
He invites to court philoſophers, magicians, &c. from all parts.
inviting to court both him and another pagan philoſopher and magician, named
Chryſanthus. The latter, deterred by ſome bad omens, could not prevail upon
himſelf to comply with the invitation; but the former readily obeyed, and was
received by the emperor at *Conſtantinople* with ſuch tokens of friendſhip and eſteem, b
as to *Ammianus* ſeemed below the dignity of a prince p, though highly commended by
Libanius q. The philoſopher, puffed up with the reception he met with from *Julian*,
and the reſpect paid him by others out of complaiſance to the prince, grew ſo proud
and haughty, that it was leſs difficult to have acceſs to the emperor than to him r.
By him *Julian* was perſuaded to write a ſecond letter to *Chryſanthus*; nay, he con-
deſcended to write privately with his own hand to the philoſopher's wife, hoping
by her means to draw him to court. But finding him unalterably fixed in his former
reſolution, he created him high pontiff of *Lydia* s; which office he diſcharged with
great moderation. Foreſeeing, without the aſſiſtance of magic, what might happen,
he did not take upon him, as others did, to rebuild the temples of the gods; but c
carefully avoiding diſobliging the chriſtians, or doing them the leaſt injury: hence
the re-eſtabliſhment of idolatry in that province was ſcarce perceptible t. The
encouragement *Maximus* met with from *Julian*, drew to court from all parts ſwarms
of philoſophers, magicians, aruſpices, and diviners of all denominations, who were
kindly received by the emperor, entertained at a great expence, and raiſed to
honourable employments, though many of them had in the late reign been branded
with infamy for their notorious impoſtures, and condemned either to languiſh in
priſon, or to work in the mines. Theſe were *Julian*'s chief favourites; theſe the
perſons in whom he moſt confided u. But among them *Maximus* and *Priſcus* bore
the chief ſway, aſſuming a port and authority ill ſuiting their profeſſion w. *Iamblichus* d
of *Apamea* was likewiſe importuned by *Julian* to come to court; but he choſe rather
to lead a retired life, as did the great *Baſil*, rejecting with contempt the tender
which *Julian*, who had known him at *Athens*, made him of his friendſhip x. The
chriſtian writers add, that *Julian*'s court was not only crouded with philoſophers
and magicians, but with infamous women y; a charge not denied by *Ammianus*
himſelf, who owns, that he was not undeſervedly traduced and ridiculed for carrying
about with him troops of women z.

The next conſuls were *Claudius Mamertinus* and *Nevita*, or *Nevitta*, who, on the
firſt day of *January*, when they entered, according to cuſtom, upon their office,
went, before it was light, to wait on the emperor, fearing, ſays *Mamertinus* in the e
panegyric he pronounced on this occaſion, he ſhould be before-hand with them a.
Julian *pays great reſpect to the conſuls.*
Julian no ſooner heard they were coming, than he haſtened to meet them in the
utmoſt confuſion, as if he had been wanting in reſpect to them, kiſſed them, received
them with the greateſt regard imaginable, and would by all means attend them in
their chariots, walking before them to the ſenate mixed with the croud b. His
conduct on this occaſion is greatly commended by ſome, and no leſs blamed by
others, among the reſt by *Ammianus*, who looked upon it as too mean, and below
the majeſty of a prince c. It was an uſual thing for emperors to accompany the new
conſuls on that day, but not on foot, it ſeems, nor blended with the croud. On
the third of *January*, *Mamertinus* exhibited the circenſian ſports, when a troop of f
ſlaves being brought into the circus, in order to be declared free by the conſul,
according to cuſtom, *Julian*, unacquainted with the prerogatives of the ſeveral magi-
ſtrates, declared them free himſelf; but being told, that he entrenched upon the
juriſdiction of the conſuls, he begged pardon, and condemned himſelf to pay a fine
of ten pounds weight of gold d. *Ammianus* obſerves, that *Julian* went frequently to
the

o Ammian. ibid. p. 210. Lib. or. 10. p. 245. p Ammian. l. xxii. p. 110. q Lib: or. xii. 299.
r Eunap. c. 5. p. 79. s Idem ibid, p. 80, 81. t Idem, c. 21. p. 148, 149. u Idem, c. 5. p. 80, 81.
Ammian. l. xxii. p. 225. w Eunap. ibid. x Basil. ep. 206, 207. p. 225, 226. y Chrys. in gent.
p. 676. Greg. Naz. or. iv. p. 221. z Ammian. l. xxii. p. 227. a Panegyr. xi. p. 222. b Idem,
p. 224. c Ammian, l. xxii. p. 209. d Idem ibid.

a the ſenate, and ſpoke in all debates; whereas *Conſtantius* uſed to command the ſenators to attend him in the palace, and to ſignify to them his will and pleaſure, without allowing them to ſit down in his preſence [e]. This year, *Julian* appointed one *Prætextatus* governor of *Achaia*, who is mightily commended both by *Ammianus* [f] and *Zoſimus* [g]; and *Photius* quotes a diſcourſe of the ſophiſt *Himera* on his proconſulſhip, which office he ſtill held in 364. and 365. under the emperor *Valentinian* [h]. Before he left *Conſtantinople*, he enriched that metropolis, the place of his nativity, with many privileges, formed a large harbour to ſhelter the ſhips from the ſouth wind, built a magnificent porch leading to it, and in another porch a ſtately library, in which he lodged all his books [i]. At length he left *Conſtantinople* in the month

b of *May*, and ſet out for *Antioch*: he paſſed through *Chalcedon*, and from thence went to *Nicomedia*, the ruins of which city, overturned by an earthquake, he could not behold without ſhedding many tears: he ordered conſiderable ſums for the rebuilding of it, and then purſuing his journey by *Nice*, he turned out of his way on the borders of *Galatia*, to viſit the famous temple of *Cybele* at *Peſſinus*, which he enriched with offerings of a great value. He pronounced a diſcourſe on that pretended deity, which he compoſed in one night, appointed *Calixenes* prieſteſs of the temple, and then continued his rout to *Ancyra*, where he was met by the pagan prieſts carrying with them their idols. As ſoon as he arrived at the palace, he ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among them, and the next day exhibited public ſports [k].

c As he purſued his march, he was met in moſt places by crouds of people come to lay their complaints before him: he heard them with patience, and decided their differences with equity, not ſuffering himſelf to be prejudiced in favour of thoſe who complained, or againſt ſuch as had given them occaſion to complain [l]. As he entered *Cilicia*, he was met by the inhabitants of a ſmall village, one of whom accuſed another of aſpiring at the empire, alledging, that he had ordered himſelf a purple habit, which was actually making. *Julian* heard the informer with great patience, and then told him, that when the purple habit was done, he might ſupply, if he pleaſed, the new prince with purple ſhoes [m]. The emperor, paſſing through *Cilicia*, arrived at length at *Antioch*, where he was received with the greateſt demon-

d ſtrations of joy imaginable. Soon after his arrival, he went up to the top of mount *Caſius* in the neighbourhood of that city, and there offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Jupiter*. On his return, *Theodotus*, one of the chief citizens of *Hierapolis*, who, it ſeems, had formerly done ſomething to diſoblige him, threw himſelf at his feet, intreating him to forgive him. *Julian* did not know him; but without inquiring who he was, or what he had done, embraced him with great tenderneſs, ſaying, *In what you have diſobliged me, I know not, nor do I care to know; but be what it will, you have nothing to fear under a prince, whoſe greateſt ambition is to leſſen the number of his enemies, and increaſe that of his friends* [n]. During his ſtay at *Antioch*, he employed himſelf chiefly in hearing and deciding cauſes; in protecting the innocent, without

e diſtinction of chriſtian or pagan, ſays *Ammianus* [o]; and puniſhing the guilty, without forgetting his uſual lenity and moderation. In the adminiſtration of juſtice, he readily hearkened to thoſe who ſeemed better acquainted with the laws than himſelf, adviſing conſtantly with them before he gave ſentence [p]. But notwithſtanding his ſo much boaſted equity and moderation, he ſentenced to death *Gaudentius*, one of the late emperor's ſecretaries, and *Julian* formerly vicar, for no other reaſon but becauſe they had adhered to *Conſtantius* with great ſteadineſs and zeal [q]; which a generous prince would have rather thought worthy of reward than puniſhment. He treated in the ſame manner the ſon of *Marcellus*, accuſed of aſpiring at the empire; but contented himſelf with only baniſhing *Romanus* and *Vincentius*, two officers of diſtinf ction, though convicted of the ſame crime [r]. *Marcellus* had highly diſobliged *Julian*, while he commanded under him in *Gaul*, as we have obſerved elſewhere. The eccleſiaſtic writers make long deſcants on the unheard-of cruelties and innumerable murders committed by *Julian*, during his ſtay at *Antioch* [s]. *Gregory Nazianzen* repreſents the *Orontes*, on which ſtood *Antioch*, choaked up with the bodies of ſuch as had by his orders been privately murdered, or thrown into that river in the night-time; and adds, that all the ditches, caves, wells, ponds, *&c.* in the neighbourhood

He enriches the city of Conſtantinople *with many privileges.*

He ſets out for Antioch.

He adminiſters juſtice with impartiality.

[e] Idem, p. 210. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Zos. l. iv. p. 735. [h] PHOT. c. 165. p. 353. [i] AMMIAN. p. 224. Zos. p. 713. THEMIST. or. iv. p. 60. [k] LIB. or. 10. p. 258. AMMIAN. l. xxii p. 220. [l] AMMIAN ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] AMMIAN. ibid. p. 227. [o] Idem ibid. p. 222. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. p. 222, 223. [s] GREG. NAZ. or. iii. p. 91. CHRYS. in gent. p. 677.

bourhood of that city, were filled with the bodies of the young virgins and children whom he had inhumanly ſacrificed, hoping to diſcover future events in their entrails [t]. Theſe abominable practices and barbarous murders were kept ſecret, and carefully concealed, during his life-time, ſays *Theodoret* [u]; but after his death many cheſts were found in the palace, filled with the bones of thoſe he had thus inhumanly ſacrificed. It is ſurpriſing, that ſuch cruelties ſhould have been known only to the chriſtian writers. Both pagan and chriſtian authors obſerve, that during the ſhort time *Julian* reigned, the empire was conſtantly afflicted by ſome grievous calamity or other: dreadful earthquakes were felt in every province; moſt of the cities of *Paleſtine*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, and *Greece*, were overturned [w]. *Libanius* writes, that not one city was left ſtanding in all *Libya*, and but one in *Greece*; that *Nice* was utterly ruined, and *Conſtantinople* greatly damaged [x]. The temples of *Apollo* at *Rome* and *Daphne* were about the ſame time conſumed by fire. The ſea in ſeveral places broke in upon the land, and deſtroyed whole cities with their inhabitants. At *Alexandria*, the ſea retiring during an earthquake, returned afterwards with ſuch violence, that it laid under water ſeveral towns and villages, and drowned an incredible number of people [y]. To theſe calamities was added a general drought, which laſted till the winter was far ſpent, and produced an univerſal famine: the famine was followed by a dreadful plague, and both continued till the death of *Julian*, carrying off great numbers of men and cattle [z]. The eccleſiaſtic writers obſerve, that the famine followed *Julian* from place to place; and that, as he continued longer at *Antioch*, than in any other city, it raged there with moſt violence. *Julian*, to remedy this evil, fixed the prices of corn, and all other proviſions, which increaſed it beyond meaſure, the merchants conveying privately their corn to other places. By this means that great and populous metropolis was reduced to ſuch miſeries as can hardly be expreſſed [a].

The empire afflicted with many calamities.

The following year, 363. *Julian* entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Saluſt*, the prefect of *Gaul*, for his collegue; and on that occaſion *Libanius* pronounced the panegyric, which is ſtill extant [b]. *Julian*, on the firſt of *January*, viſited the temple of *Jupiter*, and there performed the heatheniſh ſacrifices, which had been long omitted, for the ſafety of the empire. As the inhabitants of *Antioch* were moſtly chriſtians, and beſides highly provoked againſt *Julian*, to whoſe impiety in worſhipping the idols they aſcribed the famine and the other calamities, with which the whole empire was afflicted, they publiſhed ſeveral lampoons, reflecting on the defects of his perſon, and expoſing him to ridicule on account of his ſmall ſtature, his forbidding aſpect, his long and rough beard, his port and geſtures, which were, it ſeems, ſomewhat odd and ridiculous. They ſtyled him butcher, by reaſon of the many victims he was daily immolating; and rallied him, not without reaſon, ſays *Ammianus* [c], for taking pride in carrying himſelf the utenſils for the ſacrifices, and acting rather the part of a prieſt than an emperor. The ſtrange and fantaſtical figures, which he cauſed to be engraved on his coins, were, and not undeſervedly, one of the topics of ridicule [d]. *Julian*, highly provoked with the ralleries of the people of *Antioch*, and ſevere ſatires that were daily publiſhed againſt him, and ſung publicly in the ſtreets, wrote an ironical invective againſt the *Antiochians*, ſtyled *The Antiochian* or *Miſopogon*, that is, the *beard-hater*; in which he repreſents them intirely addicted to their intereſt, abandoned to luxury, pomp, and lewdneſs, great admirers of plays, farces, and all ſorts of diverſions. And truly, that his reproaches were not groundleſs, is manifeſt from the homilies which the famous *Chryſoſtom* preached a few years after in that city. However, *Ammianus* aſſures us, that, blinded with paſſion, he mixed with the truth many things that were quite foreign to it [e]. *Elias* of *Crete*, as quoted by *Gregory Nazianzen*, tells us, that, in compoſing this piece, *Julian* was aſſiſted by *Libanius* [f]. *Maximus* too had, in all likelihood, a hand in it; for to his cenſure *Julian* uſed to ſubmit all his compoſitions [g]. The *Miſopogon* was received by ſome better, by others, eſpecially the chriſtians, worſe, than it deſerved: it is a continued ſatire, not without humour; but in many places flat, low, and inſipid. He wrote it ſeven months after his arrival at *Antioch*, that is, about the latter

Julian *rallied by the* Antiochians.

His Aniiochian *or* Miſopogon,

[t] Greg. Naz. ibid. [u] Theodor. l. iii. c. 22. p. 659. [w] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 226. Soz. l. vi. c. 2. p. 639. Chrys. & Greg. Naz. ibid. [x] Lib. or. xii. p. 314. [y] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240. Greg. Naz. p. 112. Soz. p. 639. [z] Ammian. ibid. [a] Lib. or. iv. p. 152. Ammian. p. 233. [b] Lib. vit. p. 43, 44. & or. x. p. 227. [c] Ammian. p. 226. [d] Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 82. Julian. p. 87. Socr. p. 390. Cange. Byz. fam. p. 39. [e] Ammian. p. 226. [f] Greg. Naz. p. 133. [g] Julian. ep. xvi. p. 131.

a latter end of *January* of the preſent year 363 [h]. Though he had been highly provoked by the ſevere reflections, and biting ralleries, of the *Antiochians*, yet in his *Miſopogon* he ſolemnly declares, that none of them ſhall on that ſcore loſe their lives, be beaten with rods, arreſted, or impriſoned; but threatens to withdraw from a city, which thus requited, with the utmoſt ingratitude, the innumerable favours he had heaped upon it, and the extraordinary care he had taken in relieving the citizens, when in the utmoſt diſtreſs [i]. His deſign was to reſide at *Tarſus*, and with this view he wrote to *Memor*, governor of *Cilicia*, one of his intimate friends, injoining him to get every thing ready for his reception againſt his return from the *Perſian* war, which he was then bent upon [k]. *Libanius* tells us, that about the time *Julian* wrote

He deſigns to leave Antioch *and reſide at* Tarſus.

b his *Miſopogon*, ten ſoldiers, incenſed againſt him on account of his attempting to re-eſtabliſh the worſhip of the gods, conſpired to murder him while he was exerciſeing his troops. But the plot being diſcovered by the conſpirators themſelves, when they were intoxicated with wine, they were all arreſted, and brought before *Julian*, who generouſly forgave them, though convicted of the crime laid to their charge [l].

Julian had, ever ſince his acceſſion to the empire, ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to make war upon the *Perſians*, and try whether he could humble that haughty enemy, who had for many years haraſſed the eaſtern provinces in a moſt miſerable manner, and defeated all the attempts of his predeceſſor. Being adviſed, ſoon after his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, to fall upon the *Goths*, he anſwered, that he deſigned to enter the

He prepares for the Perſian *war.*

c liſts with a more formidable enemy [m]. Before he left that metropolis, he had appointed his generals, and named the officers and ſoldiers who were to ſerve under them. *Victor* was created general of the foot, and *Hormiſda* of the horſe. The latter was the elder brother of *Sapor*, king of *Perſia*; but having been excluded from the crown, and kept ſome time under confinement, he found means to make his eſcape, and took ſanctuary in the court of *Conſtantine* in 323 [n]. *Julian*, during his ſtay at *Antioch*, purſued his preparations for the *Perſian* war, drawing together his troops from all quarters, erecting magazines, making new levies, and, above all, conſulting the oracles, the aruſpices, magicians, *&c.* The oracles of *Delphos*, *Delos*, and *Dodona*, aſſured him of victory [o]. But the aruſpices, and moſt of his

d courtiers and officers, did all that lay in their power to divert him from his intended expedition [p]. But the deceitful anſwers of the oracles, the confidence he repoſed in the magicians, and the deſire of adding the *Perſian* monarch to the many kings he had already ſeen humbled at his feet, prevailed over all other conſiderations [q]. The *Perſians*, according to *Theodoret*, began hoſtilities [r], by making inroads into *Meſopotamia*. But *Libanius* tells us, that the king of *Perſia* wrote to *Julian*, offering to conclude a peace with him upon ſuch terms as he ſhould think juſt and reaſonable; but that *Julian*, deſirous to revenge the many affronts offered to the *Romans* by that haugty prince, tore the letter, and would hearken to no terms [s]. *Socrates*

Will hearken to no terms.

e ſpeaks of embaſſadors ſent by *Sapor* with advantageous propoſals, but diſmiſſed by *Julian* with this anſwer; that ere it was long he hoped to treat with their maſter in perſon [t]. Several nations ſent deputies to *Julian*, offering him their aſſiſtance, which he refuſed, ſaying, *The* Romans *are to aſſiſt their allies, but ſtand in no need of their aſſiſtance* [u]. He likewiſe rejected, and in a very diſobliging manner, the offers of the *Saracens*, anſwering them, when they complained of his ſtopping the penſion, which was paid to their nation by other emperors, that *a warlike prince had ſteel, but no gold*; which they reſenting, joined the *Perſians*, and continued faithful to them to the laſt [w]. However, he wrote to *Arſaces*, king of *Armenia*, injoining him to keep his troops in readineſs to execute the orders he ſhould ſoon tranſmit to him. Having made the neceſſary preparations for ſo important a war, as ſoon as the

He diſobliges the Saracens.

f ſeaſon was fit for action, he diſpatched orders to his troops to paſs the *Euphrates*, with a deſign to enter the enemy's country before they had the leaſt notice of his march, placing guards for that purpoſe on all the roads [x]. Before he left *Antioch*, he appointed one *Alexander*, a cruel and paſſionate man, governor of that city, ſaying *the citizens deſerve no better* [y]. He ſet out from *Antioch* on the fifth of *March*,

He ſets out from Antioch.

h Julian. miſop. p. 66. i Idem, p. 101. k Idem, p. 102—106. Soz. l. v. c. 19. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 239. l Lib. or. xii. p. 307. &. or. iv. p. 161. m Ammian. l. xxii. p. 224. n Zos. l. iii. p. 713. Abulfarag. p. 90. o Theodoret. l. iii. c. 16. Greg. Naz. or. p. 114. Philostorg. l. vii. c. 15. Liban. p. 252. p Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 245. q Idem, l. xxii. p. 224. r Theod. l. iii. c. 16. p. 654. s Lib. or. x. p. 243—245. t Soz. l. iii. p. 192. u Ammian. l. xxiii. 9. 238. w Idem, l. xxix. p. 238. & l. xxv. p. 298. x Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 160. y Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 156.

and reached the ſame day *Litarba*, a village in the territory of *Chalcis*, and about a
fifteen leagues from *Antioch*. The magiſtrates of that great city, who had attended
him thither, wiſhing him a happy journey, and a triumphant return, he told them
in a great paſſion, that he would never viſit them again, being reſolved to winter at
Tarſus [t]. He had told them before the ſame thing in the preſence of *Libanius*, who
thereupon wrote two ſpeeches, the one, addreſſed to *Julian*, in favour of the inha-
bitants of *Antioch*, and the other to the inhabitants themſelves [u]. Of theſe, the firſt
only has reached our times. From *Litarba*, *Julian* proceeded to *Berea*, where he
halted a day, and pronounced a ſpeech before the council of the place, exhorting
them to adore the gods of their anceſtors. He writes himſelf, that they all heard
him with attention, and commended him; but few followed his advice [w]. At the b
The conduct of a chriſtian at Berea.
head of the council was a zealous chriſtian, who had not only diſinherited, but turned
out of doors, his ſon, for renouncing the chriſtian religion. As *Julian* drew near
Berea, the ſon accoſting him, acquainted him with the treatment he had met with from
his father, and the motives of his indignation. The emperor, pitying his condition,
bid him take courage, and be under no concern: *For I will take upon me*, added he,
to appeaſe your father, and reinſtate you in his favour. Mindful of his promiſe, the
ſame day he invited the chief citizens of *Berea*, and, among the reſt, both the father
and the ſon, to ſup with him. The two latter he placed by him; and in the midſt
of the banquet, turning to the father, *I do not think it reaſonable*, ſaid he, *to uſe
any violence in point of religion. Allow your ſon to profeſs a religion different from yours,* c
*as I allow you to profeſs one different from mine, tho' I might eaſily oblige you to renounce
it. What!* replied the father, *are you ſpeaking in favour of an impious wretch abhorred
by heaven, who has preferred falſhood to truth, and renounced the worſhip of the true
God, to fall down before idols? Injuries and invectives*, replied *Julian*, interrupting
him, *are foreign to our purpoſe, and therefore I beg you would forbear them*: then
turning to the ſon, *It is incumbent upon me*, ſaid he, *to take care of you, ſince your
father is deaf to my prayers and intreaties in your behalf* [x]. He was better pleaſed
The route of Julian's army. with the inhabitants of *Batne*, the next city he came to; for they had, before his
arrival, reſtored the public worſhip of the gods. There he offered ſacrifices, and
having immolated a great number of victims, he purſued the next day his journey to d
Hierapolis, the capital city of the province *Euphrateſiana*, which he reached on the
ninth of *March*. He was met at a great diſtance by crouds of people; but as he
entered the city, fifty ſoldiers were killed, and a great many more hurt, by the fall
of a porch [y]. At *Hierapolis* he lodged in the houſe of one for whom he had a
particular eſteem and veneration, becauſe he was the ſon-in-law of *Sopater*, the
diſciple of *Iamblichus*, and becauſe neither *Conſtantius* nor *Gallus*, who had both
lodged in his houſe, had ever been able to prevail upon him to renounce the worſhip
of his idols [z]. From *Hierapolis*, *Julian* wrote to *Libanius*, giving him an account
of his journey, and of ſeveral things he had done at *Hierapolis* [a]; but takes no notice
of the death of the fifty ſoldiers. He left *Hierapolis* on the thirteenth of *March*; e
and having paſſed the *Euphrates* on a bridge of boats with his army, he came to
Batnæ, a ſmall city of *Oſrhoene*, about ten leagues from *Hierapolis*, and different
from the city of the ſame name in *Syria*. There fifty ſoldiers more were killed by
the fall of a ſtack of ſtraw [b]. From *Batnæ* he proceeded to *Carrhæ*, where, in
He ſacrifices to the moon at Carrhæ.
the famous temple of the moon, he performed ſome ceremonies with his magicians,
ſays *Theodoret*, which were not known then, but were diſcovered after his death;
for that writer tells us, that he ordered the gates of the temple to be ſhut, ſealed
them with his own ſignet, and placed guards round the temple, with orders to let
no one enter it till his return. But when the news of his death was brought to
Carrhæ, the gates were opened, continues the ſame writer, when, to the great ſur- f
prize of the whole city, a woman was ſeen hanging by her hair, with her arms
ſtretched out, and her belly open [c]. What *Theodoret* writes is not vouched by any
other author; but they all agree, that *Julian* privately ſacrificed in the temple of
the moon at *Carrhæ*; which ceremony being over, he delivered, as we read in
Ammianus, a purple robe to his kinſman *Procopius*, the only perſon whom he had
admitted to the ſacrifice, injoining him to ſeize on the empire, if news ſhould be
brought

[t] Evagr. l. vi. c. 11. p. 452. Julian. p. 156. Ammian. p. 239. [u] Lib: vit. p. 44. Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 156. Socr. l. iii. c. 17. p. 190. [w] Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 157. [x] Theod. l. iii. c. 17. p. 655, 656. [y] Julian. ibid. p. 159. Lib. or. xii. p. 311. [z] Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 159. [a] Idem ibid. p. 160. [b] Lib. or. 12. p. 111. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 239,240. [c] Theodor. l. iii. c. 21. p. 658, 659.

a brought him of his death [d]. This looks as if the omens had not proved favourable. But on the other hand *Libanius* writes, that the gods revealed to him, that he was not to die till he had humbled the *Perſians*; and beſtows great encomiums upon him for having choſen to haſten his death, rather than to deprive himſelf of the glory he was to acquire in this war [e]. While he was at *Carrhæ*, news being brought him, that a party of the enemy's horſe had broke into the *Roman* territories, he reſolved to leave an army in *Meſopotamia* to guard the frontiers of the empire on that ſide, while he advanced on the other into the heart of the *Perſian* dominions [f]. This army conſiſted, according to ſome [g], of twenty thouſand, according to others, of thirty thouſand, choſen troops [h]; and was commanded by *Procopius*, and *Sebaſtian*, a famous
b *Manichean*, who had been governor of *Egypt*, and had perſecuted there, with the utmoſt cruelty, the orthodox chriſtians. Theſe two were to join, if poſſible, *Arſaces* king of *Armenia*, to lay waſte the fruitful plains of *Media*, and meet the emperor in *Aſſyria*. *Julian* wrote to *Arſaces*, acquainting him with his deſign, but in the moſt diſobliging terms imaginable, treating him as if he had been the meaneſt of his ſlaves, reviling the memory of *Conſtantius*, to whom that prince had been ever greatly attached, and extolling his own abilities and ſkill in war. As *Arſaces* profeſſed the chriſtian religion, *Julian*, after having threatened to treat him as a rebel, if he did not, with the utmoſt punctuality, execute the orders laid upon him, added, *And the God you adore will not be able to ſcreen you from my indignation.* Thus
c *Sozomen* [i]. There were two roads leading from *Carrhæ* to *Perſia*, the one to the left by *Niſibis*, and through the province of *Adiabene*; the other to the right, through *Aſſyria*, along the banks of the *Euphrates*. On both theſe roads *Julian* had cauſed magazines to be erected, but choſe the latter; and after having, from an eminence, viewed his army, conſiſting of ſixty-three thouſand men, he ſet out on the twenty-fifth of *March* for *Davana* or *Dabana* in *Meſopotamia*, and arrived the next day at *Calliniſus* or *Callinicum*, where he ſtopt the twenty-ſeventh to celebrate the feaſt of the mother of the gods. The day following, he proceeded on his march, and encamped the night in the fields near the *Euphrates*; where he was met by his fleet, conſiſting of ſeven hundred gallies and four hundred ſhips of burden, commanded by count
d *Lucillianus* and the tribune *Conſtantianus* [k]. From *Callinicum* he proceeded to *Cercuſium*, called alſo *Circeſium*, ſituated at the conflux of the *Abora* and the *Euphrates*, and reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Meſopotamia*, having been fortified by *Diocleſian*, to prevent the ſudden irruptions of the *Perſians*, who, in his reign, had even ſurpriſed *Antioch*. At this place *Julian* paſſed the *Abora* with his whole army, and then ordered the bridge to be broken down, that his ſoldiers might not be tempted to deſert, ſeeing they could not return home. From *Cercuſium* he advanced to *Zaitha*, where the tomb of the emperor *Gordian* was ſtill to be ſeen. On the ſeventh of *April*, a ſoldier and two horſes were ſtruck dead by a flaſh of lightning; and a lion of an extraordinary ſize, preſenting himſelf to the army, was diſ-
e patched in a moment by the ſoldiers with a ſhower of darts. Theſe omens occaſioned great diſputes between the philoſophers and the aruſpices, the latter looking upon them as inauſpicious, and adviſing the emperor nor to proceed on his intended expedition, and the former refuting their arguments with others more agreeable to *Julian*'s temper [l]. The emperor, after having paſſed the *Abora*, which parted the *Roman* and *Perſian* dominions, encouraged his men with a proper ſpeech to revenge the many injuries and affronts, which of late years had been offered by the haughty enemy to the *Roman* emperors. When he had ended his ſpeech, he ordered large ſums to be diſtributed among them, a hundred and thirty pieces of ſilver a man, ſays *Ammianus*. He then proceeded on his march with the greateſt order and precau-
f tion imaginale. *Nevitta* led the right wing along the *Euphrates*; *Arintheus* and *Hormiſda* were in the left, with ſome troops of horſe; *Julian* himſelf commanded in the centre, and the rear was brought up by *Dagalaiphus*, *Victor*, and *Secundinus*: a body of fifteen hundred horſe was appointed to ſcour the country for intelligence, and to prevent any ſurprize. To ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, he ordered his ranks to widened; by which means the army took up about ten miles, and appeared at a diſtance far more numerous than it really was [m]. Having

His conduct towards the king of Armenia.

The order of his march.

He enters the Perſian *dominions.*

paſſed

[d] Ammian. p. 240. [e] Lib. pro. templ. p. 24. [f] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240. [g] Zos. l. iii. p. 714. Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. [h] Ammian. p. 240. [i] Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. [k] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240. Zos. l. iii. p. 314. [l] Ammian. p. 244—246. [m] Idem ibid. Zos. p. 715. Lib. or. xii. p. 312.

passed the *Abora*, he entered *Assyria*, says *Ammianus*; but, according to *Libanius*, a
he crossed vast deserts before he reached that province, which he found very popu-
He lays waste Assyria. lous, and abounding with all necessaries of life; but he laid it waste far and near,
setting fire to the magazines, and destroying the provisions which he could not
carry with him [n]. By that means he put it out of his power, which was judged very
impolitic, to take the same rout on his return. Six or seven days after he had passed
the *Abora*, he came to a fort called *Annathan*, which capitulated upon the first summons;
whereupon *Julian* preferred the officer who commanded there, by name *Puseus*, to the
rank of a tribune. He ever after served the *Romans* with great fidelity, and was in the
end created duke of *Egypt* [o]. Here was found a *Roman* soldier, who falling sick when
Galerius invaded *Persia* sixty-six years before, had been left in the enemy's country. b
Upon his recovery, he listed himself among the *Persian* troops, being then in the
flower of his age, and had served with great reputation. When he was brought to *Julian*,
he assured him, that he had been often foretold, he should live till he was near an hun-
dred years old, and be buried at last in the *Roman* territories. *Ammianus* supposes
He reduces several towns and strongholds. the place to have been by him betrayed to the *Romans* [p]. *Julian* burnt all the places
he found abandoned by the inhabitants; but left several strong-holds behind him,
without attempting to reduce them, upon their promising to submit, when he had
made himself master of the rest of the country [q]. After the army had repassed the
Euphrates, at a place called *Baraxmalcha*, *Hormisda* would have fallen into an ambu-
scade laid for him by the enemy, had he not been luckily prevented by a canal, c
which he could not pass, from advancing to the place, where a body of *Persians* lay
in wait for him, under the conduct of *Surena* [r]. After this, *Julian* passed with great
difficulty an arm of the *Euphrates*, which was swelled to an unusual height by the
melting of the snow, and laid siege to *Bersabora* or *Pyrisabora*, next to *Ctesiphon* the
strongest place in *Assyria*, being fortified with a double wall and a citadel, and
defended by a numerous garison. But *Julian*, surmounting all difficulties, reduced
it in two days time, in spite of the most vigorous resistance he met with, both from
the garison and the inhabitants, who fought to the last like men in despair. He
found in the place great store of provisions, and distributed among his soldiers, who
began to mutiny, an hundred pieces of silver a head, having with much-ado pre- d
vailed upon them to be satisfied with that sum [s]. Having thus pacified the army,
and set fire to the town, he pursued his march, and entered a country, which the
enemy, foreseeing he would pass that way, had laid under water; but the soldiers,
animated by the example of their leader, waded through it with great resolution,
and arriving at *Maiozamalcha*, a place of great strength, which refused to submit, they
drew a double line round it, battering the walls night and day, without intermission;
but the besieged obstinately held out, till the *Romans*, by means of a mine, got into
the city, while the *Persians* were busied in defending the walls. *Ammianus*, who was
at this siege, calls *Maiozamalcha* a great and populous city; and his authority is of
more weight with us than that of *Libanius* or *Zosimus*, who suppose it to have been only e
a castle near a large and populous city named *Besuchis* [t]. *Julian*, incensed against
the governor for not surrendering the place at the time agreed on, and for calling
Hormisda a traitor, ordered him to be burnt alive, and gave up the city to be plun-
dered by the soldiers. As the army was now within seven miles of *Ctesiphon*, and
Victor, who had visited all the roads, assured them they had nothing to apprehend,
He advances to Ctesiphon. they advanced to a city, which had been formerly ruined, says *Ammianus*, by a *Ro-*
man emperor, meaning, according to some, *Seleucia*, ruined by *Lucius Verus*, and,
according to others, *Sabata*, about three miles from *Ctesiphon* the great metropolis
of the *Persian* empire [u]. From this place they advanced to a fort, which was taken
by assault, after a short, but vigorous resistance, *Julian* himself having narrowly f
escaped being killed by a shower of arrows discharged against him, as he was view-
ing the walls too near [w]. Having razed the fort, he allowed his army some time
to refresh themselves; and then, causing the canal to be cleansed, which had been
formerly dug by *Trajan* between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, he conveyed by
that means his fleet from the former to the latter river. After this, he led his army
to *Coche*, a place of great strength, standing on the *Tigris* over-against *Ctesiphon*; but
we are not told that he attacked it. All we know is, that he passed the river with no
less

[n] Liban. ibid. p. 313, Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. [o] Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 263. Liban. orat. xii. p. 312.
[p] Ammian. p. 264. [q] Idem, p. 265. [r] Idem ibid. Zos. p. 715. [s] Ammian. ibid. p. 269, 270.
[t] Idem, p. 271. Liban. p. 316. Zos. p. 721. [u] Ammian. Zos. ibid. [w] Ammian. p. 275.

a leſs raſhneſs than courage, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the enemy, encamped on the oppoſite bank, whom he obliged to retire, and ſhelter themſelves within the walls of *Cteſiphon*. Some of the *Romans* purſued them to the very gates of the city, which they would have entered with the enemy, had not *Victor* prudently reſtrained them. The *Perſians* loſt on this occaſion, according to ſome, two thouſand five hundred, according to others, ſix thouſand men, and the *Romans* only ſeventy or ſeventy-five. Only part of the *Roman* army paſſed the *Tigris* that day, and made themſelves maſters of the *Perſian* camp. The reſt followed the next day, and *Julian* himſelf, with his guards, three days after [x]. *Julian* continued ſome days encamped before *Cteſiphon*; but not daring to attack it through fear of being repulſed with ſhame, as it was very ſtrong, well ſtored with proviſions, and defended by a very b numerous gariſon, he contented himſelf with ſending *Arintheus* to lay waſte the neighbouring country [y]. In the mean time, the king of *Perſia* was aſſembling, on the moſt diſtant confines of his kingdom, a formidable army, with a deſign to fall upon *Julian* in his retreat. However, he ſent deputies to propoſe terms for an accommodation, being deſirous to put an end to ſo deſtructive a war. Theſe applied to *Hormiſda*, as their countryman and their king's brother, who immediately flew to the emperor with the agreeable tidings, as he imagined; but *Julian*, inſtead of hearkening to the propoſals, ordered *Hormiſda* privately to diſmiſs the embaſſadors, and give out, that they were only ſome of his old friends come to ſee him; for he apprehended, that both the ſoldiers and officers would have diſapproved of his pur- c ſuing ſo dangerous and troubleſome a war, when a peace might have been concluded upon honourable and advantagious terms. The embaſſadors being diſmiſſed, *Julian*, contrary to the advice of his officers, reſolved to advance farther into *Perſia*; but the army had no ſooner ſet out on their march, than, changing his mind, he began to think it more adviſeable to turn back, not by the way he came, the country on that ſide being laid waſte, but to take his rout along the banks of the *Tigris*; which he did accordingly, without ſo much as attempting to reduce *Cteſiphon*, though he had lain ſeveral days before it. He marched ſome time along the *Tigris*, which he had on his left, being conducted by guides well acquainted with the country; but who in the end betrayed him: for, as they were natives of *Perſia*, they perſuaded d him to quit the river, and take a quite different rout, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of *Hormiſda*, and all the officers of the army; who, looking upon the guides as perſons ſent by the enemy on purpoſe to lead them into ſome ſnare, did all that lay in their power to divert *Julian* from following their advice; but he, repoſing in them an intire confidence, reſolved not only to leave the *Tigris*, but to burn his fleet, leſt the enemy ſhould become maſters of it. This reſolution alarmed the whole army, but was nevertheleſs put immediately in execution, only twelve ſmall veſſels being ſpared, which were to be conveyed over land in waggons, to make bridges, if there ſhould be occaſion. When the fleet was firſt ſet on fire, the army began to mutiny, and cry out with one voice, *That the emperor was betrayed; that* e *the pretended guides were real traitors, ſent by the enemy on purpoſe to lead them to deſtruction.* *Julian*, to appeaſe the ſoldiery, ordered the guides to be put to the rack, when they owned themſelves to be what they really were, confeſſing, that, in adviſeing him to burn the fleet, they had no other deſign but to ruin him and the army. Hereupon great care was taken to extinguiſh the fire, and ſave the ſhips; but the flames could by no means be overcome, till the whole fleet, except the above-mentioned twelve veſſels, was reduced to aſhes [z]. After this, *Julian* purſued his march through a country, ſays *Ammianus*, very fruitful in itſelf, but ravaged and laid waſte by the enemy; inſomuch, that the *Romans* were reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, and at the ſame time haraſſed without intermiſſion by ſtrong parties, f who, in a manner ſurrounding them, attacked them ſometimes in the front, and ſometimes in the rear. *Julian*, not knowing what rout to take in a ſtrange country and finding his army quite diſpirited, ſummoned a council of all the chief officers of the army, when, after many conſultations, they reſolved to march towards *Corduene* which lay ſouth of *Armenia*, and belonged to the *Romans*. Purſuant to this reſolution, they ſet forward on the ſixteenth of *June*; but had not marched far, when they diſcovered at ſome diſtance a very numerous army advancing in full march againſt them

Puts the Perſians *to flight, and paſſes the* Tigris.

He rejects propoſal of peace.

He turns back without making any attempt upon Cteſiphon.

Deceived by treacherous guides, he burns his fleet.

Is reduced to great ſtreights.

[x] Ammian, p. 278. Liban. p. 319. Zos. p. 726. [y] Ammian. p. 281. [z] Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 281. Liban. p. 301. Zonar. p. 23.

them. This was the *Perſian* army, commanded by the king in perſon, attended a
by two of his ſons, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The *Romans* thought it
adviſeable to return to their camp, where they were, in a manner, beſieged the next
day by the numerous troops of the enemy. Several ſkirmiſhes happened on that and
the ten following days, in which the *Perſians* were conſtantly put to flight. In a
ſharp encounter on the twenty-ſecond of *June*, almoſt the whole *Perſian* army
Puts the Perſians *to flight.* engaged; but were, after a very vigorous reſiſtance, put to the rout with great
ſlaughter. The *Romans* remained maſters of the field; but found little ſatisfaction
in a victory which could not relieve their wants in a ſtrange country, where no pro-
But diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. viſions were to be had, the corn, graſs, and every thing elſe, being burnt up by the
enemy. *Julian* himſelf laboured under the greateſt perplexity and uneaſineſs imagin- b
able, finding the *Perſians* were reſolved to oppoſe his march, and attempt all means
to diſtreſs him, without ever coming to a general engagement. At length, the night
preceding the twenty-ſixth of *June*, as he roſe, according to his cuſtom, about mid-
night, and was buſied in his tent in reading or writing, he beheld all on a ſudden
before him, with a countenance full of ſorrow, the ſpectre repreſenting the genius of
the empire, which had appeared to him, as we have related elſewhere, upon his
being declared emperor. He was ſomewhat terrified at this unexpected ſight, and
at other omens which happened at the ſame time, and were looked upon by the
aruſpices as portending ſome great misfortune, if he ſhould undertake any thing that
day. But *Julian*, deſpiſing, contrary to his cuſtom, the predictions of his ſooth- c
ſayers, as ſoon as it was day, ordered his army to decamp, being probably no longer
And haraſſed on his march by the Perſian *army, and mortally wounded.* able to ſubſiſt in the ſame place. On his march he was attacked on all ſides by the
enemy, who, after they had diſcharged their arrows, which never failed doing great
execution, retired, without giving him an opportunity of revenging the death of thoſe
who fell. In one of theſe ſudden onſets, the emperor haſtening, without his armour,
to repulſe the enemy, was mortally wounded by a dart, which, through his arm
and ſide, pierced his very liver. Thoſe who were about him, concluding, from his
ſinking down upon the neck of his horſe, that he was wounded, conveyed him with
all ſpeed upon a large ſhield to his tent, where *Oribaſus*, a celebrated phyſician and
his intimate friend, attempted in vain to ſave him, applying the beſt remedies his art d
and ſkill could ſuggeſt. However, as the pain began to abate, he called for his arms
and horſe, being deſirous to animate his men with his preſence; but his ſtrength not
anſwering his courage, as he was greatly weakened by the loſs of blood, he was forced
to continue in his tent, while his men, filled with rage and breathing revenge,
made a dreadful havock of the enemy, till night put an end to the ſlaughter. Fifty
Perſian lords of great diſtinction were killed, and an incredible number of other
officers and common ſoldiers. The *Romans* loſt *Anatolius*, who was *magiſter officiorum*,
and generally eſteemed an officer of great ſkill and experience. The prefect *Saluſt* was
with much-ado ſaved by his apparitors; but *Phoſphorius*, his vicar, was ſlain, with
many others in the right wing, where the emperor commanded. While the fight conti- e
nued, *Julian* lay languiſhing in his tent; and being appriſed that his end approached,
he addreſſed thoſe about him, who ſeemed greatly dejected and concerned, in the
His ſpeech before his death. following terms: "I am now, my fellow ſoldiers, called upon to pay the laſt debt
"of nature, which I do with a willing and chearful mind, being taught by philoſo-
"phy, that the ſtate of the ſoul is infinitely more happy than that of the body.
"Upon this conſideration, I embrace death as the greateſt bleſſing: it exempts me
"from the many dangers to which my virtue and reputation were daily expoſed. I
"have lived, firſt in a private, and afterwards in an exalted, ſtate, and have ſo
"behaved in both, as not to be conſcious to myſelf of any action, that gives me at
"preſent the leaſt remorſe. I have ſtudied to govern with moderation, and being f
"well appriſed, that the end of all government is the happineſs of the people, I
"have, both in peace and war, endeavoured, as far as in me lay, to render them
"happy. I have great reaſon to thank Divine Providence, for not having ſuffered
"me to fall by the hand of conſpirators; to languiſh under a long and troubleſome
"diſeaſe; or to die like a criminal, as many innocent and deſerving perſons have
"done. I ſubmit with joy to the eternal and immutable decrees of the gods, though
"in the bloom of my age, being ſenſible, that he who is fond of life, when he ought
"to die, is as great a coward, as he who deſires to die when he ought to live. As
"for my ſucceſſor, I decline naming any, leſt, through ignorance, I ſhould paſs
"by a worthy perſon, or, by naming one equal to ſo great a truſt, expoſe him to
"thoſe

a " thoſe dangers, which would inevitably attend his promotion, if it were not uni-
" verſally approved of. I therefore leave the choice to the commonwealth, and,
" like a dutiful ſon, wiſh her a worthy governor to ſucceed me." Having thus ſpoken, he diſpoſed of his private eſtate, dividing it amongſt his relations and friends; and not ſeeing *Anatolius*, inquired after him. *Saluſt* the prefect told him he was happy, meaning he was dead, according to the expreſſion then in uſe; which ſeemed greatly to affect him; but turning immediately to the philoſophers *Maximus* and *Priſcus*, he began to diſcourſe with them concerning the nature of the ſoul: then, calling for a glaſs of cold water, he drank it, and having expreſſed his deſire of being interred at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, he expired on the twenty-ſixth of *June*, a little before Julian *dies.*
b midnight. He died in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, after having reigned ſeven years and ſix months, from the time he had been created *Cæſar*; about three years ſince he had taken the title of *Auguſtus*, and only twenty months, not quite complete, ſince, by the death of *Conſtantius*, he became peaceable poſſeſſor of the whole empire. Thus is his death related by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who ſerved under him in this very expedition, and was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote [a], *Theodoret* tells us, that *Julian*, when he was firſt wounded, filled his hand with blood iſſuing from the wound, and threw it up into the air, crying out, *Thou haſt conquered, O* Galilean [b]. The ſame thing is related by *Sozomen*, who is of opinion, that our Saviour, whom he intended to inſult and blaſpheme with the name of *Galilean*, appeared to him when he received
c his wound [c]. But theſe, as well as other chriſtian writers, have been led, by their averſion to an apoſtate from the faith, and a perſecutor of the church, to believe and relate many things concerning him, which were unknown to the pagans, and have all the appearance of fables. *Libanius* writes, that, at the time of his death, a dreadful earthquake happened in *Paleſtine*, which intirely ruined ſeveral cities [d]. His body was conveyed by *Procopius* from *Meſopotamia* to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where it was interred with the uſual ſolemnity [e]; but afterwards transferred from thence, according to *Zonaras* [f] and *Cedrenus* [g], to *Conſtantinople*, and depoſited, with that of *Jovian* his ſucceſſor, in the porch of the church of the *Apoſtles*. This tranſlation muſt have happened after the fifth century, ſince *Zoſimus* has not mentioned it. As for the character *His character.*
d of *Julian*, he was, without all doubt, endowed with extraordinary parts, a great lover of learned men, and himſelf well verſed in moſt branches of literature [h]. *Ammianus* greatly extols his moderation and the mildneſs of his temper, no leſs oppoſite to that of his brother *Gallus*, than the temper of *Titus* was to that of *Domitian* [i]. He could never endure the title of *dominus* or *lord*, though common to all princes ever ſince the time of *Dioclefian*, and had even ſome thoughts of quiting the diadem, which, for many years, had been looked upon as one of the badges of the ſovereign power [k]. He made it his chief ſtudy to eaſe the people, leſſening the taxes throughout the empire, and exacting no more than was abſolutely neceſſary for the defence and ſupport of the ſtate [l]. All the cities uſed, purſuant to an ancient cuſtom, to preſent
e the new prince with crowns of gold, ſome of which weighed a thouſand, and ſome two thouſand, ounces, and upwards; but *Julian* enacted a law, forbidding any city, however rich or populous, to offer a crown weighing above ſeventy ounces. He would not ſuffer his officers or miniſters to receive preſents from the people, upon any conſideration whatſoever; nor the ſoldiers to injure in the leaſt the ſubjects or allies of the empire, through whoſe countries they marched [m]. *Libanius* ſpeaks much at length of the extraordinary care he took in regulating the public carriages, in chuſing worthy magiſtrates, in clearing the high-ways of robbers, and in relieving ſeveral cities, reduced by heavy taxes to a moſt miſerable condition [n]. His bed, ſays *Mamertinus*, was as pure and chaſte as that of a veſtal virgin [o]; and *Ammianus*,
f that he was an utter ſtranger to all unlawful pleaſures, and a declared enemy to lewdneſs and debauchery [p]. He was generous, adds the ſame author, valiant, ſincere in his friendſhip, and kind to all, eſpecially to ſuch as were in diſtreſs, and moſt wanted his aſſiſtance [q]. *Prudentius* ſpeaks of him as a prince who deſerved well of the empire, both as a general and a law-giver [r]. He was not, however, even in the opinion of his

[a] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 287—295. [b] Theodoret. l. iii. c. 20. p. 658. [c] Soz. l. vi. c. 2. p. 638. [d] Liban. vit. p. 45. & orat. xi. p. 258. [e] Ammian l. xxv. p. 305. [f] Zonar. p. 24. [g] Cedren. p. 78. Vide Cange urb. Conſtantinop. deſcrip. l. iv. p. 110. [h] Vict. epit. p. 545. [i] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 63. & l. xxii. p. 221. [k] Liban. orat. xii. p. 305. [l] Ammian. l. xvi. xvii. xviii. p 63. 90. 114. [m] Liban. p. 305. [n] Idem, p. 296—298. [o] Panegyr. xi. p. 230. [p] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 292. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Prud. apol. c. 4. p. 163.

his admirers, without ſome faults. *Ammianus* owns him to have been of a fickle and changeable temper, ambitious beyond meaſure of popular applauſe, elated with the leaſt ſucceſs, and talkative to ſuch a degree, that his tongue never lay ſtill [s]. The ſame writer accuſes him of cruelty and ingratitude, in condemning *Urſula*, to whom he owed the greateſt obligations; and *Libanius*, though highly prejudiced in his favour, cannot help allowing him to have been ſuperſtitious to exceſs, inconſiderate on many occaſions, and too much addicted to his own ſentiments [t]. *Ammianus* blames the cenſorious temper, which he betrayed in a manner unworthy of a philoſopher, and below the dignity of a prince, in his *miſopogon*, and his *Cæſars*, not ſparing even the excellent emperor *M. Aurelius*. The pagan writers themſelves, namely *Eutropius* [u], *Themiſtius* [w], and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [x], own, that his conduct towards the chriſtians was repugnant to the laws of humanity, and deſerved to be buried in oblivion; which is more than a chriſtian writer of our days ſeems willing to allow. As for the chriſtian writers of ancient times, they repreſent *Julian* as one inclined to, and guilty of, the moſt enormous crimes; but craftily diſguiſing them with a falſe ſhew of the oppoſite virtues. In theſe colours the reader will find his portrait drawn by *Socrates* in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory [y], and by *Gregory Nazianzen* in the oration he wrote a few days after *Julian*'s death [z]. But whether the pagans were quite unbiaſſed by favour, and the chriſtians by prejudice, is what we ſubmit to the judgment of the reader. We will not take upon us to queſtion the truth of what the panegyriſts and admirers of *Julian* have written concerning his other virtues; but, as to his chaſtity, we are not fully convinced, that it deſerved thoſe mighty encomiums, which *Mamertinus* [a], *Libanius* [b], and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [c], have been pleaſed to beſtow upon it; for on one ſide it is certain, that by *Helena*, his only wife, he had but one ſon, whom the midwife, bribed by the empreſs *Euſebia*, deſtroyed as ſoon as born [d]. On the other ſide, *Julian* himſelf, in a letter which he wrote in 363. that is, three years after the death of *Helena*, mentions his children, and the perſon who was charged with the care of their education [e]. *Codin* likewiſe, in his *antiquities of* Conſtantinople, takes notice of ſeveral ſtatues erected to *Julian*, and his children [f]. His bed therefore, to uſe the expreſſion of *Mamertinus* [g], was not perhaps quite ſo pure and undefiled as that of a veſtal virgin. The great *Chryſoſtom* deſcribes the court of *Julian*, while he reſided at *Conſtantinople*, crouded with aruſpices, aſtrologers, magicians, young debauchees, and public proſtitutes. The latter, at leaſt, were not proper attendants for one, who pretended to rival the purity of the veſtals. But we will not lay any ſtreſs on the teſtimony of a chriſtian, and conſequently, as may be objected, a prejudiced writer, though he ſolemnly declares, that he himſelf, and all the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, to whom he appeals, were eye-witneſſes of what he advances [h]. As for *Julian*'s ſo much boaſted moderation, *Ammianus* himſelf acknowledges, that it was ſometimes owing more to policy, than to the natural mildneſs of his temper [i]. *Libanius* charges him with want of judgment in the choice of miniſters, and of due care in watching their conduct; whence ſome of them, concludes that writer, brought no ſmall diſgrace upon his government [k]. *Libanius* writes, that *Julian* was appriſed of, but winked at, their faults, that he might not ſeem inconſtant in his friendſhip [l]. *Ammianus* owns, that his court was not quite free from bribery and corruption [m]. In what related to the Divinity, ſays the ſame writer, he was rather ſuperſtitious than religious, ſacrificing daily innumerable victims procured at a vaſt expence; which proved very burdenſome to the ſtate, and at the ſame time highly prejudicial to the military diſcipline, the ſoldiers, with whom he feaſted on the victims, returning almoſt every day drunk to their quarters [n]. Had he returned victorious from his *Perſian* expedition, continues the ſame writer, he would ſcarce have left a bullock alive in the whole empire [o]. We need not therefore recur to the teſtimony of the chriſtian writers, to ſhew, that the many virtues aſcribed to him by the pagans, were not without the allay of ſeveral vices and imperfections. In ſhort, he did not perhaps deſerve the bitter reproaches with which he was traduced as the worſt

[s] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 206. [t] Liban. orat. xii. p. 304. [u] Eutrop. p. 589. [w] Themist. orat. v. p. 69. [x] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 222. & l. xxv. p. 294. [y] Socrat. l. iii. c. 21. p. 193. [z] Greg. Naz. orat. iv. p. 138. [a] Panegyr. xi. p. 230. [b] Liban. orat. xii. p. 292. [c] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 292 [d] Idem, l. xvi. p. 72. [e] Julian. ep. 40. p. 184. [f] Codin. antiq. Conſt. p. 19. [g] Panegyr. xi. p. 231. [h] Chrys. in gent. p. 676. [i] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 226, 227. [k] Eutrop. p. 589. [l] Liban. p. 307. [m] Idem, p. 220. [n] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 294. [o] Idem, l. xxii. p. 225.

worſt of princes by the chriſtians, nor the mighty encomiums beſtowed upon him as the beſt of princes by the pagans.

THE news of his death was received with inexpreſſible joy by the chriſtians, and with the deepeſt concern by the pagans. The meſſenger who brought it to *Carrhæ*, was either ſtoned to death by the populace [w], or with much-ado eſcaped the fury of the enraged multitude [x]. Several cities placed the image of the deceaſed prince amongſt thoſe of their gods, and paid it the ſame honours. *Libanius*, tranſported with grief when he firſt heard of his death, determined to lay violent hands on himſelf, not caring to outlive him; but, upon ſecond thoughts, he changed his mind, and choſe to live, that he might have the ſatisfaction, as he himſelf tells us, of compiling his
b funeral oration. He wrote two diſcourſes on this occaſion, the one to expreſs his own grief [y], the other to ſet forth the praiſes of *Julian* [z]. From the latter, which contains the whole hiſtory of *Julian*'s life, and from the two orations written much about the ſame time, and on the ſame ſubject, by *Gregory Nazianzen*, an impartial reader will conclude, that both writers were ſtrangely biaſſed and prejudiced, the one in his favour, the other againſt him. *Julian* not only renounced the chriſtian religion, whence he was ſurnamed the *Apoſtate*, but betrayed a mortal hatred to thoſe who profeſſed it, traducing them with the name of *Galileans*, as he impiouſly ſtyled our Saviour the *Galilean*, debarring them from all honours and employments, both civil and military, and prohibiting them either to teach or learn the ſciences,
c which to *Ammianus* himſelf ſeemed inconſiſtent with the laws of humanity [a]. But we refer our readers to the eccleſiaſtic writers for a more particular account of the perſecution he raiſed againſt the church, and of his wild attempt to reſtore *Judaiſm*, and rebuild the temple of *Jeruſalem*, which is ſaid, by *Ammianus* and others, to have been miraculouſly defeated by balls of fire iſſuing out of the earth, and deſtroying both the work and the workmen. Of the ſeveral writers who flouriſhed under *Julian*, the reader will find a ſuccinct account in note (I).

[w] Zos. l. iii. p. 733. [x] LIB. or xii. p. 330. [y] LIB. or. xi. [z] Idem, or. xii.
[a] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 222. & l. xxv. or. 294.

(I) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his hiſtory of the emperors, gives us a more particular account of *Julian*'s reign, than any other writer. As he was a pagan, he beſtows great encomiums upon a prince who did all that lay in his power to reſtore paganiſm. However, he was not ſo prejudiced in his favour, as not to blame in him what he thought blame-worthy. *Eunapius*, a moſt zealous ſtickler for the ancient religion of the *Romans*, that is, for idolatry, often mentions and highly commends *Julian* in his hiſtory of the ſophiſts. He had written the hiſtory of his reign in ſeveral books (1); but whether that was a different work from his general hiſtory of the emperors, is what we are no-where told. But of *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Eunapius*, we ſhall ſpeak at the end of the reign of *Valens*. *Calliſtus*, one of *Julian*'s officers, wrote in verſe, according to *Socrates* (2), the hiſtory of that prince; but his work has not reached our times. *Voſſius* tells us, that *Calliſtus* attended *Julian* in his *Perſian* expedition (3), which muſt be a conjecture of his own; for we find no ſuch thing in *Socrates*, the only writer who mentions him. *Julian* himſelf deſerves to be ranked among the writers of his life; for he wrote the hiſtory of his wars in *Gaul* (4), which has been long ſince loſt; and gives us an account of the moſt remarkable paſſages of his life in his *Miſopogon*, in his letter to the *Athenians*, (of which two pieces we have ſpoken above) and in the writings which he publiſhed in the year 362. the one upon *Cybele*, the other againſt a *Cynic* philoſopher (5). He wrote another diſcourſe againſt the *Cynics*, particularly againſt one *Heraclius* or *Heraclitus* (6). From that piece it appears, that he was ſtrangely importuned by thoſe philoſophers, and that he entertained no better opinion of them, than of the chriſtian monks, to whom he compares them. His diſcourſe to *Themiſtius* is, properly ſpeaking, a letter, in which he anſwers that philoſopher, who had written to him from *Conſtantinople*, magnifying the hopes and expectation of the people, in ſeeing one raiſed to the empire, who profeſſed the ſtudy of philoſophy. *Julian* tells him in his anſwer, that when he reflects on the duties incumbent on a prince, and the great difficulty of diſcharging them well, the mighty hopes that the world entertained of him, ſerved rather to diſhearten than encourage him (7). This is the whole ſubject of the letter, which ſeems to have been written ſoon after *Julian* was raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar*. In the manuſcript copy of this letter are ſeveral paſſages, which ſeem quite foreign to the purpoſe, and are thought by ſome to be fragments of a treatiſe, containing ſeveral inſtructions, addreſſed to a pagan pontiff, concerning the duties of his office (8). *Petavius* is of opinion, that they were addreſſed to *Arſaces*, pontiff of *Galatia*, to whom *Julian* wrote his forty-ninth letter (9). But the moſt famous of all *Julian*'s works is that intituled *the Cæſars*, which in reality is a ſatire on all the emperors from *Julius Cæſar* to *Conſtantine* and his children. It begins with a kind of dialogue (10). From the injurious and abuſive manner he ſpeaks of *Conſtantine*, we may conclude, that he wrote it after the death of *Conſtantius*, or at leaſt after he had openly declared againſt him. *Socrates* aſcribes to a vanity, unworthy of a prince, his thus ridiculing all his predeceſſors, without ſparing even *M. Aurelius* (11), whom he had propoſed to himſelf for his pattern (12). *Voſſius* aſſures us (13), that in the ancient copies this work is ſtyled *Saturnalia*, and *the banquet*;

(1) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 76, 77. (2) *Socr. l.* iii. *c.* 21. *p.* 195. (3) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 18. *p.* 486. (4) *Lib. or.* v. *p.* 178. (5) *Julian. or.* vii. *p.* 382. *Suid. p.* 1248. (6) *Julian. ibid. p.* 716—718. (7) *Julian. ad Themiſt. p.* 490, *&c.* (8) *Idem, frag. p.* 528. (9) *Julian. ep.* xlix. *p.* 202. (10) *Idem, Cæſ. p.* 3—5. (11) *Socr. l.* iii. *c.* 1. & 23. *p.* 169, 198. (12) *Julian. ad Themiſt. p.* 467. (13) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 18. *p.* 250.

banquet; a title which well ſuits it; for it was written during the *Saturnalia*, or the feaſts of *Saturn*, that is, about the end of *December*, in 361. or 362. and *Julian* in the work introduces *Romulus* entertaining the gods at a banquet in the time of the *Saturnalia* (14). But *Suidas* ſuppoſes the *Cæſars* and the *Saturnalia* to be two different works, and quotes ſome things out of the latter, which are not to be found in the former (15). *Julian* himſelf ſpeaks of his *Saturnalia* as addreſſed to *Saluſt* (16), which cannot be ſaid of the *Cæſars*. He quotes the former work in a diſcourſe, which he wrote on the ſun, and likewiſe inſcribed to *Saluſt*. This piece he compoſed in three nights, perhaps about the twenty-fifth of *December*, when the pagans celebrated the feaſt of the ſun; for *Julian* honoured that luminary as his chief deity (17). *Suidas* aſcribes two other works to him, the one on *the three figures*, which he does not explain, and the other on *the origin of evils*; but both theſe works, as well as that which he wrote againſt the chriſtians, have been long ſince loſt. He wrote ſeveral letters, of which ſixty-four have reached our times, not counting thoſe which, by reaſon of their length, have been ranked among his diſcourſes. *Libanius*, who pretends to have brought the epiſtolary ſtyle to its greateſt perfection, ſhares that glory with *Julian*, the elegance of whoſe letters he greatly commends and admires (18). Under *Julian* flouriſhed *Proereſes*, a chriſtian ſophiſt, highly eſteemed for his learning and eloquence. *Eunapius*, who was his diſciple, gives us the following account of him: He was a native of *Armenia*, deſcended of a noble family, but reduced to poverty; exceeding well-ſhaped, though of a gigantic ſtature, and reſembling a coloſſus (19). He left his native country when very young, and ſtudied firſt at *Antioch*, under one *Ulpianus*, and afterwards at *Athens*, where he was diſciple to one *Julian*, who in dying bequeathed him his houſe. He likewiſe ſucceeded *Julian* in his employment, and taught eloquence with ſuch reputation and applauſe, that the other profeſſors, jealous of his great credit, prevailed upon the proconſul to baniſh him from *Athens* (20); but he was ſoon recalled by the emperor's order, and reſtored to his former employment. All thoſe who came from *Pontus*, and the other parts of *Aſia Minor*, or from *Egypt* and *Libya*, ſtudied under him (21). Among theſe we may reckon the great *Baſil* and *Gregory Nazianzen*; for they came from *Cappadocia* to ſtudy eloquence at *Athens*, while he taught there. He was afterwards invited into *Gaul* by *Conſtans*, who received him with extraordinary marks of eſteem, perhaps becauſe he paſſed for a chriſtian, ſays *Eunapius* (22); but St. *Jerom* aſſures us, that he was truly a chriſtian (23). *Suidas* confounded *Conſtantine* with *Conſtans*, when he wrote, that *Conſtantine* paid him great honours (24). The *Gauls*, ſays *Eunapius*, who were no judges of his genius, nor capable of reliſhing his eloquent ſpeeches, admired his ſtature and mien, and, above all, his patience in bearing the cold of their country, though he uſed no ſhoes, and was only defended againſt the inclemency of that climate by a thin cloak (25). He was afterwards ſent by *Conſtans* to *Rome*, where the ſenate cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him, with this inſcription; Rome, *the queen of cities, to the king of eloquence*. When he left *Rome*, about the year 349. to return to *Athens*, *Conſtans* beſtowed great revenues upon him, with the honorary title of general of the *Roman* armies. The *Romans*, upon his departure, begged him to ſend one of his diſciples to teach eloquence at *Rome*. He complied with their requeſt, and ſent them one *Euſebius*, a native of *Alexandria*; a perſon fit to live at *Rome*, ſays *Eunapius*, becauſe well verſed in the art of flattery (26). *Julian*, who had, no doubt, been acquainted with *Proereſes* at *Athens*, wrote a very kind and obliging letter to him, which is ſtill extant (27). When that prince publiſhed the famous edict, forbidding all chriſtians to learn or teach the ſciences, he excepted *Proereſes*; but he, ſcorning to accept the favour, reſigned of his own accord his profeſſorſhip; which greatly provoked *Julian*, who, out of pique to *Proereſes*, heaped great honours upon *Libanius* (28). The generous conduct of *Proereſes* on this occaſion makes us queſtion the truth of what we read of him in *Eunapius*; *viz.* that he had recourſe to the pontiff of *Eleuſine*, to know whether *Julian* was to reign long; and that, being aſſured his reign would prove ſhort, he took courage, and reſolved not to renounce the chriſtian religion (29). *Eunapius* betrays on all occaſions ſuch an inveterate hatred againſt the chriſtian religion, that we cannot give credit to any thing he writes on that head. After the death of *Julian*, *Proereſes* was, it ſeems, re-inſtated in his profeſſorſhip, when *Eunapius* ſtudied under him for the ſpace of five years, and then returned to *Lydia*, his native country. He owns, that *Proereſes* inſtructed him with no leſs care than if he had been his own ſon. *Proereſes* died ſoon after, perhaps in 368. being then about ninety-two years old; for he was eighty-ſeven when *Eunapius* began to ſtudy under him, in the end of 363. which was the firſt of *Jovian*'s reign (30). He left no works behind him, beſides his declamations (31). *Oribaſus*, a famous phyſician, was a native of *Pergamus* in *Aſia*, according to *Eunapius* (32); of *Sardis*, according to *Philoſtorgius* (33) and *Suidas* (34). He ſtudied phyſic under *Zeno* of *Cyprus*, to whom *Julian* wrote a letter, inviting him back to *Alexandria*, whence *George*, the famous *Arian* biſhop, had cauſed him to be baniſhed (35). When *Julian* was created *Cæſar*, he took *Oribaſus* with him into *Gaul*, and repoſed ſuch confidence in him, ſays *Eunapius* (36), as to make him privy to his greateſt ſecrets, that is, to his idolatry; for *Oribaſus* was himſelf a pagan. The ſame author writes, that *Oribaſus* was famous, not only for his ſkill in phyſic, but for his other extraordinary talents, which procured the empire to *Julian* (37); but explains himſelf no farther. *Oribaſus*, at the requeſt of *Julian*, abridged, firſt, the works of *Galen*, and afterwards thoſe of all the moſt able phyſicians. Both theſe works were inſcribed to *Julian*, as appears from the prefaces, which have been tranſmitted to us by *Photius* (38). *Photius* prefers the ſecond work to the firſt; nay, and to all the books of phyſic which had been publiſhed till his time. It conſiſted of ſeventy books; but only the firſt fifteen, with the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, printed at *Paris* in 1555. have reached our times. *Oribaſus* himſelf, by a ſecond abridgment, reduced his ſeventy books to nine, which he addreſſed to his ſon *Euſtathius* (39). The reader will find an abſtract of this work in *Photius* (40), who obſerves, that they may prove very uſeful to thoſe who are already acquainted with phyſic, by refreſhing the memory of what they have learnt; but may lead new beginners into great miſtakes (41). *Oribaſus* wrote another abridgment of the ſame nature in four books, which he inſcribed to *Eunapius*, probably the author of the lives of the ſophiſts,

(14) *Julian. Cæſ. p.* 3—5. (15) *Suid. p.* 1247. (16) *Julian. ibid. p.* 303. *& or.* iv. *p.* 294. (17) *Idem, or.* iv. *p.* 291, 292. (18) *Lib. or.* v. *p.* 184. (19) *Eunap. c.* 1. *p.* 102. (20) *Idem, c.* 7. *p.* 96—101. (21) *Idem, p.* 110, 111. (22) *Idem, p.* 121, 122. (23) *Hier. ad ann.* 363. (24) *Suid. p.* 596. (25) *Idem, p.* 222, 223. (26) *Idem, p.* 25. (27) *Julian, ep.* ii. *p.* 116. (28) *Suid. p.* 596. (29) *Eunap. c.* 8. *p.* 26. (30) *Idem ibid.* (31) *Suid. p.* 596. (32) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 76. *& c.* 19. *p.* 139. (33) *Philoſ. l* vii. *c.* 15. *p.* 205. (34) *Suid. p.* 329. (35) *Julian. ep.* xiv. *p.* 198. (36) *Eunap. c.* 29. *p.* 140. (37) *Idem ibid.* (38) *Phot. c.* 216, 217. *p.* 556, 557. (39) *Idem, c.* 218. *p.* 557. (40) *Idem, p.* 560. (41) *Oribaſ. p.* 2.

ſophiſts, at whoſe requeſt he had undertaken it (42). This work is ſtill extant. To theſe *Photius* adds four other books of phyſic inſcribed to one *Eugenius*; but ſo like thoſe addreſſed to *Eunapius*, that he ſuſpects them to be a ſuppoſititious work (43). Beſides the works we have already mentioned, *Photius* ſuppoſes *Oribaſus* to have publiſhed ſeven more on the ſame ſubject (44). He would not have us to mind the ſtyle of that writer, becauſe his works, ſays he, are abſtracts of different authors; and beſides, elegancy of ſtyle is what we muſt not expect from a phyſician (45). *Suidas* ſuppoſes *Oribaſus* to have inſcribed to *Julian* ſeventy-two books, and to have publiſhed, beſides four books on *the doubts and difficulties of phyſicians*, a work on *royalty*, and another on *maladies* (46). He adds, that *Oribaſus* was created by *Julian* quæſtor of the city of *Conſtantinople*; an employment unknown to other writers. He attended *Julian* into *Perſia*, and did all that lay in his power to cure his wound, but without ſucceſs. After the death of that prince, his patron and benefactor, he was ſtripped of all his wealth, and baniſhed to the countries of the barbarians (47), or abandoned, to uſe the expreſſion of *Eunapius*, to the barbarians, who were moſt noted for their cruelty (48). However, he was greatly reſpected by them, and honoured by their princes, on account of the art he profeſſed. At length the *Roman* emperors recalled him, and reſtored to him his eſtate and all his effects (49). He gave ſome eaſe to *Chryſanthus* in his laſt malady at *Sardes*; but could not cure him (50). He was ſtill living when *Eunapius* wrote the lives of the ſophiſts, that is, about the year 400. Among *Julian*'s letters, there is one to him, written about the year 358 (51). *Himeras*, a celebrated ſophiſt in *Julian*'s time, was a native of *Bithynia*, and the ſon of *Aminius*, who taught rhetoric at *Pruſa* in the ſame province (52). *Himeras* and *Proereſes*, of whom we have ſpoken above, were at the ſame time profeſſors of eloquence at *Athens* and rivals (53). *Photius* ſuppoſes him to have likewiſe taught at *Corinth* (54). *Julian* invited him afterwards to *Conſtantinople*, and received him upon his arrival with extraordinary marks of friendſhip and eſteem. He continued in court till the death of that prince, and then returned to *Athens* (55). He lived to a great age, in which he loſt his ſight, and was beſides afflicted with a leproſy. He left behind him ſeveral declamations, and other pieces of that nature (56). He was, as plainly appears from his writings, a pagan. *Eunapius* commends his ſtyle (57), as does likewiſe *Photius*, who has tranſmitted to us abſtracts of ſome of his works (58). In the hiſtory of *Julian*'s reign, we have mentioned the philoſopher *Maximus*, who firſt inclined that prince to idolatry and the ſtudy of magic. He was a native, either of *Smyrna*, as we read in *Eunapius* (59); or of *Epheſus*, as *Ammianus* will have it (60; and brother to the philoſopher *Claudianus*, who taught at *Alexandria*, and to the ſophiſt *Nymphidianus*, profeſſor of rhetoric at *Smyrna*, and afterward ſecretary to *Julian*. *Maximus* muſt have been well verſed in polite learning, ſince *Julian* ſubmitted all his compoſitions to his judgment (61); and *Eunapius* has placed his life among thoſe of the ſophiſts, tho' he is commonly ſtyled *Maximus the philoſopher*. *Julian* invited him to court about the beginning of the year 362. where he behaved, as *Eunapius* himſelf owns (62), in a manner altogether unworthy of a philoſopher. He returned to his native country, as appears from *Julian*'s letters (62) for the recovery of his health; but came again to court, and, together with *Priſcus*, attended *Julian* in his *Parthian* expedition (63). Theſe two were, without all doubt, in the number of thoſe obſtinate and ignorant philoſophers, who, according to *Ammianus*, bore great ſway at court, and put the emperor upon that wild enterprize, againſt the ſentiments of the officers of the army (64). Hence, when news of *Julian*'s death was brought to *Antioch*, the people, in the tranſports of their joy, cried out, *Thus are the predictions of the falſe prophet* Maximus *fulfilled* (65). *Eunapius* writes, that *Jovian* continued to honour *Maximus*, and the other philoſophers, who had followed *Julian* (66). Be that as it will, they were treated in a very different manner by *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who hated all the friends of *Julian*; and, above the reſt, theſe two philoſophers accuſed, as they were addicted to the ſtudy of magic, of having brought upon the princes the maladies with which they were both ſeized about the beginning of *April* in 364 (67). *Priſcus*, however, was cleared; but the ſoldiery and populace were, with much ado, reſtrained by *Saluſtius Secundus* from tearing *Maximus* to pieces. Having eſcaped the rage of the multitude, he was condemned to pay a greater fine than he was able to diſcharge, and kept a cloſe priſoner till the end of the year 365 (68); when, by the mediation of *Themiſtius*, who recommended him to *Valens*, in a ſpeech pronounced before that prince, and by the intereſt of *Clearchus*, a zealous pagan, he was ſet at liberty, and not only forgiven the fine, but reſtored to his eſtate, and ſuffered to come to *Conſtantinople*, where he was very well received (69). But his happineſs was ſhort-lived; for he was accuſed, with ſeveral other philoſophers, as a magician in 371. found guilty of magical practices; and, being ſentenced to death with the reſt, was beheaded at *Epheſus* the ſame year (70). *Suidas* aſcribes to *Maximus*, the maſter of *Julian* the apoſtate, ſeveral rhetorical and philoſophical pieces, ſome of which were addreſſed to *Julian* himſelf; but adds, that he was a native of *Epirus* or *Byzantium* (71): on the other hand, *Socrates* warns us not to confound *Maximus* of *Byzantium*, the father of *Euclid*, with *Maximus* of *Epheſus*, who induced *Julian* to embrace the worſhip of the gods (72). *Chryſanthus* was a native of *Sardes* in *Lydia*, in which city his father was ſenator. He ſtudied with *Maximus* under *Edeſius* of *Cappadocia*, a *Platonic* philoſopher and magician; and then returned to his native city, where he continued, notwithſtanding the repeated and preſſing ſolicitations of *Julian* and *Maximus*, inviting him to court. *Julian* created him pontiff of *Lydia*, in which employment he had the prudence not to diſoblige the chriſtians, as we have obſerved already; and therefore was ſuffered by the chriſtian emperors to live unmoleſted (73). He lived to the age of eighty (74). After his death, *Eunapius*, who was his wife's couſin, and had been his diſciple, wrote his

(42) *Phot. c.* 219. *p.* 561. (43) *Idem, p.* 564. & *c.* 216. *p.* 564. (44) *Idem ibid.* (45) *Idem ibid.* (46) *Suid. p.* 329. (47) *Philoſtorg. l.* vii. *c.* 15. *p.* 105. (48) *Eunap. c.* 19. *p.* 140. (49 *Idem, p.* 141, 142. (50) *Idem, c.* 21. *p.* 160. (51) *Julian. ep.* xix. *p.* 135. (52) *Phot. c.* 165. *p.* 363. *Eunap. c.* 12. *p.* 129. (53) *Eunap. c.* 8. *p.* 119. (54) *Phot. c.* 165. *p.* 352. (55) *Eunap. p.* 129, (56) *Idem, c.* 12. *p.* 129. *Suid. p.* 1239. (57) *Eunap. p.* 129. (58) *Phot. c.* 165. *p.* 352. & *c.* 243. *p.* 1076, 1144. (59) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 67. & 16. *p.* 137. (60) *Ammian. l.* xxix. *p.* 390, (61) *Julian. ep.* xvi. *p.* 131. (62) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 77, 79. (62) *Julian. ep.* xv. xvi. xxxviii. (63) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 81. *Ammian. l.* xxv. *p.* 291. (64) *Ammian. l.* xxiii. *p.* 245. (65) *Theodoret. l.* iii. *c.* 22. *p.* 659. (66) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 82. (67) *Zoſ. l.* iv. *p.* 734, 735. (68) *Idem, p.* 374. *Ammian. l.* xxvi. *p,* 315. *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 83. *Themiſt. or.* vii. *p.* 100. (69) *Themiſt. ibid. p.* 99, 100. *Eunap. p.* 84—87. (70) *Ammian. l.* xxix. *p.* 390. *Socr. p.* 39. *Eunap. p.* 87. (71) *Suid. p.* 92. (72) *Socr. l.* iii. *c.* 1. *p.* 165. (73) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 69, 80. & *c.* 12. *p.* 144—149. (74) *Idem, p.* 152.

his life, and frequently mentions him in his hiſtory of the ſophiſts, which he had undertaken at his requeſt (75). *Suidas* likewiſe ſpeaks of him, but does not inform us whether or no he left any works behind him (76). *Priſcus* was born in the country of the *Moloſſi*, or *Theſproti*, in *Epirus*; and ſtudied under *Edeſus*, with *Maximus* and *Chryſanthus*. Afterwards he retired to *Greece*, whence he was invited by *Julian* to court, and complied with the invitation. He was perhaps more eſteemed by that prince than *Maximus* himſelf. He attended the emperor to *Antioch*, and there prevailed upon him to admit *Libanius*, to his preſence, and even to receive him in a friendly manner, though he was not a little prejudiced againſt him (77). He followed *Julian* into *Perſia*, and was accuſed, with *Maximus*, of magical practices under *Valens*; but diſcharged, and ſuffered to return to *Greece*, where he lived to the age of ninety, and upwards (78); and was killed, with many others, by the barbarians (79), that is, we ſuppoſe, by the *Goths*, who, in 395. or 396. ravaged *Greece* under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*. *Julian*, in his letters, beſtows great commendations on one *George*, a receiver of the public revenues; on the philoſopher *Eugenius*, whom ſome take to be the father of *Themiſtius*; and on *Ecebolus*, under whom he ſtudied rhetoric (80). As the celebrated ſophiſt *Libanius* lived long after *Julian*'s time, we ſhall ſpeak of him in a more proper place.

(75) *Idem, p.* 153. (76) *Suid. p.* 1155. (77) *Eunap. c.* 5. *p.* 69. *Lib. vit. p.* 42. (78) *Eunap. ibid. c.* 81. *Ammian. l.* xxv. *p.* 291. (79) *Eunap. c.* 5 *p.* 75. (80) *Julian. ep.* viii. *p.* 121, 314. *ep.* liv. *p.* 218. *ep.* xviii. *p.* 135. *ep.* xix. xliii. *p.* 136, 196.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Julian, *to the death of* Valens.

THE death of *Julian* was no ſooner known, than the chief officers of the army aſſembled, and, with one conſent, choſe *Jovian* to ſucceed him [b], who was accordingly ſaluted with the title of *Jovianus Auguſtus*, the day after *Julian*'s death; that is, the twenty-ſeventh of *June* of this year 363. He was the only ſurviving child of *Verronianus*, who was a native of *Singidunum* in *Pannonia*, or rather in *Mœſia* [c]; and had lately reſigned the eminent poſt of *comes domeſticorum*, to lead a private and retired life. He was reckoned one of the beſt commanders of his time, and the reputation, which he had acquired in the army, greatly contributed to the promotion of his ſon [d]. The firſt thing *Jovian* did after his election was, to name him for his collegue in the conſulſhip againſt the enſuing year; for *Verronianus* was ſaid to have been foretold in a dream, that his ſon ſhould be one day raiſed to the empire, and he to the conſulſhip; but he died before he had the honour of diſcharging that office, or the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his ſon emperor, though he had been informed of his promotion [e]. *Jovian*, or *Flavius Claudius Jovianus*, as he is ſtyled on an ancient coin, was born about the year 331. and married *Carito*, the daughter of *Lucillianus*, a commander of great renown, often mentioned by *Ammianus*. By her he had, according to *Philoſtorgius* [f], a ſon named *Verronianus*, who was born about the time *Jovian* was created emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention; nay, *Zonaras* tells us in expreſs terms, that *Verronianus* was his only child [g], As *Jovian* was not only a true, but a pious and zealous, chriſtian, we ſhall not copy his character from the chriſtian writers, who may be ſuſpected of partiality, but from the pagans, who cannot be thought to have been biaſſed in his favour. Among theſe *Eutropius* commends his affable, mild, and generous temper; and adds, that no one could, with juſtice, accuſe him of neglect or imprudence in the diſcharge of his duty [h]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* [i] and *Victor* the younger [k] deſcribe him as well-ſhaped in his perſon, of a majeſtic air, of a gay and agreeable aſpect, of an even, affable, and courteous temper, naturally inclined to mercy, and a great encourager of learning, being himſelf pretty well acquainted with the ſciences. From the few officers he preferred during his ſhort reign, we may judge, adds *Ammianus*, how careful

[b] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 226. [c] Vict. epit. [d] Ammian. ibid. p. 308. Themist. orat. v. p. 65. [e] Ammian. Themist. ibid. Socrat. l. iii. c. 26 p. 205. [f] Philostorg. l. viii. c. 8. p. 112. [g] Zon. p. 25. [h] Eutrop. p. 589. [i] Ammian. p. 296. [k] Vict. p. 79.

careful and circumſpect he would have been in the diſtribution of offices, had he lived longer. *Themiſtius* beſtows upon him ſtill greater encomiums [l]; but we lay no great ſtreſs upon them, as coming from a panegyriſt. On the other hand, *Suidas* [m] paints him in quite different colours, following therein, as we imagine, *Eunapius*, who, by his implacable hatred to the chriſtian religion, was often led into groſs miſtakes. *Ammianus* does not forget to mention his vices, as well as his virtues, telling us, that he was naturally timorous, a great eater, and much addicted to wine and women [n]. The ſame author obſerves, that *Jovian* had a great reſpect and veneration for the law of the chriſtians [o]; and truly he had always made an open profeſſion of the chriſtian religion, even in the reign of *Julian*, deſpiſing both his threats and promiſes [p]. *Socrates* [q], *Suidas* [r], and *Nicephorus* [s], tell us, that *Julian* having ordered all the chriſtian officers in his army, either to renounce their religion, or quit the ſervice, *Jovian*, at that time tribune, reſigned his poſt without the leaſt heſitation; but *Julian* would not ſuffer him to retire, nay, he afterwards employed him in the *Perſian* war; for he was, at the emperor's death, the firſt among thoſe officers who were ſtyled *domeſtici* [t]. *Zoſimus* writes, that he was raiſed to the empire by the chief officers, at the requeſt of the whole army [u]; for *Suidas* himſelf owns him to have been an excellent commander, though, at the time of his election, he was ſcarce thirty-two years old [w]. His promotion was no-ways agreeable to the pagans, as appears from the manner in which *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſpeaks of it. *Rufinus* [x], *Socrates* [y], *Sozomen* [z], and *Theodoret* [a], aſſure us, that he would not accept the empire, and the command of the army, till all the ſoldiers had declared themſelves chriſtians, and ſolemnly renounced the impious ceremonies which they had practiſed under *Julian*; on which account he is honoured by *Rufinus* with the title of *confeſſor*. It is not therefore probable, that he paid any regard to the anſwer of thoſe, who, having conſulted, ſurely without his conſent, the entrails of the victims, promiſed ſafety, if the army decamped; but inevitable deſtruction, if they continued in the ſame place [b]. The army was, as we have related above, in a ſtrange country, far from home, with a provoked enemy round them, quite deſtitute of neceſſaries, and conſequently reduced to the neceſſity of periſhing, either with hunger, or by the arms of the incenſed *Perſians*. *Jovian*, who was obliged to ſtruggle with two ſuch formidable enemies, did not ſo much dread the latter as the former; nay, he repulſed the *Perſians* with great ſlaughter as often as they ventured to attack him, as *Ammianus* tells us in expreſs terms [c]; which is ſufficient to refute what *Libanius* writes of the great advantages gained over *Jovian* by the *Perſians* [d]. But the valour and experience of *Jovian* was no proof againſt the famine which raged in his camp, and would not have left one man alive in the whole army, had not heaven unexpectedly declared in his favour, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus*, by inclining the enemy to offer conditions of peace at ſo critical a conjuncture [e]. That writer is of opinion, that the *Perſians*, out of mere pity and compaſſion, ſet on foot a treaty [f]; and *Libanius* cannot conceive what could induce them to think of a peace, when they had reaſon to promiſe themſelves the greateſt advantages from the continuation of the war [g]. The negotiations laſted four days, which proved more inſupportable to the *Romans*, ſays *Ammianus* [h], than the greateſt torments, by reaſon of the famine which raged in the camp. Beſides the dreadful extremity to which the army was reduced, *Jovian* was apprehenſive, and not without reaſon, of the deſigns of *Procopius*, *Julian*'s kinſman [i]. No wonder therefore that he ſubmitted to a peace upon terms diſhonourable, we own, in themſelves, but abſolutely neceſſary to extricate himſelf, and ſo many brave men, out of the difficulties, into which the temerity and imprudence of *Julian* had led them. A peace was agreed on for thirty, or, as *Rufinus* will have it [k], for twenty-nine, years, upon *Jovian*'s promiſing to abandon and yield up to the *Perſians* the five provinces on the *Tigris*, which had been taken from them in the reign of *Dioclefian*, with ſeveral caſtles, and the cities of *Niſibis* and *Singara*. To this article was added another, in itſelf no leſs, if not more, ſhameful, which was, not to lend any aſſiſtance to *Arſaces* king

Jovian's *character.*

The army reduced to great ſtreights.

Jovian *obliged to ſubmit to the terms propoſed by the* Perſians.

[l] Themist. orat. v. p. 63. [m] Suid. p. 1244. [n] Ammian. p. 300, 308. [o] Idem, l. xxi. p. 201. [p] Theodoret. l. iv. c. 1. p. 660. [q] Socrat. l. iii. c. 22. p. 195. [r] Suid. ibid. [s] Niceph. l. x. c. 38. p. 94. [t] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 226. [u] Zos. l. iii. p 729. [w] Suid. ibid. [x] Ruf. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. [y] Socrat. l. iii. c. 22. p. 195. [z] Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 635. [a] Theodor. l. iv. c. 1. p. 660, 661. [b] Ammian. p. 297. [c] Idem ibid. & p. 298. [d] Lib. or. xii. p. 324. [e] Ammian. p. 299. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Lib. pro templis, &c. p. 24, 25. [h] Ammian. ibid. [i] Idem, l. xxiii. p. 240. [k] Ruf. p. 177.

king of *Armenia* againſt the *Perſians*, though *Arſaces* was a faithful friend and ally of a
the empire. *Jovian* however, with much-ado, prevailed upon the king of *Perſia* to
ſuffer the inhabitants of *Niſibis* and *Singara* to withdraw with their effects into the
Roman territories [l]. The loſs of *Niſibis*, which was the bulwark of the empire againſt
the *Perſians*, chiefly affected the *Romans*; and *Ammianus* takes great pains to exag-
gerate that loſs, in order to raiſe the public odium againſt *Jovian*, to whom he is
favourable on no occaſion. Both that writer [n] and *Eutropius* [o] obſerve, that, from
the foundation of *Rome*, no conſul or emperor had ever yielded to the enemy an inch
of ground. But therein they are certainly miſtaken; for *Adrian* abandoned to the
barbarians a far greater extent of country than *Jovian*. *Aurelian* relinquiſhed all the
countries conquered by *Trajan* beyond the *Danube*; and *Dioclefian* an immenſe tract b
towards the borders of *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*, as *Tiberius* had done long before the
large provinces, conquered at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure by the brave
Druſus. 'Tis true, that theſe countries were not given up vertue of a treaty,
Jovian *not to be blamed for the peace concluded with the* Perſians. but becauſe they could not be kept without an immenſe charge. However, if it was
thought commendable in thoſe princes to abandon them on that ſcore, we ought not
to join *Ammianus* and *Eutropius* in condemning *Jovian* for abandoning, even by treaty,
provinces, which he could not keep, without expoſing to certain death or captivity,
the flower of the whole forces of the empire, when the enemy would with great eaſe
have conquered more than they acquired by the treaty. His giving up by treaty what
others had abandoned of their own accord, does not render the action leſs neceſſary, c
nor conſequently leſs prudent. *Ammianus* pretends, that *Jovian* might have reached
the province of *Corduene* belonging to the empire, in the four days which he ſpent in
negotiations [p]. But between them and that province flowed the *Tigris*, which, even
after the peace, and when oppoſed by no enemy, they paſſed with the utmoſt diffi-
culty, and not without the loſs of many perſons, who were carried away by the vio-
lence of the ſtream, as *Ammianus* himſelf informs us [q]. *Zoſimus* ſuppoſes them to
have paſſed the *Tigris* before the treaty [r]; but his authority is of no weight when he
diſagrees with *Ammianus*, who ſerved in this expedition. Between the *Tigris* and
Corduene lay a deſert ſeventy miles in extent, deſtitute of all ſorts of proviſions, even
of water, which reduced them to the neceſſity of feeding upon their horſes, and con- d
ſequently of leaving behind-them great part of their baggage and arms [s]. *Libanius*
owns, that moſt of them returned without either arms or money [t]. What therefore
muſt have become of them, had they at the ſame time been inceſſantly haraſſed by
a formidable enemy? *Agathias*, who lived two hundred years after, writes, that
Jovian, impatient to get out of the *Perſian* dominions, betrayed *Niſibis* [u]; but *Eutro-
pius*, who was an eye-witneſs of what he writes, does not indeed approve of the
peace; but owns, that it was neceſſary [w]: and *Philoſtorgius*, a chriſtian writer, but
an *Arian*, and conſequently no-ways favourable to *Jovian*, tells us, that there was
no other means of ſaving the army, already reduced to the tenth part [x]. The only
thing *Eutropius* blames in *Jovian*, is his faithfully obſerving the articles, to which e
neceſſity alone obliged him to ſubmit, inſtead of following the example of the ancient
Romans, who never ſcrupled to break a diſadvantagious treaty, extorted from them
He obſerves the articles with great exactneſs. by force or fear [y]. But his religiouſly executing the articles of a treaty, however
diſadvantagious, when he was under no other reſtraint but that of his oath, reflects
no leſs honour on him, than glory on the religion which he profeſſed. He was not
acquainted with the maxim, which, to the great diſgrace of our religion, prevails
now-a-days with the moſt chriſtian princes, that no treaties, how ſolemnly ſoever
entered into, are binding, when the leaſt advantage may be reaped from the breach
of them; as if perjury were not a crime of as deep a dye in the greateſt prince, as in
the meaneſt of the people. We ſhall now reſume the thread of our hiſtory. f

Jovian, after the concluſion of the treaty, purſued his retreat; and having paſſed
the *Tigris* and the above-mentioned deſert, without being in the leaſt moleſted by
the enemy, he arrived at *Ur*, a *Perſian* fortreſs between the *Tigris* and the city of
Niſibis, where he was met by *Caſſianus* governor of *Meſopotamia*, and *Mauritius* a
tribune, with ſuch proviſions as the army commanded by *Procopius* and *Sebaſtian* could
ſpare them; for he had ſent the two former officers to acquaint the latter with the
extremity

[l] Ammian. p. 300. Zos. p. 730. Ruf. p. 177. Greg. Naz. orat. iv. p. 118. [m] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 303. [n] Idem, p. 205. [o] Eutrop. p. 731. [p] Ammian. p. 300. [q] Idem, p. 301, 302. [r] Zos. p. 730. [s] Ammian. ibid. [t] Lib. orat. xii. p. 325. [u] Agath. l. iv. p. 135, 136. [w] Eutrop. p. 589. [x] Philost. l. viii. c. 1. p. 106. [y] Eutrop. p. 589.

a extremity to which he was reduced [z]. From *Ur* he diſpatched meſſengers into *Illyricum* and *Gaul*, with the news of *Julian*'s death, and his own promotion. At the ſame time he appointed *Lucillianus* his father-in-law commander in chief of the horſe and foot in *Illyricum* and *Italy*, and *Malericus* general of the troops in *Gaul*, in the room of *Jovinus* [a]. Then, continuing his march, he entered at laſt the *Roman* territories at a place called *Thiſalphata*, and was there met by *Procopius* and *Sebaſtian*, who commanded the army which *Julian* had left in *Meſopotamia*. The emperor received them in a very obliging manner, and ſoon after ſent *Procopius*, who was *Julian*'s kinſman, to attend the corpſe of that prince to *Tarſus*, in the ſuburbs of which city he was buried, purſuant to the orders he had given a little before he expired.

Jovian *purſues his march to the* Roman *dominions.*

b When the funeral ceremonies were over, *Procopius* privately withdrew from *Tarſus*; and, tho' diligent ſearch was made after him in all parts of the empire, he never could be heard of, till he aſſumed the purple in 365 [b]. From *Thiſalphata* the emperor advanced to *Niſibis*; but encamped without the walls, though greatly importuned by the inhabitants to lodge in the palace, as his predeceſſors had always done. He was aſhamed, ſays *Ammianus*, to enter a city, which he was about to deliver up to the enemy [c]. The next day *Bineſes*, a *Perſian* lord of great diſtinction, who attended *Jovian* in the quality of an hoſtage, demanded the city to be delivered up to him, purſuant to the articles of the treaty. The inhabitants did all that lay in their power to divert the emperor from complying with his demand; they earneſtly entreated him

c to give them leave to defend the place of their nativity, which they undertook to do, without putting the public to the leaſt charge, telling the emperor, that they were well acquainted with the fatigues of a ſiege, and knew how to check the *Perſian* pride. But *Jovian* inſiſting upon the faith of the treaty and the obligation of his oath, *Bineſes* was, by his order, admitted into the city, of which he took poſſeſſion in his maſter's name, by ſetting up the *Perſian* ſtandard. At the ſame time, the inhabitants were ordered to quit their native city, and retire elſewhere, with what effects they could carry with them. This order occaſioned the moſt melancholy ſight, ſays *Ammianus*, the ſun ever beheld [e]. *Chryſoſtom* likewiſe deſcribes their departure in a very affecting manner [f]. But the emperor, alledging the ſanctity of his oath, was

Niſibis *delivered up to the* Perſians.

d deaf to their cries, entreaties, and lamentations; ſo that the city was evacuated in three days time, every one curſing, as they departed, a peace, which had proved more fatal to them than the moſt bloody wars. All the roads were crouded with theſe forlorn exiles, loaded with what they could carry; but greatly grieved for the loſs of many valuable things, which, for want of convenient carriages, they had been obliged to leave behind them. Moſt of them retired to *Amida*, and were placed by the emperor in the ſuburbs of that city, which, by this means, repaired all the loſſes it had ſuſtained in the time of *Conſtantius*, and by degrees became the metropolis of what remained to the *Romans* in *Meſopotamia* [g]. *Jovian* did not leave *Niſibis*, according to *Ammianus* [h], till all the inhabitants were retired. Others tell us, that he

e marched away in the night-time, after he had been two days encamped before it; two months, we read in *Suidas*, which muſt be a miſtake of the tranſcriber [i]. He then continued his march to *Antioch*, paſſing through *Edeſſa*, where he was on the twenty-ſeventh of *September*, as appears from the date of one of his laws [k]. *Zoſimus* writes, that he was no-where received with the demonſtrations of joy uſual on ſuch occaſions [l]. However, it is not unlikely that his arrival was agreeable to the people of *Antioch*, who hated *Julian*, and conſequently muſt have been pleaſed to ſee his ſucceſſor arrive in their city. During his ſtay at *Antioch*, which was not long, he revoked all the laws that had been enacted by *Julian* againſt the chriſtians, and made it his chief ſtudy to reſtore the chriſtian religion to its former luſtre [m]. *Themiſtius*, a

Jovian *revokes all the laws againſt the chriſtians.*

f pagan philoſopher, tells us, that he publiſhed a law, granting to every one full liberty to hold what religion he pleaſed; and, after having beſtowed great encomiums upon him on that ſcore, he adds, that he ſuffered the temples to be opened, and the uſual ſacrifices and ceremonies to be performed in them [n]. On the other hand, *Sozomen* aſſures us, that, by a law enacted at *Antioch*, he ſuppreſſed all religions, except the chriſtian, ordered the temples to be ſhut up, and prohibited, under ſevere penalties, the

[z] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 301. Zos. l. iii. p. 730. [a] Ammian. p. 302. [b] Idem, p. 303—306. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem, p. 304. [f] Chrys. in gent. tom 1. p. 696. [g] Ammian. ibid. Zos. p. 733. Chron. Alex. p. 696. [h] Ammian. p. 305. [i] Suid. p. 1244. [k] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 67. [l] Zos. p, 733. [m] Ruf. l. xi. c, 1. p. 177. Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640. [n] Themist. p. 67, 68.

the offering of victims, and all manner of idolatrous worship [o]; insomuch, that the a
pagans were obliged, according to *Socrates* [p], to creep into holes and corners, and those who, in *Julian*'s time, had wore the philosophical cloak, to quit it, and to appear in the common attire. What the two latter authors write, is confirmed by the pagan sophist *Libanius*, who says, that, after the death of *Julian*, those were heard with applause, who inveighed against the gods; that the pontiffs and philosophers were dragged to the tribunals as criminals; that they were obliged, by the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent, to confess what sums they had received of *Julian* for the worship of their gods, and forced either to restore what they had received, or to languish in dungeons; that the temples were pulled down, and the sophists, who, in *Julian*'s reign, had been entertained with the greatest b
respect by the governors of provinces, were now driven away from their gates like criminals and homicides [q]. The emperor was even advised to put *Libanius* to death, for commending *Julian*; but a *Cappadocian*, who had a great ascendant over *Jovian*, advised him to take no notice of such trifles [r]. As for the christians, *Jovian* wrote to all the governors of provinces, strictly injoining them to take care, that they were not disturbed in their usual assemblies. He restored to the churches, to the ecclesiastics, to the virgins and widows, all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions, which had been granted to them by *Constantine* and his children; but lately revoked by *Julian* [s]. He likewise ordered the yearly allowance of corn, which had been given by *Constantine* to the churches, for the support of the poor, to be continued to c
them; but as the famine still raged, only the third part of *Constantine*'s donation could be spared. *Jovian* promised them the other two parts as soon as the famine abated: but he dying in the mean time, his successors did not make good his promise; whence the churches thenceforth received only one third of what *Constantine* had allotted to them [t]. *Jovian* likewise restored the *labarum*, or the standard with the cross, and obliged one *Magnus*, a *comes* or count, to rebuild at his own expence the church of *Berytus*, which, by his order, had been burnt; nay, the emperor had commanded his head to be cut off, but was with much a-do prevailed upon by his friends to spare him [u]. As in *Julian*'s time several sacred virgins had married, some by choice, others by constraint, *Jovian*, by a law addressed to the prefect *Salustius* d
Secundus, declares those guilty of death, who shall mention marriage to the sacred virgins, or utter a single word in their presence repugnant to the rules of modesty [w]. This law is still extant, and dated from *Antioch*, the nineteenth of *February* of the ensuing year 364 [x]; which is a gross mistake, it being certain, that *Jovian* was dead before that time, and that he left *Antioch* before the end of the present year. *Jovian*

He espouses the cause of the orthodox christians against the Arians.

not only espoused the cause of the christians against the pagans, but that of the orthodox believers against the *Arians*; for, by the first law he published after he had entered the *Roman* dominions, he commanded the churches to be every-where restored to those, who had inviolably adhered to the faith of the council of *Nice*, and recalled all the bishops who had been banished on that score, and *Athanasius* in particular, e
to whom he wrote with his own hand a very obliging and friendly letter [y], which has reached our times [z]. Some time after he wrote a second letter to him, desiring him to draw up and send him a rule of faith, by which he might regulate his belief in the great variety of opinions that prevailed then in the church. *Athanasius* readily complied with the emperor's request, and sent him a creed or rule of faith, supposed to be that which still passes under his name, approved of and subscribed by all the bishops of *Egypt* [a]. *Jovian* soon after invited *Athanasius* to court, received him, upon his arrival at *Antioch*, with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and veneration imaginable, often conferred with him touching the articles of religion then in debate, and was by him thoroughly confirmed in the doctrine defined and established f
by the council of *Nice* [b]. After this, *Athanasius* took his leave of the emperor, and returned to his diocese. *Socrates* [c] tells us, that the emperor no sooner entered the *Roman* dominions upon his return from *Persia*, than he was met by the leading men among the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Achaians*, and other sectaries, all striving to ingratiate

o Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640. p Socrat. l. iii. c. 25. p. 205. & c. 24. p. 202, 203. q Lib. or. xii. p. 327. r Lib. vit. p. 46. s Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640 . t Theodor. l. i. c. 10. p. 552. & l. iv. p. 664. u Idem, l. iv. c. 19. p. 689. w Soz. p. 640. x Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 25. leg. 2. p. 197. y Theodor. l. iv. c. 2. p. 661. Greg. Naz. p. 394. Socr. p. 202. z Athan. tom. 2. p. 33, 34. a Theodor. p. 661. Ruf. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. Grig. Naz p. 394. b Theodor. l. iv. c. 3. p. 661—664. Epiphan. c. 10. p. 726. Soz. l. vi. c. 5. p. 642. c Socr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 202. & c. 25. p. 205.

a tiate themſelves with the new prince, and prepoſſeſs him in their favour; but that he received them coldly, telling them, that he was an enemy to contention, and ſhould eſteem and countenance thoſe only who promoted unity and concord. However, as *Jovian* himſelf openly profeſſed the faith of the council of *Nice*, that doctrine was embraced by many, who, till that time, had been very ſanguine in oppoſing it, and was ſoon after ſolemnly confirmed in a council held at *Antioch* this year [d]. *Jovian*, after a ſhort ſtay at *Antioch*, ſet out for *Conſtantinople*, though the winter was already far advanced, to prevent the diſturbances, which he had reaſon to apprehend in the weſt. As he paſſed through *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, he ordered ſome ornaments to be added to the tomb of *Julian*; on which account he is blamed by ſome chriſtian writers [e]. *He ſets out for* Conſtantinople.

b From *Tarſus* he proceeded to *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*; where he was informed, that *Malaricus*, whom he had appointed general of the troops in *Gaul*, having declined that poſt, *Lucilianus*, the emperor's father-in-law, and general of the troops in *Illyricum* and *Italy*, had haſtened into *Gaul*; and taking upon him there, when matters were not yet ſettled, to examine the accounts of ſome officers, one of them, conſcious of his frauds, had fled for protection to the *Batavians* who ſerved in the *Roman* army; and by perſuading them that *Julian* was ſtill alive, had ſo incenſed them againſt *Lucillianus* as a traitor, that in a tumult they killed him, and a tribune, by name *Seniauchus*, whom he had brought with him into *Gaul*. *Valentinian*, afterwards emperor, but then only tribune, and one of the attendants of *Lucillianus*, narrowly eſcaped undergoing the ſame fate. This tumult, which happened at *Rheims*, did not prevent the troops in *Gaul*, nor their general *Jovinus*, from declaring for *Jovian*, and proclaiming him emperor. They even ſent deputies to him, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and acquaint him, that they were ready to obey his commands. The deputies met the new emperor at *Aſpona* in *Galatia*, who received them in a very obliging manner, and continued *Jovinus* in the poſt of general, charging him not to ſuffer the death of *Lucillianus* to go unrevenged. From *Aſpona Jovian* purſued his journey to *Ancyra*, the metropolis of *Galatia*, where he took upon him his firſt conſulſhip. We have obſerved above, that he had named his father for his collegue; but he dying in the mean time, he took in his room his own ſon, whom, though then only an infant, he diſtinguiſhed with the title of *nobiliſſimus*, or *moſt noble* [f]. The diſcourſe which *Themiſtius* is ſaid to have pronounced on occaſion of the emperor's conſulſhip, has reached our times [g]; but *Socrates* aſſures us, that he pronounced it ſix weeks after at *Dadaſtana*, and a ſecond time at *Conſtantinople* [h]. *Jovian*, haſtening to reach the latter city, left *Ancyra*, and continued his journey, though the cold was then ſo ſevere and intenſe, that ſome of his retinue died on the road. Upon his arrival at *Dadaſtana*, a town on the borders of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, but belonging to the latter province, he was met by *Themiſtius*, and other perſons of diſtinction, ſent by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople* to attend him. But before he left that place, he was found dead in his bed, on the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth of *February* of this year 364. after he had lived thirty-three years, and reigned ſeven months and twenty days [i]. His ſudden death gave occaſion to various reports; ſome aſcribe it to the dampneſs of his chamber, which had been newly plaiſtered; others ſay, he was ſtifled with the vapours of charcoal placed in the room to dry it. Some write, that he died of a ſurfeit; others, that his death was owing to bad and poiſonous muſhrooms. *Socrates* ſays, he was carried off by an obſtruction; and *Chryſoſtom*, that he was either poiſoned or murdered by his guards. *Ammianus* likewiſe ſeems to have believed, that he died a violent death; for he compares his end with that of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was ſtrangled in his bed; and adds, that no inquiry was made after the death of either of them [k]. But *Jovian* had not yet diſobliged any man, nor does it appear, that he had any enemies, except perhaps *Procopius*, who took no advantage of his death, nor even ſhewed himſelf on that occaſion. The body of the deceaſed emperor was carried to *Conſtantinople*, and there interred with the uſual ſolemnity in the church of the *Apoſtles*, where his tomb was to be ſeen many years after [l]. His wife was coming to meet him, according to *Zonaras* [m], with her ſon *Vérronianus*, and a retinue worthy of an empreſs, when ſhe received the news of his death. *Cedrenus* likewiſe tells us, that

A tumult in Gaul.

Jovian enters upon his firſt conſulſhip.

He dies at Dadaſtana.

c d e f g h i k l

d Idem ibid. e Idem, l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. Baron. ad ann. 364. f Ammian. l. xxv. p. 306, 307. Socrat. l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. Zos. p. 733. Zonar. p. 25. g Themist. or. v. p. 71. h Socrat. ibid. p. 205. i Ammian. p. 308. Socrat. ibid. Zos. ibid. Zonar. ibid. k Ammian. p. 308. l Philost. l. viii. p. 113. Zonar. ibid. Du Cange urb. Conſtant. deſcript. l. iv. p. 110. m Zonar. ibid.

that ſhe never ſaw him after his promotion [n]; but *Themiſtius* writes, that the ſon, and a
conſequently, in all likelihood, the mother too, was with the emperor at *Dadaſtana*;
and adds, that by his crying and ſtruggling when he was to be carried, according
to cuſtom, in the conſular chariot, he ſeemed to portend what happened ſoon after,
that is, the death of his father [o]. The empreſs was ſtill living in 380 [p], and was
buried after her death by her huſband [q]. Of her ſon we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Jovian*
is greatly commended by all the eccleſiaſtic writers, among whom *Theodoret* ſays,
that heaven raiſed him to the ſovereignty to reward, even in this life, his virtue;
but that the world did not deſerve to enjoy long ſo great a bleſſing [r].

Jovian being dead, the chief officers, both civil and military, aſſembled in order
to chuſe a new emperor, when ſome propoſed *Equitius*, tribune of the firſt company b
of the ſhield-men of the emperor's guard; and others *Januarius*, a kinſman of the
deceaſed emperor, at that time commander of the troops in *Illyricum*: but the former
was rejected on account of his ſurly and ruſtic temper, and the latter becauſe he was
at too great a diſtance [s]. *Zoſimus*, ever favourable to the pagans, tells us, that the
electors, with one voice, named to the empire *Saluſtius Secundus*, prefect of the eaſt;
a man, ſays he, of great worth and long experience in war, by religion a pagan,
but no great enemy to the chriſtians. He adds, that *Saluſt*, excuſing himſelf on
account of his old age and infirmities, they were for naming his ſon; but that the
father oppoſed his election, alledging, that he was too young, and conſequently not
equal to ſo great a charge [t]. At length, after an inter-regnum of nine or ten days, c

Valentinian *is choſen emperor.*

Valentinian was, by univerſal conſent, choſen emperor; which unanimity *Ammianus*
aſcribes to a particular inſpiration from heaven [u]. The prefect *Saluſtius Secundus*,
Arintheus, one of the generals of the army, *Dagalaiphus*, general of the horſe, and
Datianus, a patrician, who had been conſul in 358. are ſaid to have been the chief
authors of his election [w]. The latter had been left by *Jovian* on account of his old
age, and the ſeverity of the winter, in *Galatia*; whence he wrote to the army, adviſing
them to chuſe *Valentinian*, as a man well qualified for that high ſtation [x]. This elec-
tion was made at *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, whither the army that attended

His parentage, education, employments, &c.

Jovian had, after his death, removed from *Dadaſtana* [y]. *Valentinian* was the ſon of
Gratianus, a native of *Cibale* in *Pannonia*: his anceſtors were no-ways conſpicuous; d
but *Gratianus* himſelf being admitted into the army on account of his extraordinary
ſtrength, and great addreſs at all manner of exerciſes, raiſed himſelf by degrees to
the dignity of count of *Africa*; of which honourable employment he was afterwards
deprived, upon a ſuſpicion of his having embezzled the public money. However,
he was many years after appointed commander of the troops in *Britain*; in which
office he acquitted himſelf with great reputation. On his return from thence, he
withdrew to his eſtate in the country, leading there a retired life, till it was confiſ-
cated by *Conſtantius*, incenſed againſt him for having entertained *Magnentius* as he
paſſed that way, with a deſign to uſurp the empire. But he continued, notwithſtanding
his diſgrace, to be greatly beloved and eſteemed by the army [z]; and the eſteem and e
affection they all had for the father did not a little contribute to the promotion of
the ſon [a]. The ſenate of *Conſtantinople* decreed him a ſtatue in the beginning of the
reign of *Valens* [b]. We do not find, that he had any other children beſides *Valen-
tinian* and *Valens*, who are ſuppoſed to have been both born in the city of *Cibale*,
the birth-place of their father. The former is ſtyled on ſome medals [c] *Flavius*,
which prænomen became common to all thoſe who, after *Conſtantius*'s time, were
raiſed to the empire. *Valentinian* had by his firſt wife, named *Valera Severa*, the
emperor *Gratian*, born in the year 359. Of his ſecond wife, *Juſtina*, the mother of
Valentinian II. and of three daughters, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Valentinian* was
baptized, as we read in St. *Ambroſe* [d], and held the doctrine of the council of *Nice*, f
though that of *Arius* generally prevailed in *Pannonia* [e]. He is ſaid by moſt writers
to have been altogether illiterate; and *Themiſtius* ſeems to inſinuate, that neither he,
nor his brother *Valens*, had any knowledge of the *Greek* tongue [f]. But *Auſonius*
allows him ſome erudition [g]. He betook himſelf early to the profeſſion of arms, and
on

[n] Cedren. p. 309. [o] Themist. or. v. p. 71. [p] Chrys. ad vid. junior. tom. iv. p. 463.
[q] Zonar. p. 25. [r] Theodoret. l. iv. c. 4. p. 664, 665. [s] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 310. [t] Zos. l. iii.
p. 734. [u] Ammian. p. 310. [w] Philostrog. l. viii. c. 8. p. 113. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Ammian. ibid.
[z] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 428. Vict. epit. p. 545. [a] Vict. ibid. [b] Theodoret. p. 171. Themist.
or. vi. p. 81. [c] Birag. p. 501, 505. [d] Ambros. ep xiii. p. 204. [e] Socr. l. iv. c. 1. p. 210.
[f] Themist. or. vi. p. 71. [g] Auson. idyll. xxviii. p. 339.

a on ſeveral occaſions gave remarkable proofs of his courage, prudence, and expe-
rience [h]. In *Gaul* he commanded a body of horſe, in quality of tribune; but that
command was taken from him by *Conſtantius*, as we have related in the reign of that
prince, upon a falſe charge brought againſt him by *Barbetio*. *Philoſtorgius* writes,
that while he was in *Gaul*, it was conjectured from ſome omens, that he ſhould
attain one day to the empire; which induced *Conſtantius* to ſend him into *Meſopo-*
tamia, to ſerve there againſt the *Perſians* [i]. Under *Julian* he was tribune of one of
the bands of the guards, called *Joviani*, who conſtantly attended the emperor [k]. We
are told, that being one day obliged, as tribune of the guard, to attend the emperor
into a temple, and the miniſter of the idols ſprinkling thoſe who entered with water,
b which was ſuppoſed to purify them, *Valentinian*, who was a zealous chriſtian, ſeeing
a drop of it upon his habit, not only reviled and upbraided the pontiff as an impoſtor,
but ſtruck him, and in the preſence of *Julian* cut out that part of his habit on which
it had fallen, and threw it contemptuouſly on the ground. This provoked *Julian*
to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ordered *Valentinian* either to ſacrifice to the
gods, or lay down his employment: he choſe, without heſitation, the latter; but
Julian, not ſatisfied therewith, confined him, according to *Philoſtorgius*, to *Thebes*
in *Egypt*; according to *Sozomen*, to *Melitene* in *Armenia*, charging him with ſome
neglect of duty, to deprive him of the glory which he was appriſed would accrue to
him from ſuffering on account of his religion [l]. If what theſe authors write be true,
Julian muſt have recalled him ſoon after, perhaps to employ him in the *Perſian* war;
c for he is ſuppoſed to have been baniſhed in 362. and on the other hand it is plain
from *Ammianus Marcellinus* [m], that, at the death of *Julian*, he ſerved in the army
in quality of tribune. Upon the promotion of *Jovian*, *Lucillianus*, father-in-law to
that prince, took him with him into *Gaul*, as one capable of eſtabliſhing, by his
prudence and known abilities, the authority of the new emperor in that province.
Lucillianus was killed, as we have related above, in a tumult at *Rheims*; and *Valen-*
tinian narrowly eſcaped undergoing the ſame fate. Upon his return into the eaſt,
Jovian preferred him to the command of the ſecond company of the *ſcutarii*, or
ſhield-men of the guard; and left him at *Ancyra*, when he ſet out from thence on
d his march to *Conſtantinople*, with orders to follow him ſome time after [n]. *Valentinian*
was ſtill at *Ancyra*, when *Jovian* died at *Dadaſtana*; and he was choſen, in the
manner we have related above, to ſucceed him. Upon his election, meſſengers
were immediately diſpatched to acquaint him with it; and in the mean time, *Equi-*
tius and *Leo* ordered to prevent diſturbances or tumults in the army. *Valentinian*,
ſoon after the arrival of the meſſengers, ſet out from *Ancyra*, and reached *Nice*,
where the army then was, on the twenty-fourth of *February*; but did not appear
abroad till the twenty-ſixth, perhaps becauſe he was in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould
accept the empire or no, as we read in *Victor* the younger [o]. This, at leaſt, ſeems
more probable to us than the conjecture of *Ammianus Marcellinus* [p], *viz.* that out of
ſuperſtition he avoided tranſacting any thing on the twenty-fifth, that being the
e *biſſextile*, and conſequently an unlucky day. Be that as it will, orders were given
in the evening, by the advice of the prefect *Saluſtius Secundus*, that no perſon, who
might, on account of his poſt or quality, be ſuppoſed to aſpire at the empire, ſhould,
on pain of death, be ſeen abroad the next morning. As ſoon as it was light, the
whole army was drawn up in a plain near the city of *Nice*; and *Valentinian*, appearing
at their head, was deſired to aſcend the tribunal; which he had no ſooner done,
than he was, with loud ſhouts, ſaluted *Valentinianus Auguſtus*, and adorned, in the
ſight of the whole army, with all the enſigns of ſovereignty, that is, with a purple
robe and a diadem [q]. When this ceremony was over, the new emperor was preparing
to harangue the army, according to cuſtom, and had already ſtretched out his hand
f to begin his ſpeech, when he was ſtopped by a ſeditious noiſe of the ſoldiery, requiring
him to take that inſtant a collegue in the ſovereignty, that the empire might not
for the future remain, as it had happened twice in a few months, without a head.
Valentinian, though a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, was at firſt ſomewhat
alarmed; but ſoon reſuming his uſual courage, he firſt reproved, with an air of
authority, thoſe who appeared the moſt forward and ſeditious; and then, without
any

His ſteadineſs in the chriſtian religion, and averſion to idolatry.

He is ſaluted by the army with the title of Auguſtus.

His firmneſs and intrepidity in quelling a tumult in the army.

[h] Zos. p. 734. [i] Philost. l. vii. c. 7. p. 93. [k] Theodor. l. iii. c. 12. [l] Soz. l. vi. c. 6. p. 644. Philostorg. p. 93 Theodoret. p. 950. Zos. l. iv. p. 735. Oros. l. vii. c. 32. Ruf. l. ii. c. 2. p. 178. [m] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 302. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Vict. epit. p. 545. [p] Ammian. p. 312. [q] Idem ibid. Zos. l. iii. p. 734.

any interruption, addreſſed himſelf to the army in the following terms: "It was a
"in your power a few days ago to chuſe for your emperor whom you pleaſed;
"but ſince you have raiſed me to that high ſtation, I muſt tell you, that power
"is no longer in your hands: you are not to preſcribe laws to your ſovereign; it
"is my province to command, and yours to obey: I am to judge, and not you,
"what may be uſeful and conducive to the public welfare. However, I do not
"ſay, that I will not take a collegue; but in an affair of ſuch importance, I muſt
"proceed with the utmoſt care and precaution imaginable, leſt both you and I
"may hereafter have occaſion to repent of our raſhneſs." This reſolute ſpeech, uttered with all the authority of a ſovereign, ſtopped the mouths of the mutineers; and no one daring to oppoſe a man, who ſeemed born to command, he was again, b with a general acclamation, ſaluted with the title of *Auguſtus*, and conducted, or, as *Philoſtorgius* will have it, carried, on a large ſhield, to the imperial palace [r].

He declares his brother Valens *his collegue in the empire.*

Valentinian being thus declared emperor at *Nice* on the twenty-ſixth of *February* of this year 364. left that city on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, and ſet out for *Conſtantinople*. His march was very expeditious; for he made his public entry into *Nicomedia* on the firſt of *March*, and there created his brother *Valens præfectus ſtabuli*, that is, according to the modern phraſe, maſter of the horſe, with the title of tribune; and, after his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, declared him his collegue in the empire on the twenty-eighth of *March*, according to the moſt probable opinion. This ceremony was performed at a place called *Hebdomon* or the *ſeventh*, becauſe it was ſeven miles c diſtant from *Conſtantinople*. In this place, which was a village, with an imperial palace, and ſeveral churches, the emperors who ſucceeded *Valens* were commonly crowned, and that prince embelliſhed it with ſeveral edifices, and with a ſtately tribunal or throne; whence it took the name of *the tribunal* [s]. *Ammianus* tells us, that *Valentinian* having ſummoned a council at *Nice*, as ſoon as he was declared emperor, to deliberate about a collegue; and the other officers being all ſilent, through fear of diſobliging the emperor, *Dagalaiphus* addreſſing him with great liberty, *If you are partial*, ſaid he, *to your own family, you will make choice of your brother; but if you love your people, you will prefer ſome other*. *Ammianus* adds, that when he named *Valens*, his choice was univerſally applauded, becauſe no one dared to diſapprove or d oppoſe it [t]; which ſhews, that no great advantages to the ſtate were expected from *Valens*. However, *Ammianus*, who neither condemns him as a bad prince, nor thinks him worthy of a place among the good ones [u], obſerves to his praiſe, that he ever kept up a good underſtanding with his brother; that he undertook nothing without his advice; and obeyed him, not only as his elder brother, but as his ſovereign [w]. Some time after, both princes were ſeized with a violent fever, which was by ſome aſcribed to the magical practices of *Julian*'s friends, eſpecially of the philoſophers *Maximus* and *Priſcus*, who thereupon were apprehended, with many others, and carried in chains to *Conſtantinople*. *Priſcus* was ſoon diſcharged; but

He puniſhes ſome of Julian's *friends.*

Maximus, who was univerſally hated, and ſuppoſed to have ſtirred up *Julian* againſt e *Valentinian*, on account of his zeal for the chriſtian religion, was condemned to pay a heavy fine, and to lie in priſon till he had paid it. Many eminent perſons were accuſed on this occaſion; but the prefect *Saluſtius Secundus*, with his uſual addreſs, prudence, and good-nature, ſtifled ſuch accuſations, and put a ſtop to all further inquiries [x]. The two emperors were no ſooner recovered, than they left *Conſtantinople*; and paſſing through *Adrianople*, where they were on the twenty-ninth of *April* [y], arrived at *Philippopolis*; whence they proceeded to *Sardica*, and from that city to *Naiſſus* in *Dacia*, where they were on the third of *June*, and ſeem to have continued till about the eighteenth of the ſame month, partly at *Naiſſus*, partly at a caſtle named *Mediana*, about three miles from that city [z]. As the empire was f threatened with a general invaſion from the barbarous nations that ſurrounded it,

He divides the empire with his brother Valens.

Valentinian, the better to make head againſt them, thought it adviſeable to divide the provinces between himſelf and his brother; and accordingly made this famous partition at *Mediana*, committing to the government of *Valens* the eaſt, that is, all *Aſia*, with *Egypt* and *Thrace*, and reſerving to himſelf *Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Africa*, that is, all the weſt. After this partition, both princes repaired to

[r] Ammian. p. 312. Theodoret. l. iv. c. 5. p. 665. Sozom. p. 645. Philostorg. p. 113. [s] Du Cange urb. Conſt. deſcript. l. ii. p. 140. [t] Ammian. p. 314 [u] Idem, l. xxx. p. 428. [w] Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315. [x] Zos. l. iv. p. 735. Eunap. c. 5. p. 82, 83. [y] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 315. Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 69. [z] Idem ibid.

a to *Sirmium*, where they parted, *Valentinian* for *Milan*, and *Valens* for *Conſtantinople*[a]. In the mean time, the barbarians broke into the empire from all quarters, the *Germans* into *Gaul* and *Rhætia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* into *Pannonia*, the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacotti* into *Britain*, and the *Auſturians*, with other *Mooriſh* nations, into *Africa*. But the latter province was not ſo much haraſſed by the barbarians as by *Romanus*, who had been ſent by *Jovian* to protect it; for the *Auſturians* had in his reign made frequent inroads into *Libya Tripolitana*, and the neighbouring countries. *Romanus* ſurpaſſed the barbarians themſelves in oppreſſing and pillaging that unhappy province, and even refuſed to march againſt the enemy, who, roving up and down the country, committed every-where dreadful ravages, b becauſe the inhabitants would not comply with his exorbitant demands; for he required, beſides immenſe ſums, no fewer than four thouſand camels, without which, he ſaid, he could not take the field. The *Africans*, finding they could have no protection from *Romanus*, charged the deputies, whom they ſent with the uſual preſents to *Valentinian* upon his acceſſion to the empire, to lay before the new emperor the miſerable ſtate of their affairs; which they did accordingly, offering to prove the particulars contained in the memorial, which they preſented to the emperor; but *Remigius*, who was then *magiſter officiorum*, and ſhared with *Romanus*, his kinſman and confident, the ſpoils of the province, by repreſenting things in a quite different light, managed his friend's cauſe with ſo much cunning and addreſs, that the emperor, not knowing whom to believe, referred the matter to a further inquiry; which c *Remigius* got eaſily put off from time to time, as there was then a great hurry of buſineſs at court. However, they prevailed upon the emperor to give the command of the troops to *Ruricius*, governor of *Libya Tripolitana*; but, by the intereſt of *Remigius*, it was ſoon after reſtored to *Romanus*. In the mean while, the *Auſturians* came down in greater numbers than ever, laid waſte the fruitful territories of *Leptis* and *Oea*; from which cities, and that of *Sebrata*, the province is ſaid to have been named *Tripolis*, that word importing *three cities*. As *Romanus* continued the whole time unconcerned and inactive, the barbarians ſcoured the country without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, ravaged it in a moſt miſerable manner, put many perſons d of all ranks to the ſword, took an incredible number of priſoners, and had even the confidence to lay ſiege to *Leptis*, a ſtrong and populous city, but were not able to reduce it. The noiſe of theſe devaſtations reaching the emperor's ears, he diſpatched *Palladius* to pay the troops their arrears, and bring him a true account of the ſtate of the province. *Romanus*, being immediately acquainted by his friend *Remigius* with the errand on which *Palladius* was ſent, perſuaded the principal officers of the army, with whom he maintained a good underſtanding, to preſent *Palladius*, whom he repreſented as a man of great authority at court, with a great ſhare of the money which he had brought to pay them. *Palladius* accepted the preſent, and proceeded to *Leptis*, where he heard the complaints of the inhabitants, and was by e them conducted to view the country, that he might be an eye-witneſs of the miſerable condition to which it was reduced, and of the dreadful havock the barbarians had made, without being in the leaſt curbed or reſtrained. *Palladius*, at that ſight, could not help exclaiming againſt *Romanus*, telling him in plain terms, that he would not fail to acquaint the emperor with his unaccountable conduct, and upbraiding him with his cruelty and avarice. But *Romanus* ſoon ſtopt his mouth, by upbraiding him in his turn with converting to his private uſe the money with which he was to pay the ſoldiers, and threatening to let the emperor know he had betrayed his truſt. This put *Palladius* into ſuch a fright, that he agreed with *Romanus* to conceal the whole from the emperor, whom accordingly he aſſured on his return, that the city f of *Leptis*, and the *Tripolitan* province, complained without reaſon; which was believed, *Palladius* being generally eſteemed a man of great integrity, and above all bribery and corruption. Nay, the emperor was by him ſo miſled, and ſhamefully impoſed upon, that he ſent him back into *Africa* to try and puniſh the authors of the ſuppoſed calumnies and falſe informations brought againſt *Romanus*. In the diſcharge of this ſcandalous office, he tampered ſo cunningly with the inhabitants of *Leptis*, that they diſowned the complaints which *Jovinus*, one of their deputies, had laid before the emperor in their name, maintaining, that they had given him no ſuch commiſſion. *Jovinus* himſelf, to gain the favour of *Palladius* and *Romanus*, and by that

Libya Tripolitana haraſſed by the Auſturians, and oppreſſed by Romanus.

Romanus accuſed, but continued in his command.

Palladius ſent to inquire into the ſtate of the province.

He is gained over by Romanus.

[a] Ammian. p. 316. Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 69, 70.

His accuſers puniſhed.

that means avoid the danger that threatened him, owned he had made a falſe report to the emperor, who thereupon ordered him to be put to death, with ſome of the chief citizens of *Leptis*, and the governor *Ruricius*, who had confirmed the truth of the informations brought againſt *Romanus*. The latter was executed at *Stephæ* in *Mauritania*, and the others at *Utica*. *Erectheus* and *Ariſtomenes*, two other citizens of *Leptis*, who had complained of *Romanus*, were condemned to have their tongues cut out; but they found means to make their eſcape, and lay concealed till the reign of *Gratian*, when this ſcene of iniquity was brought to light [b].

a

The following year, 365, both princes entered upon their firſt conſulſhip, the one at *Milan*, the other at *Conſtantinople*. *Valentinian* ſeems to have continued at *Milan* till the month of *Auguſt*, and then to have viſited ſeveral cities of *Italy*, *viz.* *Verona*, *Aquileia*, and *Luceria* [c]. From *Italy* he paſſed into *Gaul*, and was either at or near *Paris* in his way to that city in the latter end of *October*, when he received certain intelligence, that the *Germans* had made an irruption into that province; and that *Procopius* had revolted in the eaſt. Of the latter we ſhall ſpeak in the reign of *Valens*. As for the *Germans*, they had ſent embaſſadors to congratulate *Valentinian* upon his acceſſion to the empire; but *Urſacius*, then *magiſter officiorum*, having received them in a very diſobliging manner, and ſent them back with far leſs preſents than were uſually given them, they had thrown them away with ſcorn and indignation; and upon their return, ſtirred up their nation to take arms, and revenge the affront that had been offered them. They broke therefore into *Gaul*, and laid waſte the country bordering on the *Rhine*. *Valentinian* diſpatched *Dagalaiphus* againſt them, and advanced in perſon as far as *Rheims* to ſupport him. But the *Germans* retiring at his approach, he returned to *Paris*, and there took up his winter-quarters [d]. He was for returning into *Illyricum* to make head there againſt the rebel *Procopius*; but his friends, and the deputies that were ſent to him from all the cities in *Gaul*, earneſtly intreating him not to leave that province expoſed to the inroads of the *Germans*, he complied with their requeſt, conſidering, ſays *Ammianus*, that *Procopius* was only an enemy to his family, whereas the *Germans* were declared enemies to the whole *Roman* empire [e]. Being therefore reſolved not to ſtir out of *Gaul*, he diſpatched *Neotherius*, at that time only a notary, but afterwards, that is, in 390, conſul, into *Africa*, to prevent *Procopius* from making himſelf maſter of that province; and at the ſame time injoined *Equitius* to cover *Illyricum*, and watch the motions of the uſurper on that ſide [f]. St. *Jerom* writes, that *Equitius* abuſed his authority in oppreſſing and plundering the people whom he was ſent to protect [g]. *Equitius* was already *comes* or count, to which dignity the emperor added on this occaſion that of *magiſter* or general [h].

b

The Germans *break into* Gaul;

But retire at the approach of the emperor.

c

d

The next conſuls were *Gratian* and *Dagalaiphus*; the latter was general of the horſe, and had been *comes domeſticorum* under *Julian*: his name gives us room to believe, that he was by birth a barbarian. As for his collegue, he was the ſon of the emperor *Valentinian*, and then an infant; whence in the dates of the laws enacted this year he is marked thus NB. P. that is, *Nobiliſſimus Puer*. The *Germans*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul* the preceding year, and retired at the approach of the emperor, as we have obſerved above, returned this year, 366. and having paſſed the *Rhine* on the ice, defeated the *Romans* in a pitched battle, took the ſtandards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*, and killed the two counts *Charietto* and *Severianus*, ſays *Zoſimus*, who commanded the *Roman* forces [i]. That the *Romans* were defeated, and *Severianus* killed, is owned by *Ammianus* [k]; but *Charietto* muſt have eſcaped, ſince we find a law dated the ſeventeenth of *May* addreſſed to him [l]; whereas this battle was fought in the depth of winter, when the *Rhine* was frozen over [m]. *Zoſimus* adds, that *Valentinian*, who, according to him, was preſent at this battle, highly provoked againſt the *Batavians* for having given ground the firſt, ordered them to be caſhiered and ſold for ſlaves, but ſuſpended the execution of his orders, upon their promiſing to retrieve their reputation by ſome ſignal enterprize; which they did accordingly, attacking the enemy's camp in the dead of the night, and committing there a dreadful ſlaughter [n]. What *Zoſimus* writes touching the *Batavians* may be true; but as for *Valentinian*, it is plain from *Ammianus*, that when this battle was fought,

e

The Romans *defeated by the* Germans.

f

[b] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 316. & l. xxvii. p. 347—380. [c] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 75. [d] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 315—317. [e] Idem, l. xxvii. p. 334. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Hier. ad. ann. 373. [h] Ammian. ibid. [i] Zos. l. iv. p. 740. [k] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 334. [l] Cod. Theodoſ. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 1. p. 440. [m] Ammian. & Zos. ibid. [n] Zos. ibid.

a fought, he was at *Paris*; whence he immediately diſpatched *Dagalaiphus*, to prevent the evil conſequences that were likely to attend the defeat of the other generals. *Dagalaiphus*, pretending he had not ſufficient ſtrength to engage the enemy, who were roving about the country in ſeveral great bodies, did not ſo much as offer to reſtrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Jovinus*, general of the troops in *Gaul*, was ſent in his room; who, having carefully informed himſelf of the motions of the barbarians, fell upon one of their parties at a place called *Scarponna*, between *Toul* and *Metz*, and cut them all off, without loſing one man. Being attended with the like ſucceſs againſt another party, which he ſurpriſed, he advanced with incredible expedition againſt the main body of their army, attacked them, though far ſuperior to him in number, and, after a long and bloody conteſt, put them to flight. The fight continued the whole day, and the *Romans* were once in great danger of being utterly defeated, the ſudden flight of a tribune, named *Balchobaudes*, who was a great boaſter, and conſequently, as it generally happens, a downright coward, having diſanimated the troops under his command. However, *Jovinus*, inſpiring them, more by his example than by words, with freſh courage, led them on to the charge, while they were ready to turn their backs; and, preſſing with great reſolution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to give ground, and betake themſelves to a diſorderly flight. On the enemy's ſide, ſix thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, and four thouſand wounded; and of the *Romans* only two hundred killed, and as many wounded [o]. The enemy withdrew in the night-time, but were intercepted in their retreat by ſeveral parties ſent out by *Jovinus* for that purpoſe, inſomuch, that few of them had the good luck to eſcape. *Jovinus* followed them the next morning with the whole army; but finding he could not overtake them without haraſſing his troops, he returned to his camp, where he was informed, that their king, who had been taken by a party ſent to plunder their camp, had been hanged in his abſence. Being greatly provoked at ſo baſe an action, he reſolved to puniſh with death the tribune, who commanded the party; but he found upon examination, that the ſoldiers had done it in the height of their rage, which the tribune had in vain attempted to reſtrain [p]. *Valentinian* had advanced as far as *Rheims* to ſupport *Jovinus*, as we conjecture from ſeveral laws enacted this year in that city, and dated the ſeventh of *April*, the ſeventeenth of *May*, and the fourteenth of *June* [q]: but he muſt have returned to *Paris* before the end of the campaign; for *Jovinus* marching back to *Paris* with his victorious army, the emperor, to do him honour, went out to meet him, and for his eminent ſervices named him conſul for the enſuing year [r]. The public joy for the happy ſucceſſes of this glorious campaign was greatly heightened by the arrival of meſſengers from *Valens*, with the head of *Procopius*, killed in *Aſia* on the twenty-ſeventh of *May*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. *Valentinian* was returned to *Rheims* on the twenty-ſeventh of *November* [s], and ſeems to have continued there all winter [t]. He made it his chief ſtudy to fortify the banks of the *Rhine*, cauſing a great number of forts to be erected on the *German*, as well on the *Roman*, ſide of that river; by which means, and by augmenting his forces, he prevented the barbarians, ſays *Zoſimus* [u], from ever breaking into the *Roman* territories during the nine remaining years of his reign. But that writer muſt be underſtood of the *Alemans*; for we ſhall have ſoon occaſion to ſpeak of the irruptions of *Franks* and *Saxons* into *Gaul*.

Jovinus *gains a complete victory over the* Germans.

Valentinian *fortifies the banks of the* Rhine.

The next conſuls were *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*, both generals, the former under *Valens* in *Syria*, and the latter under *Valentinian* in *Gaul*. *Jovinus* is by the ableſt critics thought to be the ſame perſon with *Valens Jovinus*, general of the horſe, who was ſucceeded in that employment by *Theodoſius* in 370. as we read in *Ammianus* [w]. He was ſent this very year into *Britain*, and attended *Valentinian* in his expedition againſt the *Germans* in 368 [x]. *Flodard*, in his hiſtory of the church of *Rheims*, produces the epitaph of one *Jovinus*, who had been twice general of the *Roman* horſe and foot, and yet was more illuſtrious for his piety than his employments [y]. He was baptized and buried at *Rheims*, in the church of St. *Agricola*, now the abbey of St. *Nicaſius*, or St. *Nicaiſe*, as the natives call it. The ſtately tomb, ſtill to be ſeen there, is thought to have been his [z]. The epitaph ſeems to inſinuate, that he was the

[o] Ammian. p. 334, 335. [p] Zos. ibid. [q] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 77. [r] Ammian. ibid. [s] Cod. Theodoſ. chron p. 77, 79. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Zos. l. iv. p. 742. [w] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 369. [x] Idem, l. xxvii. p. 346. [y] Flodard Remenſ. eccleſ. hiſt. l. i. c. 6. p. 33. [z] Marlot. metropol. Remenſ. hiſt. l. i. c. 28. p. 101.

the founder of that church, which, in the laſt will of the holy biſhop *Rhemigius*, is ſtyled the *Jovinian church* [a]. Moſt authors take this *Jovinus* to be the conſul of this year, which we can hardly believe, ſince in the epitaph no notice is taken of the conſulſhip, a dignity far ſuperior to the others mentioned in it. Beſides, we are no-where told, that *Jovinus*, the conſul of this year, was a chriſtian; nay, from *Julian*'s preferring him to the firſt employments both civil and military, we may well conclude, that he did not profeſs the chriſtian religion, at leaſt in that prince's reign. All the laws of this year to the third of *June* are dated from *Rheims* [b]; a plain proof, that the emperor continued there till that time: one dated the ſixth of *Auguſt* was enacted at *Nemæſia*, ſaid to have been a place in the neighbourhood of *Rheims* [c]. From *Nemæſia* the emperor removed to *Amiens*, as appears from a law dated the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, and addreſſed to *Prætextatus*, prefect of *Rome* [d]. He was probably kept ſo long at *Rheims* by a violent diſtemper, with which he was ſeized this year. As his recovery was deſpaired of, the great officers of the court began to form cabals, and to think of naming him a ſucceſſor. The chief candidates for the imperial dignity were *Ruſticus Julianus* and *Severus*, both dreaded on account of their ſeverity and rigour, but the former much more than the latter: he afterwards betrayed a moſt cruel and ſavage temper, when he was proconſul of *Africa* in 371. and 372. *Symmachus* is thought to have addreſſed to him the firſt fifteen letters of his third book. As for *Severus*, he was, in the judgment of *Ammianus*, in every reſpect preferable to *Julianus* [e]. But the emperor's unexpected recovery put an end to the hopes and intrigues of the courtiers; for he, being probably informed of what had been tranſacted, reſolved to prevent any farther diſputes, by raiſing his ſon *Gratian* to the empire. Having therefore before-hand gained the ſoldiery, he aſſembled them in the neighbourhood of *Amiens*; and, with their conſent and approbation, declared him his collegue in the empire, veſting him with the purple, and other enſigns of ſovereignty, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude [f]. Thus was *Gratian* created emperor on the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, 367. at the city of *Amiens*, for which he is ſaid to have ever ſhewed a very particular regard: he was then about eight years old, having been born in 359. on the eighteenth of *April*, or, as others will have it, on the twenty-third of *May*. Every one was ſurpriſed, ſays *Ammianus*, at the emperor's raiſing him at once to the ſovereignty, inſtead of creating him firſt *Cæſar*, purſuant to the cuſtom, which had prevailed till that time [g]. *Victor* writes, that he was induced thereunto by his mother-in-law and his wife. Of the former, we find no farther mention in hiſtory. As to the latter, ſhe was, without all doubt, the mother of *Gratian*, *Valentinian*'s firſt wife, called by *Socrates*, *Severa* [h], and ſtyled on ſome medals *Valeria Severa Auguſta* [i]. That princeſs was then certainly at court, and in favour; but ſeems to have been ſoon after diſgraced. We read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that the empreſs *Severa* having purchaſed an eſtate at a very low rate, the emperor, ſuſpecting ſome foul dealing, was ſo provoked, that, not ſatisfied with obliging her to reſtore the eſtate to the former owner, he drove her out of the city [k]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Valentinian* divorced her, and married *Juſtina*, a native of *Sicily*, and the daughter, as is ſuppoſed, of one *Juſtus*, whom *Conſtantius* ordered to be put to death, while he was governor of *Picenum*, becauſe he had bragged, giving credit to ſome omens, that he ſhould one day be the father of an emperor. *Zoſimus* writes, that ſhe had been married before to *Magnentius*, killed in 352 [m]. She favoured the doctrine of *Arius*, but craftily concealed her ſentiments in the emperor's life-time [n]. She had two brothers, *viz. Conſtantianus*, who was raiſed to the dignity of *tribunus ſtabuli*, but killed by a band of robbers in 369. and *Cerealis*, on whom the emperor conferred the ſame dignity after the death of his brother [o]. By *Juſtina* the emperor had four children, *viz. Valentinian* II. *Juſta*, *Grata*, and *Galla*, of whom the latter was married to the emperor *Theodoſius* [p]. *Socrates* writes, that the empreſs *Severa* having taken *Juſtina*, upon the death of her father, under her protection, and brought her up at court, the emperor was ſo taken with her charms, that he reſolved to marry her; but on the other hand, being unwilling to divorce his wife *Severa*, he cauſed a law to be publiſhed

Valentinian *falls ill,*

But recovers, and creates his ſon Gratian *emperor.*

He divorces Severa, *and marries* Juſtina.

[a] Flodard. p. 32, 33. [b] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 78, 79. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid.
[e] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 342. [f] Idem ibid. p. 343. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. Socr. l. iv. c. 11. p. 219.
[g] Ammian. ibid. [h] Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249. [i] Goltz. p. 132. [k] Chron. Alex. p. 702, 704.
[l] Socr. p 249. [m] Idem ibid. Jorn. p. 652. Zos. ibid. p. 746. [n] Rufin. l. ii. c. 15. p. 184.
[o] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 367. [p] Socr. p. 150.

a liſhed in all the cities of the empire, allowing his ſubjects to have two wives at a time: he adds, that *Valentinian* himſelf being the firſt who made uſe of his own licence, married *Juſtina* without diſmiſſing *Severa* [q]. Thus *Socrates*. But as neither *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who is no-ways favourable to *Valentinian*, nor *Zoſimus*, an avowed enemy to all the chriſtian princes, take any notice of ſuch a remarkable law, we cannot help looking upon the account of *Socrates* as an arrant fable. *Jornandes* indeed relates the ſame thing [k]; but he copied it from *Socrates*, whom, for the moſt part, he follows. About the cloſe of this year, the city of *Mentz* was unexpectedly attacked, taken, and plundered, by *Rhando*, one of the princes of the *Alemans*, while the emperor, ſays *Ammianus*, was employed in ſome other expedition [s]; but b in what expedition, we are no-where told. The ſame writer obſerves, that *Rhando* ſurpriſed the place, while the inhabitants, for the moſt part chriſtians, were celebrating a ſolemn feſtival. The *Romans*, to revenge this inſult, had recourſe to treachery, and cauſed *Vithicabius*, a prince of the ſame nation, to be aſſaſſinated by one of his own people, whom they had gained over by their emiſſaries. *Vithicabius* was the ſon of *Vadomarius*, king of the *Alemans*, of whom we have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of *Conſtantius*. The death of *Vithicabius*, who was a prince of great addreſs, intrepidity, and reſolution, put a ſtop for ſome time to the incurſions of the *Alemans* [t]. *Valentinian*, ſoon after the promotion of *Gratian*, left *Amiens*, and repaired to *Treves*, in which city he paſſed the winter, as appears from the dates c of ſeveral laws of this and the following year [u]. Before he reached that place, he was alarmed with diſmal tidings from *Britain*, *viz.* that the *Picts*, *Scots*, and other northern nations, had broke into the *Roman* territories; and having killed *Nectaridus*, count of the maritime tract, and *Fullofaudes*, who is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *dux* or *duke*, had committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the province to a moſt deplorable condition. Hereupon the emperor immediately diſpatched into *Britain Severus*, at that time *comes domeſticorum*; but receiving ſtill worſe news of the ſtate of affairs in that iſland, he ſoon after recalled him, and ſent *Jovinus* in his room, who having acquainted the emperor with the miſerable condition to which the iſland was reduced, and the ſtill greater evils with which it was threatened, if d a powerful reinforcement both of horſe and foot were not ſent with all poſſible expedition to its relief, *Valentinian* made choice of *Theodoſius*, father to the emperor of the ſame name, and committed to him the whole management of this troubleſome war. *Theodoſius*, who was an officer of great experience and known abilities, haſtened to *Boulogne*, and embarquing there, landed at *Rutupiæ*; whence, as ſoon as his forces arrived from the continent, he marched to *Lundonium* or *London*, which *Ammianus* ſtyles an ancient city; and there dividing his troops into ſeveral parties, he advanced againſt the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, obliged them to quit the booty and priſoners they had taken, and recovered an intire province, which they had ſeized and held as their own. To e this province which compriſed the ſouthern parts of *Scotland*, the emperor gave the name of *Valentia*, perhaps from his brother *Valens*. Thus was the number of the provinces in this iſland increaſed, *Valentia* being added to the four former, which were *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis* [w]. *Theodoſius*, at the ſame time, cruſhed in its very beginning the revolt of *Valentine* or *Valentinian*, who, being baniſhed into *Britain*, prevailed upon ſome of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; which *Theodoſius* no ſooner underſtood, than he marched againſt the uſurper, and having got him and ſome of his confederates into his power, he delivered them up to the civil magiſtrates; but would not ſuffer them to be examined concerning their accomplices, leſt that ſhould give occaſion to new f troubles [x]. The ſame year, the *Franks* and *Saxons* broke into *Gaul*, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by *Theodoſius* on his return from *Britain* [y]: it was probably on account of the advantages gained on this occaſion, that *Valentinian* aſſumed the title of the conqueror of the *Franks*, which is given him in an inſcription of the year 369 [z]. *Ammianus*, among the other tranſactions of this year 367. relates ſeveral inſtances of the exceſſive ſeverity and injuſtice of *Valentinian*, who had hitherto with great care concealed the cruelty of his temper. He condemned *Diocles*, who had been *comes*

The city of Mentz *taken and plundered by the* Alemans.

The treachery of the Romans.

The Picts *and* Scots *break into the* Roman *territories.*

But are repulſed by Theodoſius.

The revolt of Valentine *in* Britain *ſuppreſſed.*

Inſtances of Valentinian's *cruelty.*

[q] Socr. l. iv. c. 32. [r] Jornand. reg. c. 40 p. 652. [s] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 349. [t] Idem, ibid. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 81. [w] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 346. & l. xxviii. p. 368. Usher. Britannicar. eccleſiar. antiq. p. 588. [x] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 368. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. [y] Idem, l. xxvii. p. 346. [z] Vales. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 46.

comes largitionum in *Illyricum*, to be burnt alive for very inconſiderable faults; and ordered *Diodorus*, who had been *agens in rebus*, to be put to death, with three apparitors of the vicar of *Italy*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe *Diodorus* had commenced a ſuit againſt a count, who was going to court, and the apparitors had, purſuant to their office, ſummoned him to appear. The memory of *Diodorus*, and the three apparitors, is ſtill honoured, ſays *Ammianus*, by the chriſtians at *Milan*, who call the place where they were buried *the innocents* [a]. To this probably the quæſtor *Euphraxius* alluded, when, upon the emperor's commanding another perſon to be put to death for cauſing the ſentence of a lawful judge to be executed, he told him, that the chriſtian religion honoured thoſe as martys whom he condemned as guilty [b]. St. *Jerom* tells us, that this year, in the country of the *Atrebates*, now the *Artois*, wool fell from heaven mixed with rain [c]. *Oroſius* adds, that it was true *wool* [d]; and *Bucherius*, that ſome of it is ſtill to be ſeen at *Arras*, where it is called *manna* [e].

Several laws enacted by Valentinian.

The following year, the two emperors, *Valentinian* and *Valens*, were conſuls for the ſecond time. The former enacted this year ſeveral excellents laws; and among the reſt one commanding all pleaders, or lawyers, to forbear, in pleading, abuſive terms, invectives, and injuries, and to content themſelves with ſuch fees as their clients ſhall be pleaſed to give them, without making any bargain or agreement beforehand: as for ſuch lawyers as have been honoured with any public employment, he will have them to be ſatisfied with the glory of protecting the innocent, without debaſing themſelves to accept of any other reward [f]. By another law, he eſtabliſhes a phyſician in each of the fourteen quarters, into which the city of *Rome* was divided, who was to take care of the poor, and be maintained at the public expence. By this law the phyſician is allowed to accept what the patient ſhall think fit to give him, when intirely recovered, but not what he had promiſed during his illneſs [g]. By a third law, he commands ſome ſoldiers to remove from a ſynagogue, where they were quartered, that being contrary to the reſpect due to a place ſet apart for the worſhip of God [h].

Valentinian *enters the territories of the* Alemans.

Valentinian, having ſpent the winter at *Treves* in making vaſt preparations, with a deſign to attack the *Alemans* in their own country, took the field on the ſeventeenth of *June*; and, having aſſembled all his troops, croſſed the *Rhine*, attended by his ſon *Gratian*, by the two generals *Jovinus* and *Severus*, and by count *Sebaſtian*, a man notorious in the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory for his cruelty to the orthodox chriſtians in *Egypt*, while he was governor of that province. The emperor was, as appears from the date of one of his laws, at *Worms* on the thirty-firſt of *July* [i]. From thence he advanced into the enemy's country, and marched ſome days without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, though he committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. At length he came to a place called *Solicinium*, where the *Alemans* had poſted themſelves on a high and ſteep mountain, which ſeemed inacceſſible on every ſide, except that which looked to the north; and thither he ſent *Sebaſtian* to intercept them in their flight, if he ſhould have the good luck to diſlodge them from any other quarter. As he advanced to view their ſituation, he narrowly eſcaped falling into an ambuſcade; but being with much difficulty got ſafe to the main body of his army, he led them on to the attack. The *Romans* on this occaſion behaved with ſuch courage and reſolution, as can hardly be expreſſed: they were ſeveral times repulſed, the *Alemans* defending themſelves with equal courage and bravery. But

Whom he defeats with great ſlaughter.

the *Romans*, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the place, and the deſpair of the enemy, gained at length the top of the mountain, and put all to the ſword who oppoſed them. Some of the *Alemans* made their eſcape by the favour of the night; but the far greater part were cut in pieces, either in the fight or the purſuit, *Sebaſtian* having cut off their retreat [k]. This memorable battle was fought, as we have hinted above, at *Solicinium*, which the modern geographers take to be the city of *Sultz* on the *Neckar*, at a ſmall diſtance from the head of that river, in the dutchy of *Virtemberg* [l]. As the ſeaſon was already far-advanced, after this victory, the ſoldiers were ſent into winter-quarters, and the emperor returned with his ſon *Gratian* to *Treves*, which he entered in a kind of triumph [m]. *Bucherius* deſcribes at length the rout which he ſuppoſes the emperor to have taken on his return from *Germany* [n].

We

[a] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 345. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Hier. chron. ad ann. 367. [d] Oros. l. vii. c. 32 p. 218. [e] Buch. Belg. p. 349. [f] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ii. tit. 10. leg. 2. p. 140 & cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 6. leg. 6. p. 187. [g] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 8. p. 34. [h] Cod. Juſt. l. i. tit. 9. leg. 4. p. 101. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xiii. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 94. [k] Ammian. p. 250---252. [l] Baud. p. 209 [m] Idem, l. vii. p. 352. [n] Buch. Belg. p. 351---353.

a We find no laws dated from *Treves* till the firſt or the ſecond of *December*; but one publiſhed at *Cologne* the thirtieth of *September* [o]; whence we conjecture *Valentinian*, on his return from *Germany*, to have marched againſt the *Franks*, who had broken into *Gaul*, as we have obſerved above.

Valentinian ſeems to have ſpent the greater part of the following year, when *Valentinian* the ſon of *Valens*, and *Victor*, one of that prince's generals, were conſuls, in fortifying the banks of the *Rhine* with an incredible number of forts, towers, and caſtles, from the mouth of that river quite to *Rhætia*, where it riſes [p]. He even built ſome caſtles on the other ſide of that river in the enemy's country, and one among the reſt at the conflux of the *Rhine* and the *Neckar*, where the preſent city of *Manheim* ſtands [q]. He likewiſe ordered a fort to be built on a hill called by our hiſtorian b *Piri* [r]; which *Bucherius* takes to be the hill of *Heidelberg*. But the *Germans*, after having by their deputies intreated the emperor in vain to forbear that undertaking, fell upon the ſoldiers who were employed in the work, and cut them in pieces, with the two dukes, *Arator* and *Hermogenes*, who commanded them. *Syagrus*, a notary or ſecretary, the only perſon who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, brought the news of it to the emperor, and was on that account diſgraced [s]; but ſoon after taken again, it ſeems, into favour; for we ſhall ſee him conſul in 381. The emperor, to animate with his preſence the ſoldiers in carrying on the above-mentioned works for the defence of the *Rhine*, and the ſafety of *Gaul*, paſſed great part of the preſent year on the banks of that river, as appears from ſeveral laws of different dates enacted at c *Marciaticum*, which moſt geographers take to be *Manheim*; at *Altrip*, between *Manheim* and *Spire*, and at *Briſac* [t]. This year, the emperor cauſed ſeveral ſenators, governors of provinces, judges, and other officers, to be put to death for receiving bribes, and oppreſſing the people committed to their care, and among the reſt the eunuch *Rhodanus*, his chief chamberlain, whom, upon the complaint of a widow named *Berenice*, whoſe eſtate the eunuch had ſeized unjuſtly, he cauſed to be immediately apprehended, and to be burnt alive in the circus, where the people were aſſembled to behold the ſports [u]. The next conſuls were the two emperors *Valentinian* and *Valens*, both the third time. The former continued all this preſent year 370. as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, partly at *Treves*, partly at *Alteia*, which is d ſuppoſed to have been an imperial palace or country ſeat near that city. In an inſcription of this year, which is ſtill to be ſeen at *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, we read, that *Equitius*, general of the troops in *Illyricum*, erected by the emperor's orders a fort in that country; and from another inſcription of the following year found near *Strigonium* or *Gran*, in *Lower Hungary*, it appears, that another fort was built by his orders in that neighbourhood, for protecting the trade carried on by the ſubjects of the empire in thoſe parts [w]. The emperor cauſed likewiſe a bridge to be built this year over the *Tiber* at *Rome*, which was then called the bridge of *Gratian*, afterwards the bridge *Ceſtius*, and is by the preſent inhabitants ſtyled *Ponto di S. Bartolomeo*, or the bridge of St. *Bartholomew*, being near the porch of St. *Bartholomew*'s church [x]. In the inſcrip- e tion it is ſaid to have been built in the ſeventh year of the tribuneſhip, that is, of the reign, of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and the third of *Gratian*, which was the preſent year: nevertheleſs the two former princes are marked there conſuls the ſecond time; whereas it is certain, that, in the ſeventh year of their reign, and the third of *Gratian*'s, they were both in their third conſulſhip. *Valentinian* and *Valens* are, in the ſame inſcription, ſtyled emperors for the ſeventh time, and *Gratian* for the ſecond, and are all three honoured with the title of *conquerors of the* Germans, Alemans, Franks, *and* Goths; which ſhews, that each of them ſhared with his collegues the glory of his victories and conqueſts. Their victories, or rather the victories of *Valentinian*, over the *Franks*, muſt have been very inconſiderable, ſince *Ammianus* takes no notice of f them. This year is remarkable in hiſtory for an irruption of the *Saxons*, who dwelling on the coaſts of the ocean amongſt inacceſſible marſhes, left their country in great numbers, and landing on the *Roman* territories, committed there dreadful ravages. Count *Nauneinus*, who commanded in thoſe parts, endeavouring to make head againſt them, was dangerouſly wounded, and put to flight. Hereupon the emperor diſpatched *Severus* againſt them, who, as he was an officer of great experience and addreſs, ſo diſtreſſed and haraſſed them, that they were forced to ſue for peace; which

He fortifies the banks of the Rhine.

Several perſons put to death by the emperor's orders.

The Saxons *break into the empire.*

[o] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 89. [p] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 966. [q] Buch. Belg. p. 353. [r] Ammian. p. 766, 767. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 85, 86. [u] Zonar. p. 26. Chron. Alex. p. 700. Suid. p. 706, 707. [w] Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 291. [x] Gruter. p. 160. Baron. ann. 312.

which was granted them, with leave to return unmoleſted into their own country, a after the *Romans* had picked out their beſt men to ſerve among their troops. But as they were returning, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any danger, the *Romans*, fall- ing upon them unexpectedly, cut them all to a man in pieces. Though the *Saxons* were no-ways on their guard, yet they fought with incredible bravery, and ſuch pre- ſence of mind and reſolution, that victory for ſome time inclined to their ſide. *Ammianus Marcellinus* is not aſhamed to ſtyle this black piece of treachery a ſucceſsful attempt. But for ſuch breaches of the public faith, and violations of the right of nations, practiſed by the *Romans* more frequently under the chriſtian than the pagan princes, we ſhall ſee them abandoned by heaven to thoſe very barbarians, whom they thus treacherouſly endeavoured to cruſh and utterly ſuppreſs. The *Saxons* were b thus ſlaughtered, according to St. *Jerom* [y] and *Oroſius* [z], on the territories of the *Franks*, at *Deuſona*, ſays the former, which was a caſtle on the other ſide the *Rhine*, over-againſt *Cologne*, and is now known by the name of *Tuits* or *Duits*. The ſame year the *Burgundians*, to the number of eighty thouſand fighting men, appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, being invited thither by *Valentinian*, who maintained a pri- vate intelligence with their kings, and had promiſed to paſs the *Rhine*, and, in con- junction with them, fall upon the *Alemans*, with whom they were then at variance on account of ſome ſalt-pits. But the emperor being thus buſied in building the above-mentioned forts, and not caring to interrupt that work, and join them, as he had promiſed to do, they put to the ſword all the priſoners they had taken, and c returned to their own country, highly enraged againſt the emperor, by whom they had been thus diſappointed and deluded [a]. However, *Theodoſius*, general of the horſe, to which poſt he had been raiſed for his gallant and prudent conduct in *Bri- tain*, taking advantage of the conſternation the *Almans* were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a conſiderable number of captives, to whom the emperor allotted lands and ſettlements on the banks of the *Po* [b]. *Ammianus*, in ſpeaking of the *Burgundians*, informs us of ſeveral particulars relating to their govern- ment and religion. He ſeems not to doubt but they were deſcended from the *Ro- mans*; and *Oroſius* ſpeaks of them as the deſcendants of thoſe *Romans*, who were left by *Tiberius* and *Druſus*, the adopted ſons of *Auguſtus*, in the caſtles and boroughs of *Germany*; nay, he ſuppoſes them to have been named *Burgundiones*, from the *Latin* d word *burgus*, ſignifying a *borough* [c]. But from the word *burgus* they ought perhaps to have been called *Burgiones*, as *Valeſius* obſerves [d]. *Pliny* the elder takes them to be originally a *German* nation, ſprung from the *Vindili*; that is, as is generally ſup- poſed, of the *Vandals* [e]. *Valeſius* diſtinguiſhes the *Burgundiones* of *Germany* from thoſe of the ſame name, who dwelt more to the eaſt on the banks of the *Danube* [f]. *Ammianus* gives us a pathetic account of the horrible cruelties practiſed this year at *Rome* by *Maximinus*, or, as others ſtyle him, *Maximus*, a man of a moſt inhuman and ſavage temper. He was brother-in-law to *Valentine* or *Valentinian*, who attempted to uſurp the ſovereignty in *Britain*; but nevertheleſs of a mean deſcent, and by birth a barbarian. However, he raiſed himſelf by degrees to the firſt employments in the e ſtate. He was made firſt governor of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and afterwards of *Tuſcia* or *Tuſcany*. From the latter government he was preferred to the honourable employ- ment of *præfectus annonæ* at *Rome*, whoſe province it was to ſupply the city with pro- viſions; which he did at firſt with great prudence and moderation, but in the end betrayed a moſt cruel, inhuman and revengeful temper, which he began to do on the following occaſion: One *Chilo*, who had been vicar to the prefects, and his wife *Maxima*, having accuſed *Sericus*, *Aſbolius*, and *Campenſis*, three perſons of mean con- dition, before *Olybrius*, prefect or governor of the city, for having, by magical prac- tices and inchantments, endeavoured to take away their lives, *Olybrius* began to f inquire into this matter; but he falling ſick, the complainants, impatient of delay, petitioned and obtained, that the cauſe might be referred to the *præfectus annonæ*, who readily undertook it, being glad of any opportunity that offered to ſatisfy his cruel temper, no more capable of pity or moderation, ſays *Ammianus*, than that of a wild beaſt let looſe upon the prey. He had ſcarce begun his examinations, when he wrote to the emperor, that innumerable perſons were guilty of magical practices, but could not be convicted without racks and tortures. Hereupon the emperor, who

Are treache- rouſly cut off by the Romans.

An army of 80,000 Bur- gundians *on the banks of the* Rhine.

The great cru- elties of Maximinus *at* Rome.

[x] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 375. Oros. l. vii. c. 32. [y] Hier. chron. [z] Oros. p. 219. [a] Idem, p. 377. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Oros. l. vii. c. 32. p. 219. [d] Vales, rer. Francic. p. 48. [e] Plin. l. iv. c. 14. p. 86. [f] Vales. ibid.

a who was himſelf naturally inclined to cruelty, appointed *Maximinus* vicar to the prefects in the room of *Aginacius*, and impowered him by an edict to put ſuch perſons, if thought neceſſary, to the rack, as had been by other princes exempted from it on account of their rank, or only ſubjected to it in caſes of treaſon. With *Maximinus* he joined in commiſſion one *Leo*, at that time only a notary, but afterwards raiſed to the dignity of *magiſter officiorum*. He was by birth a *Pannonian*, of mean parentage, but no leſs blood-thirſty, according to *Ammianus*, than his colleague *Maximinus* [g]. Theſe two implacable judges executed their commiſſion with that cruelty which every one may imagine: perſons of all ranks and ages were dragged to their tribunal tortured without mercy, and either executed like public ma- *Perſons of all ranks tortured and executed.*
b lefactors, or ſtript of their eſtates, and ſent into baniſhment. Among the former were *Marinus*, a famous pleader, *Cethegus*, *Paphius*, and *Cornelius*, all three ſenators, and many other eminent perſons of both ſexes. *Alypius*, a young nobleman of great diſtinction, was, for a very ſmall fault, ſent into exile. *Lollianus*, the ſon of *Lampadius*, who had been governor of *Rome* in 366, and *præfectus prætorio* under *Conſtantius*, being accuſed of having copied, when he was yet very young, a book of magic, his father, finding *Maximinus* inclined to condemn him to baniſhment, adviſed him to appeal to the emperor; which he did accordingly: but *Valentinian* having referred the cauſe to *Phalangus* governor of *Bætica*, who ſurpaſſed *Maximinus* himſelf in cruelty, the youth was by him ſentenced to death, and publicly beheaded. As
c *Maximinus* continued raging without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, the ſenate diſpatched deputies to the emperor, earneſtly intreating him, as he tendered the lives of his innocent ſubjects, to revoke the power he had given to *Maximinus*. *Valentinian* complied with their requeſt, which put an end for the preſent to thoſe bloody executions. *Maximinus* was called to court, and received with great marks of eſteem and affection by the emperor, who two years after created him prefect of *Gaul*, in which office he continued at leaſt three years (for he was ſtill prefect in 376.); but ſoon after put to death by *Gratian*, with ſome of the miniſters of his cruelty [h].

The following year, when *Gratian* and *Sex. Petronius Probus* were conſuls, the *Laws enacted by* Valentinian.
d emperor enacted ſeveral remarkable laws, and among the reſt one dated the eleventh of *February*, and addreſſed to *Viventius* prefect of *Gaul*, enacting, that ſuch players and comedians as ſhould have received at the point of death the ſacrament of baptiſm, ſhould not be obliged, if they ſhould recover, to act again on the ſtage [i]. From this law it appears, that the profeſſion of a player, always deemed infamous among the *Romans*, was, under the chriſtian princes, thought inconſiſtent with chriſtianity; and likewiſe, that it was not free and voluntary, but ſervile, and hereditary in certain families. By another law, dated the ſeventh of *September*, the emperor declares, that the daughters of players ſhall not be obliged to follow the profeſſion of their mothers, if they have behaved in any other calling ſo as to deſerve a good character [k]. By a third law, dated the twenty-ninth of *May*, and addreſſed to the ſenate, he allows the free exerciſe of the pagan religion; and by a fourth, dated the twenty-
e eighth of *June*, ſeveral privileges are granted or reſtored to the pagan pontiffs, and the ſame honour and reſpect is ordered to be paid to them as to the *comites* or counts [l]. It is ſurpriſing, that an emperor, who is ſaid to have been not only an orthodox, but a zealous, chriſtian, ſhould have thus favoured the pagan pontiffs and religion. By a law dated the ſeventeenth of *May*, he exempts from all civil offices ſuch as had been admitted among the clergy before his time; but obliges the reſt to diſcharge them, notwithſtanding the privileges and immunities granted by other princes to all eccleſiaſtics. All the laws enacted this year before the twenty-eighth of *June*, are dated from *Treves*, whence he removed to *Cantionacum*, a place unknown to geographers, but which muſt have been but at a ſmall diſtance from *Treves*, ſince the em-
f peror was in that city on the twenty-eighth of *June*, and the very next day at *Cantionacum*, where he ſtaid till the fifteenth of *Auguſt*. On the ſixth of *September* he was at *Mentz*, probably on his march into the country of the *Alemans*: for this year he undertook an expedition againſt them, hoping to ſurpriſe *Macrianus* their king, *He attempts to ſurpriſe the king of the* Alemans.
a brave and reſolute prince; but he, having received timely notice of his approach, ſaved himſelf by flight; and the emperor, greatly concerned for his diſappointment, returned to *Treves*, after having laid waſte the country round *Mentz* belonging to the

[g] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 358—360. [h] Idem, p. 361—366. [i] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 361. [k] Idem ibid. p. 363. [l] Idem ibid.

the *Alemans* called *Bucinobantes*, to whom he gave one of their own nation, by name *Fraomarius*, for king, who ſoon after exchanged his new dignity for the command of ſome of his countrymen then quartered in *Britain*. *Valentinian* was returned to *Treves*, with his two generals, *Severus and Theodoſius*, on the ſixth of *December* [m]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* [n] and St. *Jerom* [o] obſerve, among the tranſactions of this year, that *Octavianus*, who had been proconſul of *Africa* under *Julian*, having concealed himſelf, while he was purſued by the officers of juſtice, in the houſe of an eccleſiaſtic, the magiſtrates commanded the eccleſiaſtic to deliver him up; which he refuſing to do, was by the emperor's orders beheaded at *Sirmium*. The ſame year *Hymecius*, who had been vicar of *Rome* under *Julian*, and raiſed by *Valentinian* to the proconſulſhip of *Africa*, being accuſed of evil practices, (our hiſtorian explains himſelf no farther) was brought to *Ocricolum*, about thirty miles from *Rome*, to be tried there by *Ampelius*, governor of that city, and his vicar *Maximinus*. A letter was produced againſt him, written with his own hand to a pagan prieſt, named *Amantius*, deſiring him to offer ſacrifices to the gods, that the cruel and avaricious emperor might in the end be reconciled to him; for part of his eſtate had been already confiſcated for ſome real, or, as *Ammianus* believed, ſuppoſed, crime. When this letter was produced, *Hymecius*, well appriſed of the cruelty of *Maximinus*, appealed to the emperor, who referred the whole affair to the ſenate, by whom *Hymecius* was baniſhed to the iſland of *Boas* on the coaſt of *Dalmatia*. The emperor was highly diſſatisfied with the ſenate for not ſentencing him to death; but did not think it adviſeable to make the leaſt alteration in their decree [p]. The next conſuls were *Modeſtus* and *Arintheus*, during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened in the weſt, which authors have thought worthy of tranſmitting to poſterity. From the dates of ſeveral laws it appears, that the emperor paſſed the whole year, partly at *Treves*, and partly at *Nazonacum*, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from that city [q].

Other inſtances of his ſeverity.

a b c

The next conſuls were *Valentinian* and *Valens*, both for the fourth time. This year *Maximinus* was created prefect of *Gaul*; and the firſt againſt whom he exerted his new authority, was a perſon guilty of no leſs enormous crimes than himſelf, viz. *Remigius*, who, being *magiſter officiorum*, had ſcreened his kinſman *Romanus* from the puniſhment due to the many cruelties, murders, and extortions which he had committed in *Africa*, as we have related above. *Leo*, upon his return to *Rome*, where he had been joined in commiſſion with *Maximinus*, being raiſed to the poſt of *magiſter officiorum*, *Remigius*, who held it before him, retired to his eſtate in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, his native city, to lead there a retired life. But *Maximinus*, deſpiſing him now that he was out of power, ſeized and put to the rack one of his domeſtics, by name *Cæſarius*, in order to make him diſcover the evil practices of his maſter, and what ſums he had received of *Romanus* to defend and ſupport him at court. This *Remigius* no ſooner underſtood, than, overcome by fear, he ſtrangled himſelf, to avoid a public and more ignominious death [r]. *Palladius*, who was no leſs guilty than *Remigius*, had been, it ſeems, diſgraced before, for ſome other miſdemeanour, though he aſcribed his misfortune chiefly to his having impoſed upon the emperor in an affair of ſuch importance. Of this *Valentinian* had ſome ſuſpicion, and therefore ordered him to be arreſted; but while the ſoldiers who guarded him were paſſing the night (no doubt the eve of ſome feſtival) in a church, he ended his life in the ſame manner as *Remigius* had done his [s]. *Romanus* himſelf was then under arreſt, for having, by his unaccountable conduct, driven *Firmus*, a *Mooriſh* prince, to revolt. *Theodoſius*, who was ſent to ſuppreſs the rebellion, had ſeized *Romanus*, with all his domeſtics and papers, among which were found ſome relating to the affair of *Leptis*. Upon this *Palladius* had been arreſted; but both he and *Remigius* having laid violent hands on themſelves, *Romanus* was ſome time after ſet at liberty, and the matter dropped for the preſent, but reſumed under *Gratian*, when *Romanus* was convicted of high miſdemeanours; but nevertheleſs, by the intereſt of *Merabaudus*, allowed to come to court to plead his own cauſe before the emperor [t]. What was the iſſue of this affair, we are no-where told. *Firmus*, whom we have mentioned above, was the ſon of *Nubel*, the moſt powerful of all the *Mooriſh* princes, who looked upon him, though ſubject to the *Romans*, as their king and ſovereign. He

Remigius *and* Palladius, *the accomplices of* Romanus, *ſtrangle themſelves.*

d e f

[m] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 397. & l. xxx. p. 398. Cod. Theod. p. 89. [n] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 238. & l. xxix. p. 396. [o] Hier. chron. [p] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 359. [q] Cod Theod. chron. p. 90, 91. [r] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 417. [s] Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381. & l. xxix: p. 399. [t] Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381, 382.

a He left ſeveral ſons behind him, and among the reſt *Firmus* and *Zamma*. The latter being privately murdered by his brother *Firmus*, *Romanus*, with whom *Zamma* lived in great intimacy, to revenge the death of his friend, did all that lay in his power to incenſe the emperor againſt *Firmus*, being backed therein by his kinſman *Remigius*, then *magiſter officiorum*. Hereupon *Firmus*, appriſed of the danger that threatened him, and no longer able to bear the haughty and inſolent behaviour of *Romanus*, and the officers of the army, reſolved to revolt in his own defence; and accordingly, having animated the other *Mooriſh* nations to ſhake off the yoke, under which they had long groaned, he aſſumed the purple and the other enſigns of royalty, with the title of *king*, a *Roman* tribune, who had taken part with him, laying his collar upon b the head of the new king inſtead of a diadem [x]. Some antiquaries will have this to be the *Firmus*, who, on an ancient medal, bears the title of *Auguſtus* [y]; but their opinion is rejected by others. *Firmus*, finding himſelf in a ſhort time at the head of a conſiderable body of *Moors*, who flocked to him from all quarters, ravaged the provinces of *Africa* and *Mauritania* without oppoſition, and even made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea*, now *Alger*, the metropolis of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, where he found a conſiderable ſum belonging to the exchequer, but left in the hands of the magiſtrates of that city. The officers of the treaſury ſued the magiſtrates for the money which had been left with them in truſt; but were ordered by the emperor to drop the proſecution, *Clemens*, biſhop of the place, having prevailed upon him to iſſue that order, c and by that means ſaved his country from certain ruin [z]. The famous *Symmachus*, of whom hereafter, wrote on this occaſion to *Titianus*, then vicar of *Africa*, preſſing him to cauſe the order which the biſhop had obtained to be put in execution [a]. *Firmus* took likewiſe the city of *Rucata*, betrayed to him, as was believed, by the biſhop of the *Donatiſts*, upon his promiſing not to moleſt any of that ſect [b]. The *Donatiſts* looked upon *Firmus*, not as an uſurper, but a lawful prince; whence they were in thoſe parts ſtyled *Firmiani* [c]. The emperor was no ſooner informed of the revolt of *Firmus*, than he diſpatched againſt him *Theodoſius*, the beſt general of his time, with the troops that were quartered in *Pannonia* and *Upper Mæſia*, and a detachment out of thoſe that attended the court, and were thence called *comitatenſes*. *Theo*d *doſius* embarqued at *Arles* in the latter end of the year 372. or the beginning of 373. and having had a favourable paſſage, landed ſoon after at a place called *Igilgitanum* in *Mauritania Sitifenſis*. His firſt care, upon his arrival, was to arreſt *Romanus*, who, by his haughty and arbitrary conduct, had, as it were, forced the *Moors* to revolt. *Firmus* in the mean time, hearing that ſo renowned a commander was ſent againſt him, began to deſpair of ſucceſs; and thereupon diſpatched deputies to *Theodoſius*, declaring, that he had been, in a manner, forced to revolt; that he did not pretend to juſtify what he had done, but, on the contrary, was ready to ſubmit, and quit the enſigns of royalty, provided the emperor would forget his paſt conduct. *Theodoſius*, thinking it adviſeable to admit of his ſubmiſſion and excuſe, e aſſured him of his pardon, upon his delivering up to him ſome of the chief men among the *Moors*, by way of hoſtages. This *Firmus* promiſed to do; but as he put off from day to day the execution of his promiſe, *Theodoſius*, ſuſpecting his ſincerity, marched from *Panchariana*, the place of the general rendezvous, to *Tubuſuptius*, in the neighbourhood of mount *Ferratus*, where *Maſcezel*, brother to *Firmus*, lay encamped with a conſiderable body of *Moors*. He was there met by a ſecond embaſſy from *Firmus*; but, as the deputies brought no hoſtages along with them, he would not ſo much as admit them to his preſence, but fell unexpectedly upon the *Tyndenſes* and *Maſiniſſenſes*, two *Mooriſh* nations, commanded by *Maſcezel*; and having defeated them with great ſlaughter, he laid waſte the country, razed the caſtle of *Petra*, f which had been lately built, and made himſelf maſter of another ſtrong-hold, which he made choice of for a magazine, ſtoring it with all ſorts of proviſions, that they might be nearer at hand, in caſe he ſhould think fit to penetrate farther into the country. In the mean time, *Maſcezel*, having rallied his broken forces, ventured a ſecond engagement, in which he was attended with no better ſucceſs than in the former, great numbers of his troops being cut off, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaping. Hereupon *Firmus* ſent at laſt the promiſed hoſtages, and with them ſome biſhops to intercede with *Theodoſius* in his behalf. The *Roman* general received them with the utmoſt

Firmus *revolts in* Africa:

Takes Cæſarea *and other places.*

Theodoſius *is ſent againſt him.*

Firmus *pretends to ſubmit.*

Theodoſius *defeats ſome nations in alliance with* Firmus.

Firmus *pretends anew to ſubmit.*

[x] Idem, l. xxx. p. 429. Oros. l. vii. c. 33. Zos. l. iv. p. 744. [y] Spanh. l. vii. p. 599. [z] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 389. Symmach. l. i. epiſt. 58. p. 39. [a] Sym. ibid. [b] August. ep. 164. p. 286. [c] Idem in par. l. i. c. 10, 11.

utmoſt civility and reſpect, and upon their promiſing in the name of *Firmus*, that a the booty and priſoners he had taken ſhould be reſtored, and the *Roman* army ſupplied with proviſions, he granted a general pardon to him and all his followers; which ſo encouraged the *Moor*, that he came in perſon to wait on *Theodoſius*; and, bewailing his folly and raſhneſs, promiſed to make amends for both by his future conduct and fidelity. *Theodoſius* received him in a moſt obliging manner, gave him all the encouragement he expected or deſired, and diſmiſſed him, extremely pleaſed with his reception. *Firmus*, at his departure, left ſome of his relations behind him for hoſtages; and two days after delivered up to the *Romans* a place called *Icoſium*, with the priſoners, military enſigns, and the booty he had taken. From thence *Theodoſius* advanced to *Tipaſa*, where he was met by the embaſſadors of the *Mazices*, b a nation inhabiting the eaſtern parts of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, who had joined *Firmus* in his revolt. They came to ſubmit in the name of the whole nation, and to beg pardon for their revolt; but *Theodoſius* returned them no other anſwer, than that their perfidy deſerved to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. From *Tipaſa* he proceeded to *Cæſarea*, now *Alger*, which *Firmus* had taken in the beginning of the rebellion, and delivered up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. There he received cer-

But prepares for war.

tain intelligence, that *Firmus* was preparing under-hand for war; that he had never had any real intention of concluding a peace with the *Romans*; and that he only watched an opportunity of falling upon them at the beſt advantage. Hereupon *Theodoſius*, leaving at *Cæſarea* the firſt and ſecond legions, who were to repair the c fortifications, and ſecure it in the beſt manner they could againſt any farther attempts of the enemy, marched to *Sugabarri*, a town of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, where he ſurpriſed a *Roman* cohort, who had joined the rebels. Their tribunes he put to death; but contented himſelf with condemning the common ſoldiers to the meaneſt offices in the army. From thence he advanced farther into the country; and having made himſelf maſter of *Gaionatis* and *Tingitanum*, two places of great ſtrength, he paſſed the mountain *Ancorarius*, and entering the country of the *Mazices*, gained a

Theodoſius *gains great advantages over his confederates.*

ſignal victory over them. They made at firſt a vigorous reſiſtance; but were at length utterly defeated, and almoſt all put to the ſword. But, notwithſtanding this victory, the *Moors* poured down upon him from all quarters in ſuch multitudes, that d he thought it adviſeable to retire, rather than to penetrate farther into the country, his army being only three thouſand five hundred ſtrong. But the enemy, appriſed of his deſign, not only haraſſed him inceſſantly on his march, but, by ſtopping up all the paſſes, cut off his retreat; inſomuch, that the whole army muſt inevitably have periſhed, had not the *Moors* unexpectedly betaken themſelves to flight, and left the paſſes open, at the ſight of a great body of their own countrymen, whom they miſtook, obſerving ſome *Roman* deſerters at their head, for a reinforcement coming to relieve *Theodoſius*. The *Romans*, having thus, by a happy miſtake, eſcaped death or ſlavery, retired in good order to *Muzucanum*, and from thence to *Tipata*; where, *Theodoſius*, reflecting on the poſture of his affairs, reſolved to manage the war after e another manner, and to try, whether he could, by menaces or promiſes, prevail upon the nations in alliance with *Firmus* to make a ſeparate peace, and deliver him up to the *Romans*. With this view he diſpatched embaſſadors to the ſeveral nations that had joined him; which *Firmus*, who was well acquainted with the fickle temper of the *Moors*, no ſooner underſtood, than, dreading the iſſue of ſuch negotiations,

Firmus *abandons his army, and flies to the* Iſaflenſes.

he abandoned his army; and, taking the advantage of a dark night, retired privately to the mountains called *Caprarienſes*, which, by reaſon of the rocks and precipices, were deemed inacceſſible. The multitude, ſtruck with amazement at his unexpected flight, and now without a head, ſoon diſperſed; and *Theodoſius*, ſeizing their camp, made himſelf maſter of the neighbouring countries without the leaſt oppoſi- f tion, placing ſuch governors over them, as had given him evident proofs of their fidelity. He then marched without delay in purſuit of *Firmus*, who, as he was informed, had taken ſanctuary in the country of the *Iſaflenſes*. That warlike nation refuſing to deliver him up, ſeveral battles were fought, in one of which *Mazaca*, *Firmus*'s brother, was taken priſoner; but died the ſame day of the wounds he had received. *Evaſius*, a perſon of great authority among the *Iſaflenſes*, and his ſon *Florus* fell likewiſe into the hands of the *Romans*; and as they had been remarkably zealous in the cauſe of *Firmus*, they were both, by *Theodoſius*'s orders, burnt alive. The *Ro-*

Who are defeated by Theodoſius.

mans, overpowered with numbers, were often reduced to great ſtreights; but having in the end utterly defeated the enemy in a battle which laſted from morning to night,

a night, ſome nations, that had joined the *Iſaflenſes*, began to be weary of the war, and deſert them. Hereupon *Igmazen*, prince of the country, finding himſelf abandoned by his allies, and no-ways in a condition to make head againſt the *Romans* with his own forces alone, privately agreed with *Theodoſius* to betray *Firmus* into his hands, and accordingly ordered him to be ſecured, while he was preparing to make his eſcape. But *Firmus*, to avoid the diſgrace of the puniſhment, which he apprehended from the *Romans*, ſtrangled himſelf while his guards were aſleep, to the great grief of *Igmazen*, who had propoſed to ingratiate himſelf with the *Romans*, by carrying him alive to their camp. However, he immediately ſent the body to *Theodoſius*, who received it with great joy, and ſoon after returned to *Sitifis*, which city b he entered in kind of triumph. The ſevera l *Moorish* nations, that had ſided with *Firmus*, ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which *Theodoſius* readily granted them, upon their delivering up to him ſome of their leading men, whom he cauſed to be put to death [q]. In this war *Gildo*, one of *Firmus*'s brothers, took party with the *Romans*, and gave ſignal proofs of his fidelity; but afterwards revolted under *Honorius*, and was attended with no better ſucceſs than his brother. When the war was ended, *Theodoſius* wrote to *Symmachus*; but in his letter he ſpoke only in general terms of his victory, referring him to public fame for a more particular account of it. *Symmachus*, in his anſwer, commends his modeſty, which to him ſeemed the more worthy of praiſe, as *Theodoſius* was no leſs qualified for writing than fighting [r].

Firmus ſtrangles himſelf.

c The following year, when *Gratian* was conſul the third time with *Equitius*, many eminent perſons of both ſexes were cruelly racked and put to death by *Simplicius*, vicar of *Rome*, who, being raiſed to that employment by the intereſt of *Maximinus*, put, under various pretences, all thoſe to death to whom his patron bore the leaſt grudge, and among the reſt *Aginacius*, a patrician of an illuſtrious and ancient family, who had been conſular or governor of *Byzacene* under *Julian*, and vicar of *Rome* in the preſent reign. He was accuſed of adultery; and though the informer could not make good the charge, yet he was ſentenced to death, and executed with *Anepſia*, a lady of great diſtinction, who, being accuſed of the ſame crime, had impeached *Aginacius*, hoping by that means to ingratiate herſelf with *Simplicius*, and eſcape the d danger that threatened her [s]. As for the emperor, he paſſed the winter at *Milan*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, but was again at *Treves* on the twenty-firſt of *May*, and the twentieth of *June* [t]. From thence he marched into *Germany*; and, after having ravaged the country bordering on the *Rhine*, returned to *Baſle*, in the neighbourhood of which city he ordered a fort to be built named *Robur*: from this fort we find a law dated the tenth of *July* [u]. While the emperor was encamped there, news was brought, that the *Quadi* had with great violence broken into *Illyricum*, upon the following provocation: *Valentinian*, perhaps over-careful in fortifying the borders of the empire, had ordered ſome forts to be built beyond the *Danube*, in the territories of the *Quadi*, who, alarmed thereat, prevailed upon *Equitius*, then e general of the troops in *Illyricum*, to ſuſpend the work till he received further orders from the emperor, to whom they had ſent ſome of the chief men of their nation to complain of that violence. But in the mean time, *Maximinus*, prefect of *Gaul*, upbraiding *Equitius* with cowardice and irreſolution, bragged that, in ſpite of the *Quadi*, the forts ſhould be ſoon finiſhed, provided his ſon *Marcellianus*, though yet very young, was cut created duke of *Valeria*, a province of *Illyricum*. *Marcellianus* being accordingly advanced to that dignity, upon his arrival in *Illyricum*, ordered the work, which had been for ſome time diſcontinued, to be carried on a-new, without taking the leaſt notice of the complaints of the *Quadi*. Hereupon *Gabinius*, their king, came in perſon to wait upon him, intreating him, with the greateſt modeſty f and reſpect imaginable, not to give any motives of jealouſy or miſunderſtanding between his people and the ſubjects of the empire. *Marcellianus* received him in a very obliging manner; and pretending to hearken to his juſt remonſtrances, invited him to a banquet, during which he cauſed him, without any regard to the ſacred laws of hoſpitality, or the right of the nations, to be inhumanly murdered. This black piece of treachery alarmed and incenſed both the *Quadi* and their neighbours the *Sarmatians*, who, flying to arms, paſſed the *Danube* in the utmoſt rage; and falling upon the reapers, it being then harveſt-time, cut moſt of them in pieces, laid waſte

Cruelties exerciſed at Rome *by* Simplicius.

The Quadi *and* Sarmatians *break into* Illyricum.

Gabinius, king of the Quadi, *murdered by the* Romans.

[q] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 398—408. Zos. l. iv. p. 744. [r] Sym. l. x. epiſt. 1. p. 389. [s] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 363—366. [t] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 93, 94. [u] Idem ibid.

The Quadi *invade* Pannonia, *and commit dreadful ravages.*

waſte the country to a great diſtance, and returned loaded with an immenſe booty. a
In this confuſion, *Conſtantia*, the daughter of *Conſtantius*, who was then paſſing through
Illyricum, in order to be married to *Gratian*, had fallen into their hands, had not
Meſſala, governor of the province, who attended her, put her into a chariot in great
haſte, and conveyed her with all poſſible ſpeed to *Sirmium* [w]. *Conſtantia* was born
after the death of her father, and therefore was at that time in the thirteenth or
fourteenth year of her age [x]. She is ſtyled on the ancient coins *Flavia Maxima Con-*
ſtantia. *Probus*, the prefect of *Illyricum*, reſided then at *Sirmium*; but as he was a
man of no courage, though deſcended of an illuſtrious family, he was ſo alarmed at
the report of the many murders and unheard-of cruelties committed by the incenſed
enemy, that he had already provided himſelf with ſwift horſes to make his eſcape; b
but being with much-ado prevailed upon to ſtay, more out of regard to his own ſafety,
than the public good, he took all imaginable care to put the city in a condition to
withſtand the efforts of the barbarians; who thereupon, inſtead of laying ſiege to it,
reſolved to purſue *Equitius*, whom they looked upon as the chief author of the mur-
der of their king. He had fled into *Valeria*, and thither they followed him, com-
mitting dreadful ravages in the countries through which they paſſed. In their way
they met two legions, the *Pannonian* and the *Mœſian*, who had been ſent to oppoſe
them, and were of ſufficient ſtrength to reſtrain their fury, had they not fallen into
an unſeaſonable contention about precedency, each of them claiming the honour of
charging the firſt. The barbarians, appriſed of their diſagreement, without waiting c
for the ſignal of battle, fell firſt with great fury upon the *Mœſian* legion, before they
had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and having cut moſt of them in
pieces, attacked, and in like manner put to the ſword, the other legion, only a ſmall
number of them by flight eſcaping death or captivity [y]. Thus all the open country
was abandoned to the barbarians, the *Romans* remaining maſters only of the fortified
places, where they committed, ſays *Zoſimus* [z], as great diſorders as the barbarians
themſelves in the other parts. But the *Sarmatians*, having entered *Upper Mœſia*, were
repulſed with incredible ſlaughter by *Theodoſius*, afterwards emperor, but at that
time very young, and only duke of *Mœſia*. The barbarians, who were infinitely
ſuperior to him in number, thought to have overpowered him; but he, with a cou- d
rage and conduct far above his years, made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, as to
ſatiate with the bodies of the ſlain, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus*, the birds of
prey, and the moſt ravenous among the wild beaſts [a]. The *Sarmatians*, deſpairing
of ſucceſs againſt ſo brave a leader, ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which they
obtained, and for ſome time obſerved, being kept in awe by ſome troops, which
Valentinian had ſent into *Illyricum* upon the firſt notice of the irruption of the barba-
rians into that province. He was for leaving *Gaul*, and marching in perſon againſt
them; but as the autumn was already far ſpent, and *Macrianus* king of the *Alemans*,
with other princes, ſeemed ready to break into *Gaul* upon the departure of the empe- e
ror, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to put off his march to a more convenient
ſeaſon. However, as he was determined to leave *Gaul* early in the ſpring, and march
into *Illyricum*, he invited *Macrianus*, whoſe valour he chiefly dreaded, to an inter-
view in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*. *Macrianus* complied with his invitation, and
though at firſt he betrayed a great deal of pride in ſeeing his friendſhip thus courted by
the *Roman* emperor, yet in the end he accepted the advantagious terms that were
offered him, and continued to his death a faithful friend to the *Romans* [b]. He was
in the end killed by *Merobandes* king of the *Franks*, whoſe dominions he had invaded [c].
Valentinian, having thus concluded a peace with the brave king of the *Alemans*,
returned to *Treves*, where he paſſed the winter [d]; and the following ſpring ſet out
from thence for *Illyricum*, attended by his wife *Juſtina* and *Valentinian* her eldeſt ſon. i
Gratian was left at *Treves*, with a numerous body of troops, to keep the *German*
nations in awe. The preſent year 375. is marked in the *faſti* thus; *the year after the*
third conſulſhip of Gratian *and his collegue* Equitius. St. *Jerom* writes, that no con-
ſuls were named this year, on account of the diſturbances raiſed in *Pannonia* by the
Sarmatians [e]. The emperor was ſtill at *Treves* on the ninth of *April* [f]; but left that
city ſoon after [g]. He was met on his march by embaſſadors from the *Sarmatians*,
who,

They defeat two Roman *legions.*

The Sarmatians *defeated by* Theodoſius

The emperor concludes a peace with the king of the Alemans,

And marches into Illyricum.

[w] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 408, 409. Zos. l. iv. p. 745. [x] Chrys. ad vid. junior. p. 463. [y] Ammian. & Zos. ibid. [z] Zos. p. 745. [a] Ammian. p. 410, 411. [b] Idem, l. xxx. p. 417, 418.
[c] Idem ibid. [d] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 64. [e] Hier. chron. [f] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 94.
[g] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 418.

a who, throwing themſelves at his feet, earneſtly intreated him not to give credit to the reports that had been ſpread abroad concerning the ravages and cruelties ſaid to have been committed by thoſe of their nation; they aſſured him, that, upon examination, he would not find them guilty of the crimes that were by their enemies urged againſt them. The emperor anſwered, that he would determine nothing for the preſent; but ſuſpend his judgment till his arrival in thoſe parts, which had moſt ſuffered by their late irruption. Having thus diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, he purſued his march; and arriving in *Illyricum*, took up his quarters at *Carnuntum*, once a flouriſhing city, but then in decay. Moſt geographers take it to be the city of *Hainburgh* on the *Danube* in *Auſtria*, about thirty-three miles eaſt of *Vienna*. The emperor choſe it, as

b being moſt conveniently ſituated for the defence of the country, and continued there three months, making the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition againſt the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* [h]. He was ſtill at *Carnuntum* on the twelfth of *Auguſt* [i]. *Ammianus* blames him for not inquiring how *Gabinius* king of the *Quadi* came to be murdered, nor puniſhing thoſe, who, through treachery or cowardice, had abandoned the defence of the frontiers; both which things were expected from a prince of his exactneſs and ſeverity [k]. *Probus* the prefect was the only perſon againſt whom he ſhewed any reſentment; for he, to ſatisfy the avarice of the emperor, had, according to *Ammianus*, oppreſſed the people committed to his care in a manner hardly to be expreſſed, putting to death, baniſhing, or condemning to dungeons, the moſt

c wealthy among them, that he might ſeize their eſtates; inſomuch, that all the perſons of rank in the country, dreading the avarice and unheard-of cruelties of their governor, had privately diſpoſed of their effects, and abandoned their country. All this the emperor learnt of a philoſopher, by name *Iphicles*, who had been ſent by the *Epirots* his countrymen, to thank *Probus* for his prudent and mild adminiſtration. The emperor, informed of the errand on which he was ſent, aſked him, whether his countrymen were really ſatisfied with their governor? and whether their thanks and commendations were ſincere? They thank and commend him, anſwered frankly the philoſopher; but with tears in their eyes, and ſore againſt their will. Hereupon *Valentinian* made a ſtrict inquiry into his conduct, and, finding him guilty of moſt

d enormous extortions, and unheard-of barbarities, reſolved to depoſe him; but was prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution [l]. Thus *Ammianus*. But St. *Jerom* writes, that *Illyricum* was plundered, and tyrannically oppreſſed, by *Equitius*, without ſo much as mentioning *Probus* [m]; and *Ammianus* himſelf owns, that *Leo*, then *magiſter officiorum*, exaſperated the emperor againſt *Probus*, hoping to be made prefect in his room [n]. *Probus* was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, and reckoned amongſt his anceſtors the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*. The families of the *Probi*, of the *Anicii*, and of the *Olybrii*, were, according to St. *Jerom* [o], *Auſonius* [p], and *Prudentius* [q], the moſt conſpicuous in *Rome*. *Probus*, who had embraced the chriſtian religion, with his whole family [r], lived in great intimacy

e with St. *Ambroſe*, the celebrated biſhop of *Milan*. When the latter was by the emperor appointed governor of *Liguria* and *Æmilia*, *Probus*, in taking his leave of him, gave him the following memorable advice: *Acquit yourſelf in your office, not like a governor, but like a biſhop* [s]. St. *Ambroſe* was then by profeſſion a pleader or advocate. *Probus* was firſt proconſul of *Africa* in 358. afterwards four times prefect of *Italy* or *Gaul*, and in 371. *Gratian*'s collegue in the conſulſhip. He was no leſs famous for his wealth, than his birth and employments; for he is ſaid to have owned immenſe poſſeſſions in all the provinces of the empire [t]. *Paulinus Diaconus* tells us, that two *Perſian* lords of great diſtinction, being come to *Milan* to viſit St. *Ambroſe*, went from thence to *Rome*, on purpoſe to behold the grandeur and pomp in which

f *Probus* lived [u]. He died, as appears from *Claudian*, before the end of the year 394. being then in the ſixtieth year of his age [w], after having received the ſacrament of baptiſm; and was buried in a magnificent monument near the church of St. *Peter* at *Rome*, of which monument ſome remains were ſtill to be ſeen in the time of pope *Nicolas* V [x]. Several letters written to him by *Symmachus* have reached our times [y], and a poem addreſſed to him by *Auſonius* in 372. *Ammianus* commends him in ſeveral

The people of Illyricum *oppreſſed by* Probus.

An account of the family of Probus.

[h] Idem ibid. [i] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 94. [k] Ammian. p. 425. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Hier. chron. [n] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 424, 425. [o] Hier. ep. 8. p. 63. [p] Auson. ep. 3. p. 422. [q] Paud. in Sym. l. i. p 221. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Ambroſ. vit. p. 79. [t] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 352. [u] Ambroſ. vit. p. 83. [w] Claud. de conſulat. Olyb. & Prob. p. 2. [x] Baron. ad ann. 395. [y] Sym. l. iii. epiſt. 50—55. p. 36.

several places of his history, but more frequently taxes him with great vices, perhaps a
because he professed the christian religion [z]. *Claudian*, though a pagan as well as *Ammianus*, highly commends him; but it is in a panegyric on his children [a]. Both writers agree in extolling his generosity. His wife *Proba*, named in the ancient inscriptions *Anicia Faltonia Proba*, was no less esteemed on account of her birth and extraordinary qualities, than her husband, being adorned with every virtue becoming her sex, and descended from the *Anician* family, equalled by *Cassiodorus*, St. *Austin* [c], St. *Jerom* [d], and St. *Ambrose* [e], to the imperial families. Some of her ancestors bore the first employments in the times of the republic; and one of them is said to have been honoured with a triumph for reducing *Illyricum* [f]. *Ammianus* [g] and *Zosimus* [h] take notice of their immense wealth; and St. *Jerom*, writing to *Demetrias* b
the grand-daughter of *Probus*, says, that it was the peculiar prerogative of her family to possess riches, and despise them [i]. *Anicius Julianus*, on whom *Symmachus* bestows great encomiums [k], was the first *Roman* senator that embraced the christian religion [l]. *Ammianus* observes, that, in the reign of *Constantius*, the *Anicians* bore the chief sway in *Rome* [m].

But to resume the thread of our history: *Valentinian*, during his stay at *Carnuntum*, caused *Faustinus*, nephew to *Viventius*, a few years before prefect of *Gaul*, to be
Faustinus *executed.* first inhumanly racked, and afterwards publicly executed, being accused of magical practices, and of having answered one *Nigrinus*, desiring him in jest to make him a notary, *Make me first emperor*. They were joking; but the joke cost both of them c
their lives. From *Carnuntum* the emperor dispatched *Merobandes* and count *Sebastian*, with a party of foot, to lay waste the enemy's country, while he, with the main body of the army, advanced to *Acincum*, now *Gran*, or, as others will have it, *Buda*,
Valentinian *ravages the country of the* Quadi. in *Lower Hungary* [n]. There he passed the *Danube*, and having ravaged the enemy's country far and near, destroying all with fire and sword, he returned to *Acincum*, when the autumn was already far advanced. Being desirous to find out some convenient winter-quarters in that frozen climate, he proceeded from thence to *Sabaria*, now *Servar*; but that place not answering his expectation, he pursued his march along the *Danube* to *Bregetio*, which some take to be a village now called *Bregnitz*, and others a place in the isle of *Schut*, where the present city of *Komare* stands, or a d
little below that of *Markelhaz* [o]. There he gave audience to the embassadors of the *Quadi*, come to sue for peace; but while he was speaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he all on a sudden fell to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. He was conveyed into his chamber by those who attended him, where he was seized with convulsion fits, and violent con-
He dies suddenly. torsions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he expired on the seventeenth of *November* of this year 375. in the fifty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned twelve years, wanting an hundred days [p]. *Victor* writes, that he died of a surfeit [q]. St. *Jerom* ascribes his death to a violent vomiting of blood [r]. *Socrates* tells us, that being affronted at the meanness and beggarly appearance of the embassadors of the e
Quadi, he asked them, If their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him? They answered, That the first men in the nation were in his presence. Hereupon he fell into a great passion, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for presuming to insult the majesty of the *Roman* emperor and people. He delivered this with so much heat and violence, that, his veins bursting, he was instantly suffocated in his own blood [s]. The reader will find in *Socrates* part of the speech which
Several omens preceding Valentinian's *death.* he made, or is supposed to have made, to the embassadors [t]. His death was presaged, according to *Ammianus*, by several omens: A blazing star, which, in the opinion of that writer, ever forebodes the death of some great personage, had appeared a few days before: at *Sirmium* the palace, court, and forum were consumed by light- f
ning: the night before he died, he saw, or imagined to see, his wife, then absent, sitting by him, in a melancholy posture and in a mourning dress, with her hair dishevelled. This *Ammianus* takes to have been his genius forsaking him [u]. On the

day

[z] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 352, 353. l. xxviii. p. 362. l. xxxii. p. 423, 424. [a] Claud. ibid. [b] Cassiod. l. x. ep. 12. p. 162. [c] August. ep. 179. p. 305. [d] Hier. ep. 11. p. 162. [e] Amb. ep. 33. p. 263. [f] Auson. p. 422. [g] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. [h] Zos. l. vi. p. 828. [i] Hier. ep. 8. p. 68. [k] Sym. p. 299. [l] Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 221. [m] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. [n] Vide Baudr. p. 55. [o] Vide Sans. & Baudr. p. 129, 130. [p] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 427. Vict. epit. Philost. l. ix. c. 16. p. 130. [q] Vict. epit. [r] Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. [s] Socr. p. 248, 249. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Ammian. p. 426.

a day he died, his horſe, while he was about to mount, rearing with great fury, his *ſtrator* or equerry, ſtriving to place the emperor in the ſaddle, happened to give him a blow; which he reſenting with his uſual brutality, ordered the equerry's hand to be cut off; but *Cerealis*, *tribunus ſtabuli*, or maſter of the horſe, put off the execution of ſo cruel and unjuſt an order at the peril of his own life[w]. The year before, the *Tiber* overflowed its banks, and laid all the lower parts of *Rome* under water, the inhabitants being obliged to ſave themſelves upon the hills, where they had periſhed with hunger, had not *Claudius*, prefect of the city, ſent them a ſeaſonable ſupply of proviſions in boats. Theſe overflowings of the *Tiber* were generally looked upon as the forerunners of ſome public diſaſter. The body of the deceaſed emperor was em-
b balmed, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to be interred there amongſt the other chriſtian princes. It arrived in that city on the twenty-eighth of *December* of the enſuing year 376. but was not buried till the twenty-firſt of *February* of the year 382. when *Theodoſius* paid it that laſt duty[x]. Some pretended in 1174. to have diſcovered his body at *Andernach* on the *Rhine*; but it is evident from hiſtory, that he was buried at *Conſtantinople*. As to his character, *Ammianus* taxes him with ſeveral vices. He was, accord- *His character.*
ing to that writer, naturally inclined to cruelty, puniſhing even the ſmalleſt faults with the utmoſt ſeverity, and ſuffering his miniſters, or rather encouraging them, to exerciſe unheard-of cruelties. He was covetous to a great degree, uſing all poſ-
c ſible methods to raiſe money; which, however, ſome excuſe in him, as he found, on his acceſſion to the empire, the exchequer quite exhauſted by his predeceſſors, eſpecially by *Julian*, who had ſpent immenſe ſums in the *Perſian* war. He had a mighty opinion of his own accompliſhments and abilities, and therefore hated all who were eminent for learning, valour, ſkill in the military art, or any other prerogative; nay, even ſuch as had a genteel fancy in dreſs. He pretended to be a great enemy to cowards, and nevertheleſs, on ſeveral occaſions, betrayed more fear than was becoming a man, who, from his infancy, had borne arms; inſomuch, that his miniſters, who were well acquainted with his temper, when he was in a paſſion, and they could by no other means appeaſe him, uſed to pretend certain intelligence from the frontiers, that the barbarians were up in arms, and ready to break into the empire;
d which never failed to allay his wrath, and make him appear, to uſe the expreſſion of *Ammianus*, as mild as ever was *Antoninus Pius*[y]. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſtrangely impoſed upon by his miniſters, repoſing an intire confidence in thoſe who deſerved it the leaſt; whence the provinces were often oppreſſed, and the people reduced to beggary, while he, miſled and deceived by thoſe about him, believed they enjoyed an intire happineſs[z]. Had he not been deceived in the choice of his miniſters, ſays *Victor*, he would have reigned with great glory, and been ranked after his death amongſt the beſt princes[a]. And truly he was, even according to *Ammianus*, a writer no-ways partial to him, or any of the chriſtian princes, endowed with many excellent qualities; well acquainted with the military art, and no leſs with the
e art of governing; careful in protecting the ſubjects of the empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians; an exact obſerver of the military diſcipline; enured from his infancy to hardſhips, and no-ways biaſſed by favour in diſpoſing of the great offices. Tho' he had many relations, who, upon his advancement, expected great preferments, yet he employed none of them, except his brother *Valens*, whom he aſſumed for his collegue, and with whom he reigned in perfect concord. In his entertainments he was ſplendid, but not profuſe; in his perſon comely, and well-ſhaped; in his converſation agreeable; of an extraordinary memory, and ready elocution, knowing well how to accommodate himſelf to all times and occaſions[b]. He ſuffered
f no places to be bought or ſold during the whole time of his reign; and tho' he was often miſtaken in the choice of his officers and miniſters, yet his intention was to prefer only the moſt deſerving, and for that reaſon he neglected his own relations. He abated the taxes, and eaſed his people, as far as the ſtate of his affairs would allow, of the heavy burdens laid upon them by his predeceſſors[c]. He was an utter ſtranger to debauchery and unlawful pleaſures, which he endeavoured to reſtrain by ſeveral excellent laws[d]. As to his religion, in the great variety of opinions, which at that time divided the world, he inviolably adhered to the orthodox faith; but, avoiding all diſputes, he allowed to the reſt of his ſubjects, even to the pagans, an intire

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem, p. 433. Marc. chron. [y] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 431, 432. [z] Vict. ibid. p. 345. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Ammian. p. 433. [c] Idem, p. 423. [d] Vict. p. 651.

intire liberty of conſcience. He is blamed by the eccleſiaſtic writers, for ſuffering a
his brother *Valens* to perſecute the orthodox chriſtians; but ſome alledge in his defence, that the condition of his affairs would not allow him in prudence openly to oppoſe *Valens*, ſince that perhaps might have kindled a civil war, which, at that time, would have proved fatal to the empire. To conclude, he was endowed, according to *Ammianus*, with ſuch excellent qualities, that had they not been allayed with the mixture of the above-mentioned vices, eſpecially with that of cruelty, he had been no-ways inferior to the excellent emperors *Trajan* and *M. Aurelius* [c]. Amongſt his other laws he enacted one addreſſed to *Maximus* vicar of *Rome*, relating to the ſtature or ſize of ſuch as were to be admitted into the army, which was not to be under ſix foot ſeven inches [d]. b

The reign of Valens *in the eaſt.*

WE ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the reign of *Valens* in the eaſt, which, to avoid confuſion, we have thought proper to deliver ſeparately, there being no other connection, but that of time, between the reigns and tranſactions of the two princes. After the diviſion of the provinces made at *Mediana* in the neighbourhood of *Naiſſus* in *Dacia* in 364. *Valens* returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he enacted a law dated the twenty-ſixth of *December*, forbidding the meſſengers of good news to exact, according to the abuſe which then prevailed, or even to accept, any thing of the people; but allows them to receive what perſons of rank and fortune ſhall think proper to offer them of their own accord [e]. The following year 365. *Valens* was ſtill at *Conſtantinople* on the nineteenth of *March* [f]; but ſoon after ſet out for *Syria*, the *Perſians* c
being in motion, with a deſign, as was apprehended, to break the peace which they had lately concluded with *Jovian*. Being informed, as he entered *Bithynia*, that the *Goths* were ready to invade *Thrace*, he diſpatched meſſengers to his officers in thoſe parts, warning them to be upon their guard, and purſued his march to *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, where he was on the fourth of *July*, and continued there till the latter end of the ſummer [g]. During his ſtay in that city, a dreadful earthquake happened, which was felt in moſt provinces of the empire, and overturned ſeveral cities in *Sicily*, *Paleſtine*, and above all in the iſland of *Crete*, where the ſhock was moſt violent [h]. When *Valens* was upon the point of departing from *Cæſarea*, news was

Procopius *revolts,*

brought him of the revolt of *Procopius*, who, after having paid the laſt duty to the d
body of his kinſman *Julian*, had privately withdrawn, through fear of *Jovian*, into *Cherſoneſus Taurica*; but not truſting thoſe barbarians, and finding himſelf deſtitute even of the neceſſaries of life, he left that inhoſpitable country, and returning in diſguiſe into the territories of the empire, he reached undiſcovered the city of *Chalcedon*, where he was received by one *Strategius*, his truſty friend, and by him carefully concealed at his country-houſe. From thence he went frequently in a mean dreſs to *Conſtantinople*; and finding that the people there were generally diſſatisfied with the preſent government, on account of the cruelties practiſed by *Petronius*, whoſe daughter, *Albia Dominica*, the emperor had married, he reſolved to improve that diſſatisfaction to his own advantage. Having therefore gained over an eunuch e
of great wealth, by name *Eugenius*, lately diſgraced by *Valens*, and ſome of the officers who commanded the troops that had been ſent into *Thrace* againſt the *Goths*, and were then quartered at *Conſtantinople*, he boldly ventured to diſcover himſelf, and lay before the people and ſoldiery the title he had to the empire, as being nearly

And is acknowledged by the city of Conſtantinople.

related to *Julian*. Hereupon the officers, whom he had gained before-hand, proclaimed him emperor; and the reſt, following their example, ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, and carried him in triumph to the imperial palace, whither he was attended only by the dregs of the people. However, the next and the following days, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction joined him, and at length the whole city of *Conſtantinople* [i]. The news of this revolt ſtruck *Valens* with ſuch terrror and diſmay, that f
he was for quitting the imperial purple and reſigning the empire; but being, with powerful arguments, perſuaded by his friends not to part with the imperial dignity, he detached ſome troops againſt his new rival, hoping to cruſh him before he was in a condition to make any reſiſtance. This detachment met *Procopius* at *Mygdus* in *Phrygia*, attended by a promiſcuous multitude of fugitive ſlaves, deſerters, and perſons of deſperate fortunes, who, upon the approach of the emperor's forces, put themſelves in a poſture of defence. But *Procopius*, diſtruſting their courage, while both

[c] AMMIAN. p. 432. [d] Cod. Theod. l. iii. de tyronib. [e] Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. 11. leg. 1. p. 602, 603. [f] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 73. [g] Idem, p. 74. AMMIAN. p. 322. [h] AMMIAN. p. 331, 333. HIER. chron. p. 258. [i] AMMIAN. p. 320. ZOS. l. iv. p. 737. THEMIST. p. 91.

a both parties were ready to engage, ſtept boldly forward, as if he deſigned to challenge one of the adverſe party to a ſingle combat; and taking *Vitalianus*, one of the officers, by the hand, mildly upbraided him and his fellow-ſoldiers, for ſiding with a *Pannonian* robber againſt one allied to the family of *Conſtantine the Great*. His ſpeech made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon them, that they immediately paſſed over to his party, and, with loud acclamations ſaluting him emperor, carried him in triumph to the imperial pavilion [k]. This defection brought a very ſeaſonable acceſſion of ſtrength to *Procopius*, who thereupon detached a ſtrong party, under the conduct of *Rumitalca* a tribune, to ſeize on *Nice*; which they did accordingly, without the loſs of a ſingle man [l]. *Valens*, alarmed at the uſurper's unexpected pro-

He is joined by a party of the emperor's troops.

b greſs, diſpatched *Vadomarius*, formerly king of the *Alemans*, to recover that important place, while he went in perſon to lay ſiege to *Chalcedon*, from which city one of his laws is dated the firſt of *December* [m]; but he met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that he was obliged to give over the enterprize, the beſieged inſulting him from the walls as he retired, and reviling him with the nickname of *Sabaiarius*, that is, *Beer-drinker*, *ſabaia* being a kind of ſmall drink made of barley, and common in *Pannonia*, where *Valens* was born. *Rumitalca*, who commanded in *Nice*, being informed of his retreat, ſallied out with great boldneſs, and bearing all down before him, had utterly defeated the emperor, had not *Valens*, upon timely notice of his approach, taken a quite different rout by the lake *Sunona*, and the windings of the river *Gallus* [n].

Valens *obliged to raiſe the ſiege of* Chalcedon.

c Thus was the emperor obliged to abandon *Bithynia* to the enemy, and retire with all expedition to *Ancyra*, where he continued waiting the arrival of the troops which *Lupicinus* was leading out of the eaſt to his aſſiſtance. In the mean time, *Arintheus*, one of his chief commanders, an officer of great proweſs and renown, meeting a party of the rebels, commanded by one *Hyperechius*, formerly an apparitor, and ſcorning to enter the liſts with ſuch a contemptible enemy, commanded, with an air of authority, *Hyperechius*'s own men to bring to him in chains their vile and deſpicable leader; which they did accordingly, ſtruck with the awful and majeſtic mien of that renowned commander [o]. But, in the mean time, *Procopius*, being informed, that the money

Procopius *ſiezes on* Cyzicus, *and the treaſure lodged there.*

d allotted for the pay of the ſoldiers who ſerved in the eaſt, was lodged in the city of *Cyzicus*, haſtened thither, laid ſiege to the place, and in the end reduced it, though defended with great reſolution and intrepidity by *Scronianus*, at that time *comes domeſticorum*, who found means to make his eſcape, as *Zoſimus* informs us [p]; but was afterwards taken in *Lydia*, carried priſoner to *Nice*, and there by *Marcellus*, governor of the place, put to death. *Procopius* being, by the reduction of this place, became maſter of the *Helleſpont*, he appointed *Hormiſda* governor of that province, with the title of proconſul. He was the ſon of *Hormiſda*, brother to *Sapor* king of *Perſia*, who, as we have related elſewhere, had, in the year 323. taken refuge in the court of *Conſtantine the Great*, and ever after ſerved the *Romans* with great fidelity. *Procopius* ſpent the beſt part of the winter in endeavouring to draw

e over to his party the cities of *Aſia*; but his deſigns were in great meaſure defeated by *Clearchus* vicar of that province, and more by his own conduct; for having hitherto behaved with great moderation and humanity, he all on a ſudden grew proud, haughty, and tyrannical, loading the provinces that had ſubmitted to him with exorbitant taxes, tho' he knew, that their averſion to *Valens* was chiefly owing to that prince's avarice. But nothing more prejudiced the people againſt him, than his commanding the houſe of *Arbetio* to be ſtripped of the moveables of ineſtimable value, and of the immenſe riches, which that ancient and brave commander had amaſſed under *Conſtantius*. He gave him this unſeaſonable proof of his indignation, tho' he had formerly lived in great friendſhip with him, upon his declining to wait

He grows tyrannical.

f upon him, on account of his great age, and the infirmities attending it [q]. The following year 366. *Valens*, upon the arrival of the troops from the eaſt under the command of *Lupicinus*, left *Galatia*, whither he had retired from before *Chalcedon*, and marched into *Lycia*, with a deſign to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. As the ſoldiers of *Procopius* were greatly animated by the preſence of *Fauſtina*, *Conſtantius*'s widow, and her little daughter *Conſtantina*, whom *Procopius* carried about with him, and often expoſed to the view of the army, *Valens*, to defeat that artifice, prevailed upon *Arbetio*, who had commanded the forces under *Conſtantius*, and was beloved

[k] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 322, 324. [l] Idem, p. 325. [m] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 75, 76. [n] Ammian. ibid. Socrat. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216. [o] Ammian. ibid. [p] Zos. p. 328. [q] Ammian. p. 327. Eunap. c. 5. p. 84. Themist. orat. vii. p. 92—99.

beloved by the ſoldiery, to join him, not doubting, but the preſence and intereſt of a one of that prince's chief commanders, would draw great numbers of the rebels over to his party. He was not therein deceived; for the preſence of *Arbetio*, and the high opinion they all entertained of him, quite turned the hearts of *Procopius*'s men; which *Gomoarius*, one of his chief commanders, being well appriſed of, thought it adviſeable to abandon the tyrant, and ſubmit to *Valens* [r]. This happened, according to *Zoſimus*, in the neighbourhood of *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, in the heat of a battle, while *Valens* was in imminent danger of being utterly defeated by the courageous behaviour and prudent conduct of young *Hormiſda* [s]. We queſtion whether this can be reconciled with what we read in *Ammianus*. After this, *Valens* advanced to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Nicolia*, a city of *Phrygia*, where he gave the rebels battle, the iſſue b whereof continued doubtful, till *Agilo*, by nation a *German*, one of *Procopius*'s chief commanders, with many others, went over to *Valens*; which ſo diſheartened *Procopius*, that, quitting his horſe, he fled into an adjoining wood, attended by *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* a tribune. There they wandered about, till the moon ſhining out with great brightneſs, they began to apprehend they might be diſcovered. Hereupon *Procopius*'s two companions, ſeizing him to ſave themſelves, carried him bound to the emperor, who immediately ordered his head to be ſtruck off, and ſent it to *Valentinian* then in *Gaul* [t]. *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* were likewiſe put to death by the emperor's orders; but, in the opinion of *Ammianus*, contrary to the rules of c juſtice and equity: for had they betrayed, ſays that writer, a lawful prince, their treaſon had deſerved to be puniſhed with death; but as he was a rebel and uſurper, they had great reaſon to expect another ſort of reward for their ſeaſonable ſervice [u]. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that the army cauſed *Florentius* to be burnt alive, for his cruelties to thoſe of their party at *Nice* [w], he having been appointed by *Procopius* governor of that city; but from *Ammianus* it is evident, that *Marcellus*, of whom anon, and not *Florentius* was governor of that city. What *Socrates* writes [x] of the cruel death to which the emperor condemned *Procopius*, and likewiſe his two generals, *Agilo* and *Gomoarius*, tho' they had abandoned him before his defeat, deſerves no credit, ſince *Ammianus*, who never ſpares *Valens*, in diſplaying with great minuteneſs his other cruelties, takes no notice of this; nay, he tells us in expreſs terms, that *Araxes*, d father in-law to *Agilo*, by his intereſt obtained his pardon, tho' he had been *præfectus prætorio* to *Procopius* [y]. Such was the end of this uſurper, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, after he had borne the title of emperor for the ſpace of about eight months. He was put to death, according to *Idatius* and *Socrates*, on the twenty-ſeventh of *May*; but on the twentieth of *June*, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He was born of an illuſtrious family in *Cilicia*, and nearly related to the emperor *Julian*. He was, tho' a pagan, employed by *Conſtantius* on account of his integrity, and raiſed by *Julian* to great employments, and diſtinguiſhed with the title of count. When that prince ſet out on his memorable expedition againſt the *Perſians*, he inveſted him and count *Sebaſtian* with the command of a body of thirty thouſand choſen men, who e were to remain in *Meſopotamia*, and cover the empire on that ſide againſt any ſudden irruption of the enemy [z]. *Zoſimus* writes, that he delivered up to *Jovian* the purple robe, which *Julian* was ſaid, as we have related above, to have given him, charging him to aſſume it, if he ſhould happen to die before his return from *Perſia* [a]. That writer adds, that thereupon *Jovian* gave him leave to retire with his family to *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and lead there a retired life. Be that as it will, it is certain from *Ammianus*, that he was ſent by *Jovian* to attend the corps of *Julian* to *Tarſus*; and afterwards withdrawing, he kept himſelf concealed, till he aſſumed the title of emperor, which occaſioned his ruin. He was, according to *Ammianus*, a man of f few words, cloſe and reſerved; of no mean preſence, tho' he went ſomewhat ſtooping, with his eyes ever fixed on the ground, which proceeded from his gloomy and melancholy temper; yet he was always averſe to the ſhedding of blood, which, in the opinion of *Ammianus*, was a thing to be wondered at, conſidering the moroſeneſs of his diſpoſition [b]. *Marcellus*, governor of *Nice*, and kinſman to *Procopius*, hearing of his death, ordered *Serenianus*, who was kept cloſe priſoner in the place, to be immediately diſpatched, ſaving, by the death of one man, the lives of many, ſays *Ammianus*; for as he was noted for his cruelty, and had a great aſcendant over *Valens*, whoſe

Procopius abandoned by ſome of his chief officers.

Defeated, taken, and put to death.

His birth, preferments, and character.

[r] Ammian. p. 327, 328. [s] Zos. l. iv. p. 739. [t] Ammian. p. 329. Philost. l. vii. c. 5. p. 123.
[u] Ammian. l. xxvii, p. 335. & l. xxvi. p. 329. [w] Philost. p. 123. [x] Socrat. l. iv. c. 5. p. 214.
[y] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 329. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Zos. l. iv. p. 736. [b] Ammian. ibid.

a whoſe countryman he was, it was feared, had he outlived the defeat of *Procopius*'s party, he would have induced the emperor, too much inclined of himſelf, to revenge, and occaſioned the deſtruction of many perſons, innocent as well as guilty [c]. After this bold execution, *Marcellus* being informed, that a body of *Goths* was marching to the aſſiſtance of *Procopius*, and not doubting but he ſhould be able to draw them over to his own party, ſeized on the city of *Chalcedon*; and being aſſiſted by ſome, whom poverty and deſpair had driven into rebellion, he aſſumed the purple, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. But *Valens*, upon the firſt notice of his revolt, diſpatched without delay a party of choſen men againſt him, who, coming upon him unexpectedly, ſeized him, and, having loaded him with chains, dragged

b him to the public priſon; whence he was taken out the next day, and, together with his accomplices, tortured to death [d]. *Themiſtius*, in his panegyric upon *Valens*, written a few months after the death of *Procopius*, tells us, that he uſed his victory with great moderation, puniſhing only the chief authors of the revolt [e]. But *Ammianus* [f] and *Zoſimus* [g] aſſure us, that he proceeded with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt ſuch as were but barely ſuſpected of having favoured the rebels. His ears was open to all complaints and information; and few who had the misfortune to be accuſed, were ſo happy as to eſcape death, baniſhment, or confiſcation, till the emperor had glutted himſelf with blood, and filled his own coffers, and thoſe of his friends likewiſe. He ordered the city of *Chalcedon* to be diſmantled, purſuant to an oath he had taken;

c but the inhabitants of *Nice*, *Nicomedia*, and *Conſtantinople*, interceding in behalf of a city, of which the walls were its chief beauty and ornament, to comply at the ſame time with their requeſt, and his own oath, he cauſed only part of the walls to be demoliſhed, which he immediately rebuilt with ſmaller ſtones, ordering the others to be conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, where they were made uſe of to make a public bath, called the *Therma*, or *Hot baths of* Conſtantius, if *Socrates* is not miſtaken [h]; for it is certain, that *Valens* built at *Conſtantinople* a public bath, bearing the name of his daughter *Caroſa* [i], which was ended in 375. This year the empreſs *Albia Dominica* was on the eighteenth of *January*, delivered of a ſon, named *Valentinian*, and ſurnamed *Galata*, no doubt, becauſe he was born in *Galatia*, where *Valens* paſſed the

d firſt months of this year, as we have obſerved.

Marcellus *revolts*;

But is taken and tortured to death.

THE following year 367. *Valens*, hearing that a body of three thouſand *Goths*, who were come to the aſſiſtance of *Procopius*, and had marched back upon the news of his death, had not yet paſſed the *Danube*, ſent a ſtrong detachment againſt them, who cutting off their retreat, obliged them, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they made, to lay down their arms, and yield themſelves priſoners [k]. Hereupon *Athanaric*, at that time king, or rather judge, of the *Goths*, named *Thervingi*, (for he ſeems to have declined the royal title) diſpatched embaſſadors to *Valens*, earneſtly intreating him to ſet the priſoners at liberty, and ſuffer them to return to their own country, ſince they had been ſent by their prince, a friend and ally of the

e *Romans*, to the aſſiſtance of a *Roman* emperor. The embaſſadors, after having delivered this meſſage, produced a letter from *Procopius* to their maſter, wherein he aſſured him, that the empire belonged to him as the kinſman of *Conſtantius*, and the heir of the great *Conſtantine*'s family, *Valens* returned, it ſeems, no anſwer to the embaſſadors; but ſent *Victor*, then *magiſter equitum*, or general of the horſe, to complain in his name of *Athanaric*, for aſſiſting a rebel againſt his lawful ſovereign. The *Goths* anſwered, that they had looked upon *Procopius* as the kinſman of *Conſtantine* and heir of his family, adding, that it was not their buſineſs to examine whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and that, if they were therein deceived, the emperor ought to forgive them, ſince their counſels had been influenced by what

f appeared to them juſt and equitable. They could not, however, obtain the deliverance of their priſoners, *Valens*, who had no other enemy at that time to divert him, being deſirous to humble that powerful nation [l]. *Ammianus* thinks he had juſtice on his ſide [m]; but *Eunapius* will not take upon him to decide whether he had no [n]. This war was likely to prove very dangerous, the *Goths* being then very powerful, and beſides, elated with the great advantages they had gained over the neighbouring nations, if *Jornandes* is to be credited [o], who ſeems to have been but indifferently acquainted

Valens *reſolves to make war upon the* Goths.

[e] Idem. l. xxvi. p. 325. [d] Idem, p. 326, 327. [c] THEMIST. orat. vii. p. 84. [f] AMMIAN. p. 330 [g] Zos, l iv. p. 720, [h] SOCR. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216. [i] AMMIAN. p. 614. Chron. Alex. p. 704. [k] Zos. l. iv p. 740. EUNAP. de legation. p. 18. [l] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 340. EUNAP. p. 18. Zos. p. 748. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643. [m] ANMIAN. p. 338. [n] EUNAP. p. 18. [o] JORN. ibid. c. 3. p. 642. 643.

acquainted with the history of his country, since he takes no notice of the present war. *Valens*, being bent upon war, and well apprised of the strength and power of the enemy, made vast preparations during the winter, with a design to fall upon the enemy early in the spring, Before he set out on so dangerous an expedition, in order to render heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the sacrament of baptism but, out of complaisance to the empress, at the hands of *Eudoxius*, then bishop of *Constantinople*, a leading man among the *Arians*, who, in administering to him that sacrament, obliged him to swear, that, to his death, he would adhere to the doctrine of *Arius*, and look upon those who opposed it as enemies to truth; which oath he but too strictly observed, as the reader may find in the ecclesiastic writers of those times. He had before shewed no small partiality to the *Arians*; but thenceforth he became their great patron, and a cruel persecutor of the catholics. But to return to the war: the emperor being informed, that the *Goths*, apprised of his design, were assembling a mighty army, in order to attack him the first, took the field before the winter was over; and having sent strong detachments to guard the banks of the *Danube*, he encamped with the rest of his army in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mœsia*, where he raised *Auxonius* to the dignity of prefect, in the room of *Salustius Secundus*, no longer able to discharge that office, on account of his great age. He was still at *Marcianopolis* on the thirtieth of *May*, as appears from the dates of some laws[p]; which we will not take upon us to reconcile with what we read in *Ammianus*[q] and *Zosimus*[r], *viz.* that in the beginning of the spring he left the city, and having assembled his troops, he passed the *Danube* at a place called *Daphne*, and spent the whole summer in ravaging and laying waste the enemy's country, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Goths* having fled, upon the approach of the *Roman* army, to the neighbouring mountains, called *Serri*, inaccessible to those who were not well acquainted with the country. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the *Roman* territories, and was on the twenty-fifth of *September* at *Dorostorum* in *Mœsia*, and on the thirty-first of *January* of the ensuing year 368. at *Marcianopolis*[s], where, without all doubt, he passed the winter. This year the *Isaurians*, who had continued quiet ever since the year 359. over ran the neighbouring countries, plundering not only villages, but towns, and advancing as far as *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia*, where they amassed an immense booty. *Musonius*, vicar of *Asia*, endeavoured to restrain them; but, as he was quite unacquainted with the art of war, he was cut in pieces, with all his men. *Musonius* had taught rhetoric at *Athens*, from which employment he was raised to the dignity of proconsul of *Achaia*, and afterwards to that of vicar of *Asia*. However, the *Isaurians* were in the end surrounded by the inhabitants of the countries which they had plundered, and, their retreat being cut off, obliged to submit, and quit the booty they had taken. Their lives were spared, upon their promising to give no molestation to their neighbours for the future; and accordingly they kept their word till the year 376. that is, for the space of ten years[t]. *Germanicopolis* was their chief city, and in the fifth century an episcopal see; but not at this time, for a bishop could find no employment among persons who were robbers by profession. The following year 368. *Valens* was still at *Marcianopolis* on the ninth of *March*[u], and heard there his panegyric pronounced by *Themistius*, upon his entering the fifth year of his reign. The orator mentions in his speech an eastern prince, who had quitted the dominions of his father, tho' very considerable, to have the honour of serving under *Valens*[w]. Some writers conjecture this prince to have been *Para*, the son of *Arsaces* king of *Armenia*, who came to implore the assistance of *Valens* against the *Persians*, and continued some time at *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*; but he cannot be said to have served under *Valens*. One *Bacurus*, stiled king of *Iberia*, served under *Valens* at the battle of *Adrianople*[x], as he did afterwards under *Theodosius*[y]; and him perhaps *Themistius* meant. From *Marcianopolis* the emperor marched early in the spring to *Carpi*, a village, as is supposed, of *Mœsia*, with a design to ravage, as he had done the year before, the enemy's country: but he was obliged to remain encamped in the same place till the beginning of autumn, without ever being able to cross the *Danube*, which continued swelled beyond measure all that summer. He therefore returned to *Marcianopolis*,

He is baptized by the Arians.

He passes the Danube, *and lays waste the country of the* Goths.

Great disorders committed by the Isaurian *robbers.*

[p] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 79. [q] Ammian. p. 340. [r] Zos. p. 741. [s] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 80. 81. [t] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 348, 349. Eunap. c. 8. p. 125. 126. [u] Cod Theod. chron. p. 81. [w] Themist. orat. viii. p. 433. [x] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 460. [y] Ruf. l. i. c. 10. p. 166.

polis, where he took up his winter-quarters [z]. One of his laws is dated from that place the twelfth of *November*, and another the thirteenth of *December* [a]. This year is remarkable for one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes that had ever been felt, by which the city of *Nice* was utterly ruined, and in that of *Germa* on the *Helleſpont* only a few houſes left ſtanding [b]. The following year 369 the emperor was ſtill at *Marcianopolis* on the third of *May*; but at *Noviodunum* in *Leſſer Scythia* on the third and fifth of *July* [c], where he paſſed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, and advanced far into the enemy's country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Zoſimus* tells us, that the *Goths* ſallying frequently out of the woods and marſhes upon the *Romans*, the emperor diſpatched againſt them the ſervants that attended the army, promiſing them a certain ſum for each head they ſhould bring. Hereupon ſuch numbers of the enemy were killed in the woods and marſhes where they lurked, that the reſt finding no-where a ſafe retreat, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace [d]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But *Ammianus*, whoſe authority is of greater weight, informs us, that *Valens*, having attacking the *Greuthungi*, a warlike nation at a conſiderable diſtance from the *Danube*, after ſeveral encounters, gained a great victory over *Athanaric*, who, at the head of a numerous army, had ventured to engage him. After this victory, *Valens* returned to *Marcianopolis*, with a deſign to winter there, and renew the war early in the ſpring. But, in the mean while, the *Goths*, weary of ſo deſtructive a war, which had laſted already three years, and reduced them to the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which *Valens* at firſt refuſed to grant them upon any terms, but was in the end, with much-ado, prevailed upon by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople* to hearken to their propoſals. Thus *Themiſtius*, who was at the head of the *Conſtantinopolitan* deputies [f]. *Valens*, having at their requeſt diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with a favourable anſwer, approached the *Danube*, and named *Victor* and *Arintheus* to treat with the *Goths*. After ſome conferences, a peace was concluded upon the following terms, highly honourable for the *Romans*; *viz.* 1. That the *Goths* ſhould not for the future paſs the *Danube*, nor ſet foot on the *Roman* territories. 2. That the trade which they had been allowed by former treaties to carry on with what cities of the empire they pleaſed, ſhould be reſtrained to two only, ſituated on the *Danube*. 3. That they ſhould not for the future claim nor expect the penſions that they had been annually paid them by other emperors; but nevertheleſs, that *Athanaric*'s penſion ſhould be continued to him [g]. This was the firſt peace, concludes *Themiſtius* which the *Romans* had in our memory granted to, and not purchaſed of, the *Goths*. When *Valens* and *Athanaric* were to meet, in order to ratify and ſign the treaty, the latter could not be prevailed upon to paſs the *Danube*, pretending, that his father had obliged him ſolemnly to ſwear never to tread on *Roman* ground. On the other hand, *Valens*, thinking it below the majeſty of the empire to go to him, it was agreed, that the two princes ſhould meet in boats in the middle of the river; which they did accordingly, and ratified the peace to their mutual ſatisfaction [h]. *Themiſtius*, who was preſent at this interview, deſcribes it much at length, but more like an orator than an hiſtorian [i]. He pronounced his ſpeech in all likelihood at *Conſtantinople*, whither he retired after the concluſion of the treaty; for, according to the code, he was at *Marcianopolis* on the ſecond of *December*, and on the thirteenth of the ſame month at *Conſtantinople* [k]. This year, dreadful diſorders were committed in *Syria* by the inhabitants of a large village near *Apamea*, called *Maratacupris*, who, roving about the country, robbed all they met, and had even the boldneſs to enter ſome cities in the night-time, and plunder the houſes of the moſt wealthy inhabitants. Hereupon *Valens* ſent a party of ſoldiers againſt them, with orders to ſet fire to their village, and put them all to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age; which was done accordingly with the utmoſt rigor, the ſoldiers being in expreſs terms injoined not to ſpare even the ſucking children [l].

He invades anew the country of the Goths.

The Goths *defeated, ſue for peace, and obtain it.*

Articles of the treaty.

Severity of Valens to ſome robbers.

The following year 370. *Valens*, leaving *Conſtantinople*, ſet out for *Antioch*; but he had ſcarce reached *Nicomedia*, when he received news of the death of *Eudoxius*, the *Arian* biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in whoſe room the *Arians*, with his approbation, placed one *Demophilus*. The catholics too choſe their biſhop, and raiſed to that ſee *Evagrius*; but the emperor ſent a party of ſoldiers from *Nicomedia*, with orders to drive

[z] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 460. [a] Cod Theod. chron. p. 83. [b] Hier. chron. Socr. l. 4. c. 11. p. 219. [c] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 87. [d] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 741. [e] Ammian. p. 341. [f] Themiſt. orat. x. p. 133. [g] Idem. p. 135. [h] Ammian. p. 341, 342. [i] Themiſt. orat. x. p. 132, 133. [k] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 88. [l] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 367, 368.

drive him out. The *Arians*, thus countenanced by the emperor, raiſed a cruel perſecution againſt the catholics, who thereupon had recourſe to *Valens*, ſending eighty eccleſiaſtics to lay their grievances before him; but the emperor, inſtead of redreſſing them ordered *Modeſtus*, who had been raiſed this year to the dignity of prefect in the room of *Auxonius*, to put them all to death. *Modeſtus*, fearing the public executions of ſo many eccleſiaſtics might occaſion great diſturbances, put them all on board a veſſel, pretending the emperor had ordered them to be ſent into baniſhment; but when the veſſel was at ſome diſtance from land, the mariners ſet fire to it, as had been agreed on before-hand, ſaving themſelves in their boat. The ſhip was driven by a ſtrong wind into a harbour called by *Socrates*, *Dacidazus*, and there conſumed with all who were in it. This cruelty, ſays that writer, was puniſhed by heaven with a dreadful famine, which obliged moſt of the inhabitants of *Phrygia* to abandon their country, and fly to other provinces for relief [m]. Some unforeſeen accident muſt have diverted the emperor from his intended journey to *Antioch*; for he was, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, on the tenth of *June* at *Cyzicus*; on the twelfth of *December* of this year, and during the months of *January*, *February*, and *April* of the enſuing year at *Conſtantinople* [n]; which he left after the fifth of *May* [o], and ſet out for *Syria*, advancing ſlowly, and adminiſtering juſtice in all the cities through which he paſſed; which would have gained him the affection of the inhabitants, had he not at the ſame time made it his chief ſtudy to eſtabliſh every-where the hereſy of *Arius*, and betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to the catholics [p]. He paſſed the winter in *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, where, to his unſpeakable grief, his only ſon *Valentinian Galata* died. *Gregory Nazianzen* writes, that, during his malady, the emperor had recourſe to the prayers of St. *Baſil*, who was then at *Cæſarea*, and promiſed to reſtore the child to health, provided *Valens* would ſuffer him to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm at the hands of an orthodox biſhop; which condition he not agreeing to, but, on the contrary, ordering him to be baptized by the *Arians*, the young prince immediately died [q]. This year the emperor divided *Cappadocia* into two provinces, appointing *Tyana* the metropolis of *Cappadocia Secunda*, as *Cæſarea* was of *Cappadocia Prima*. At the ſame time he divided *Paleſtine* into three provinces, *Palæſtina Prima*, *Palæſtina Secunda*, and *Palæſtina Salutaris*. *Cæſarea* was the metropolis of the firſt, *Scythopholis* of the ſecond, and *Petra* of the third. The latter city, with the greateſt part of *Palæſtina Salutaris*, was diſmembered from *Arabia*, as were ſeveral cities in the two other provinces from *Phœnicia*. The governor of *Palæſtina Prima* was honoured with the title of *conſular*; but thoſe of the other two was only ſtyled *preſidents* [r]. At what time *Lycania*, which had *Iconium* for its metropolis, was made a ſeperate province, and thoſe of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia* divided into two, and *Arabia* into three, we will not take upon us to determine. Theſe diviſions of provinces proved very burdenſome to the people, and raiſed quarrels and diſputes among the metropolitan biſhops, as appears from the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians, and the letters of St. *Baſil*.

Valens *cauſes eighty orthodox eccleſiaſtics to be put to death.*

Valentinian, *his only ſon, dies.*

Cappadocia *divided into two provinces, and* Paleſtine *into three.*

THE following year 372. *Valens* left *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* early in the ſpring; for he was at *Seleucia* on the fourth of *April*, and on the thirteenth of the ſame month at *Antioch* [s]. Soon after his arrival in that city, *Libanius* pronounced in his preſence part of the ſpeech compoſed in his praiſe, the other part, as it was exceeding long, being put off to another time. The emperor heard him with great pleaſure, if the orator himſelf is to be credited; but the remaining part of his ſpeech was never pronounced [t]. *Valens* was come to *Antioch* to watch the motions of the *Perſians*; for *Sapor* laying claim to *Armenia*, which had formerly belonged to the kings of *Perſia*, but not caring openly to invade it, leſt the *Romans* ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of their allies, after having attempted in vain to allure the nobility over to his party, pretending great friendſhip for *Arſaces* their king, he invited him to a banquet, during which he ordered the unwary prince to be ſeized, and, having put out his eyes, ſent him in chains to a caſtle, called *Agabana*, where he was ſoon after put to death [u]. This in all likelihod is what gave occaſion to the long account we read in *Procopius* of the captivity of *Arſaces* king of *Armenia*, taken priſoner by one *Pacurus* king of *Perſia* [w]; an account which has all the air of a romance. *Sapor*, having thus treacherouſly

Sapor *begins new troubles in* Armenia *and* Iberia.

[m] SOCR. l. iv. c. 15, p. 226. [n] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 87—89. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Zos. l. iv. p. 742. [q] GERG. NAZ. orat. xx. p. 351. [r] HIER. quæſt. Hebr. p. 212. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 171. notit. c. 1. p. 3. NORIS, epoch. p. 401, 402 [s] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91. [t] Liban. vit. p. 48. [u] AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 300. & l. xxvii. p. 353. [w] PROCOP. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 5. p. 15—17.

a cherously dispatched *Arsaces*, gave the government of *Armenia* to *Cylax* and *Artabans*, both natives of the country, but inviolably attached to his interest. Then, driving out *Sauromaces*, whom the *Romans* had created king of *Iberia*, he put one *Aspacuras* in his place, cousin-german to *Sauromaces*, honouring him with a diadem, which the *Romans* had refused to the other [x]. *Olympias*, the daughter of *Ablavius*, one of *Constantine*'s chief officers, and given by that prince in marriage to *Arsaces*, was no sooner informed of the captivity of her husband, than she took refuge with her son *Paras* in a strong fort called *Artogerassa*, where the king's treasures were lodged. *Cylax* and *Artabanes* were immediately ordered by *Sapor* to lay siege to the place; which they did accordingly: but pitying the forlorn condition of the queen and the young prince,
b they agreed with the besieged to abandon the *Persians* to their fury; who were accordingly almost all to a man cut off in a sally made by agreement in the night-time, while the guards themselves in the camp were asleep, *Cylax* and *Artabanes* having given out, that the besieged had demanded and obtained a truce for two days, in order to consider on the terms that had been offered them. The queen, thus delivered from the present danger, sent her son *Paras* to implore the assistance of the emperor, who caused him to be entertained for some time at *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*, in a manner suitable to his rank and condition. However, not daring to assist him openly, at the request of the nobility of *Armenia*, he charged *Terentius*, who commanded on the border of that country, with the title of *comes* or count, to conduct him into his
c father's kingdom, which he suffered him to govern, but without the title of king, or any of the ensigns of royalty, lest the *Persians* should look upon his appointing him king as a breach of the peace. *Sapor* was no sooner informed of what had passed in *Armenia*, than, transported with rage, he sent a strong body of troops into that kingdom, who, committing every-where dreadful ravages, obliged *Paras*, no-ways in a condition to oppose them, to take refuge, with *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, among the inaccessible mountains between the *Roman* territories and *Lazica*. The *Persians* in the mean time, after having taken and burnt several strong-holds, sat down at length before *Artogerassa*, which, after several attacks, they took and destroyed, carrying away with them the wife and treasures of *Arsaces*. *Sapor*, finding he could not get
d *Paras* into his power, had recourse to his usual artifices, in which he seldom miscarried; and by private messages to the young prince, whose cause he promised to espouse, prevailed upon him to cut off the heads of *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, who, he said, were rather his governors than ministers, and sent them to him into *Persia* [y]. *Valens*, who had hitherto declined sending troops into *Armenia*, lest he should be charged with a breach of the peace, was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he ordered *Arintheus*, one of the best commanders of his age, with a powerful army, into that kingdom, which by that means was preserved, the *Persians* not daring to send more troops thither, through fear of being overpowered by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Sapor* dispatched embassadors to *Valens*, complaining of his send-
e ing troops to the assistance of the *Armenians*, which, he said, was a manifest breach of the treaty concluded between him and *Jovian*. *Valens*, without regarding the complaints of the *Persian* king, sent a new reinforcement of troops to *Arintheus*, and at the same time dispatched *Terentius*, with twelve legions, into *Iberia*, to restore *Sauromaces*, driven out of his kingdom by the *Persians*. *Terentius* was met, as he drew near the river *Cyrus*, by embassadors from *Aspacuras*, whom the *Persians* had created king of *Iberia*, desiring, that he and his kinsman *Sauromaces* might reign jointly, since he could neither resign, nor take part with the *Romans*, by reason his son was detained as an hostage in the *Persian* court. The emperor, being acquainted with his proposal, and willing to settle the affairs of *Iberia* without bloodshed, consented
f to a partition of the country, assigning to *Sauromaces* that part which lay south of the river *Cyrus*, and next to *Armenia* and *Lazica*, and the remainder, bordering upon *Albania* and *Persia*, to *Aspacuras* [z]. This highly incensed *Sapor*, who loudly complained, that the *Romans*, contrary to the treaty of peace, had sent troops into *Armenia*, and, despising his embassy, had, without his knowledge or consent, divided *Iberia*. Being now resolved to make open war upon the *Romans*, he assembled his forces, concluded alliances with the neighbouring princes, and spent the winter of this year 372. in vast preparations. However, he could not, it seems, put himself in a condition to act this year; for we do not find, that he attempted any thing, or even appeared

He seizes and destroys several strong-holds in Armenia.

Valens *sends troops to the assistance of the* Armenians.

Iberia *divided into two kingdoms.*

[x] Ammian. p. 353—355. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem. p. 355. Themist. orat. xi. p. 143—149.

appeared in the field. As for *Valens*, he advanced to the banks of the *Euphrates* a and the *Tigris*; whence he returned in the latter end of autumn, without undertaking any thing which authors have thought worthy of notice. About this time a conſpiracy was, it ſeems, formed againſt *Valens*, but ſeaſonably diſcovered [a]; and this is all we find in hiſtory concerning it. The following year *Sapor* ſent a conſiderable army towards the borders of the *Roman* empire, where they were met by *Trajan*, an officer of great experience, and *Vadomarius*, formerly king of the *Alemans*, at the head of a numerous and choſen body of troops. The *Roman* generals had orders not to attack the *Perſians* the firſt, that the emperor might not be charged with a breach of the treaty; but the *Perſians* falling upon them, they gained a com- b

The Perſians *defeated.*

plete victory. However, *Valens* readily conſented to a truce; which was no ſooner concluded, than he returned to *Antioch*, and *Sapor* to *Cteſiphon*; for both princes had advanced as far as *Meſopotamia*, to ſupport their reſpective generals [b].

The following year, while *Valens* was paſſing the winter at *Antioch*, many of all ranks and conditions were accuſed of attempting to learn, by magical practices, and forbidden arts, the name of the perſon who was to ſucceed *Valens* in the empire. Some of them owned the crime laid to their charge, and declared, that *Theodorus*, the emperor's ſecond ſecretary, was the man whom the ſtars ſeemed to have deſtined to the empire. *Theodorus* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family in *Gaul*, or, as others will have it, in *Sicily*, endowed with extraordinary accompliſhments, and in every reſpect worthy of the empire, if he had not had the ambition of aſpiring at it, c and endeavouring to raiſe himſelf, by unlawful means, to that high ſtation [c]; for all authors agree, that he was privy to the execrable practices of the magicians. *Ammianus*, who, it ſeems, was then at *Antioch*, or at leaſt in that neighbourhood, gives us a very particular and diſtinct account of what paſſed on that occaſion, which it would be too tedious to tranſcribe. *Theodorus* was found guilty, not only of magical practices, which were forbidden on pain of death, but of having conſpired with others to take away the emperor's life; whereupon he was beheaded, as we read in *Ammianus* [d], whoſe authority is of more weight with us than that of *Sozomen*, who writes, that he was burnt alive [e]. As *Theodorus*, and the others concerned in this conſpiracy, were pagans, *Libanius* endeavours to extenuate their crime; nay, d he is not aſhamed to tell us, that *Theodorus* was condemned unjuſtly [f], though both *Zoſimus* [g] and *Ammianus* [h] own, that he aſpired at the empire; that by his own letters he was convicted of treaſon; and that the emperor narrowly eſcaped being aſſaſſinated. No one would have complained, if only *Theodorus* and his accomplices had ſuffered; but innumerable innocent perſons were, on that occaſion, inhumanly racked, and afterwards either executed, or ſent into baniſhment: a diligent ſearch was made, not only after thoſe who had been privy to the conſpiracy, but after ſuch as were only ſuſpected of practiſing magic, or uſing magical remedies. Such numbers were daily accuſed and ſeized, that the public priſons could no longer contain them, and few of thoſe who were apprehended, had the good luck to eſcape e death or baniſhment. *Diogenes*, formerly governor of *Bythynia*, was publickly executed; and *Salia*, treaſurer of *Thrace*, fell down dead at the officer's feet who was to examine him, overcome, as was ſuppoſed, by an apprehenſion of the torture he was to undergo [i]. *Baſſianus*, whom ſome writers ſuppoſe to have been the ſon of *Baſianus Cæſar*, brother-in-law to *Conſtantine the Great* [k], was ſaved by the powerful interceſſion of his relations, who were all perſons of great diſtinction; but ſtript of his eſtate, and all his effects. The two brothers *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*, brothers-in-law to *Conſtantius*, who had been conſuls in 359, were accuſed of having aſpired at the empire; and tho' the charge could not be proved, yet they were baniſhed, f and condemned to pay a great fine, but ſoon after recalled with great honour [l]. *Eutropius*, proconſul of *Aſia*, was accuſed of having been privy to the conſpiracy of *Theodorus*; but the philoſopher *Paſiphilus*, who was brought as an evidence againſt him, having ſuffered all the torments cruelty itſelf could invent, without laying any thing to his charge, he was diſmiſſed, but deprived of his employment, which was given to *Feſtus* the hiſtorian, who diſcharged it for the ſpace of five years with the utmoſt cruelty. *Alypius*, formerly vicar of *Britain*, and employed by *Julian*

The conſpiracy of Theodorus.

Who is beheaded.

Many innocent perſons put to death.

[a] Themist. or. xi. p. 148. [b] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 383. [c] Ammian. ibid. Sozom. l. vi. c. 35. p. 229. [d] Ammian. p. 389. [e] Sozom. p. 694. [f] Liban. vit. p. 69. [g] Zos. p. 743. [h] Ammian. ibid. [i] Idem, p. 390. [k] Cange Byz. fam. [l] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 392.

a *Julian* in rebuilding the temple of *Jeruſalem*, was accuſed with his ſon *Hierocles*, the diſciple of *Libanius*, as a poiſoner; the father was ſtript of his eſtate, and baniſhed; and the ſon condemned to death, but ſaved, as *Ammianus* writes, without explaining himſelf any farther, by a favourable accident [m]. But the moſt rigorous inquiries were made after the pagan philoſophers, who were, generally ſpeaking, addicted to the ſtudy of magic. The moſt conſiderable among them were publickly executed, *viz.* *Hilarius*, who was burnt alive, *Patricius*, *Andronicus*, and *Cæranius*: *Maximus*, the famous maſter of *Julian*, was carried to *Antioch* to be examined there, and afterwards ſent back to *Epheſus*, where *Feſtus* ordered his head to be cut off, tho' he was then ſo ill, that he muſt have ended his life in a few days, without the interb vention of the executioner [n]. *Zonaras* writes, that the philoſopher *Iamblichus*, by a draught of poiſon, prevented his falling into the emperor's hands [o]. *Valens* expected, and greatly deſired, to find *Libanius* in the number of the guilty; but nothing was alledged againſt him, though, as to magical practices, he was, as he himſelf owns, not free from all guilt; but as to the conſpiracy of *Theodorus*, he ſolemnly proteſts, that he was altogether a ſtranger to it [p]. A diligent ſearch was made, not only after magicians, but after all books treating of magic, which, where-ever diſcovered, were committed to the flames, with thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſion they were found. Theſe inquiries extended to all the provinces ſubject to *Valens*; and from the moſt remote parts were daily brought to *Antioch* numbers of people to be tried as magicians, becauſe books of magic had been found in their cuſtody. *Ammianus* tells us, that c the officers themſelves, out of ſpite or malice, often conveyed privately among the other writings, ſome charm or inchantment; upon which the perſons, to whom they were ſuppoſed to belong, were immediately ſeized and condemned, and their eſtates confiſcated. Hereupon perſons of all ranks were ſeized with ſuch dread and terror, that they burnt their libraries, leſt, amongſt their other books, any ſhould be found unknown to them, treating of forbidden arts. On this occaſion *Feſtus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the other miniſters of the emperor's cruelty, torturing with the utmoſt inhumanity, and putting to death, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, ſuch as were convicted or only ſuſpected of having uſed any kind of charms or inchantments: he tortured the philoſopher *Cæranius* till he expired, d for no other crime but becauſe in a private letter to his wife he had uſed a proverbial expreſſion, which looked like a charm: he put to death a woman for pretending to cure agues by a charm, tho' ſhe had before been ſent for, with his knowledge and conſent, to cure his own daughter, and had been, as we are told, attended therein with ſucceſs: a young man being obſerved in a public bath to touch the marble with the fingers of both his hands, the one after the other, and then putting them to his breaſt, to repeat the ſeven vowels, which he fancied was a preſent remedy againſt a pain in the ſtomach, *Feſtus* cauſed him to be immediately ſeized, tortured, and executed [q]. At *Antioch*, a perſon being accuſed of having written a book of magic, found an opportunity of throwing it into the river before he was apprehended: e but this did not ſave him; for though the book could not be produced againſt him, yet he was, after a ſhort hearing, condemned and publicly executed. A few days after, St. *Chryſoſtom*, who relates this, and was then a youth, going with a companion to viſit a church in the neighbourhood, found the book on the ſtrand: his companion, not knowing what it contained, took it up, and, led by his curioſity, began to read it aloud, when they both perceived it was a book of magic, and at the ſame time obſerved, not without dread and horror, a ſoldier at a ſmall diſtance, ſo that they neither dared tear it, nor throw it again, as they had deſigned at firſt, into the river, leſt the ſoldier ſhould ſuſpect and ſeize them. However, *Chryſoſtom*'s companion concealing the book with great care under his garments, they f had both the good luck to eſcape without being ſearched, tho' every ſoldier was impowered to ſearch all he met for books of magic and charms. Had the book been diſcovered, they muſt both have inevitably periſhed; but they found means of throwing it again into the river, without being obſerved [r]. *Socrates* writes, that an oracle having anſwered thoſe, who came to inquire who ſhould ſucceed *Valens*, that the firſt part of his name was *Theod*, the emperor, acquainted with that anſwer, cauſed not only *Theodorus* to be put to death, but all thoſe whoſe names began with thoſe

Maximus *and other philoſophers put to death.*

Feſtus *practiſes great cruelties in* Aſia.

St. Chryſoſtom *in danger.*

[m] Idem, p. 390. [n] Idem ibid. Eunap. c. 5. p. 88, 89. [o] Zonar. p. 28. [p] Lib. vit. p. 56, 57. [q] Ammian. ibid. [r] Chrys. in Act. hom. xxxviii. p. 340.

thoſe letters, ſuch as *Theodulus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodoſius*, &c. among theſe was, according a
to that writer, one *Theodoſiolus* or *Theodoſius*, a *Spaniſh* lord of great diſtinction [s].
Ammianus and *Zoſimus* give us a very minute account of the other cruelties of *Valens*,
without taking the leaſt notice of this, which makes us queſtion the truth of what
Socrates writes. Be that as it will, the extraordinary ſeverity which *Valens* exerted
on this occaſion againſt magicians, aruſpices, aſtrologers, and diviners of all deno-
minations, is highly blamed, not only by the pagan, but even by the chriſtian
writers [t]. If *Valens* looked upon magic as a vain imagination, he ought not to
have been thus alarmed; if he gave credit to their predictions, he could not, with-
out being inconſiſtent with himſelf, ſtrive to prevent their being accompliſhed: and
truly, in ſpite of all his cruelties, he was ſucceeded by *Theodoſius*, whoſe name began b
with the letters, which, if *Socrates* is to be credited, he ſo much dreaded. This
fire, to uſe the expreſſion of *Libanius* [u], continued raging till the emperor was diverted
by another, which the *Goths* kindled three years after in *Thrace*. This year is like-
wiſe remarkable for the death of two princes, both treacherouſly murdered by the *Ro-
mans*, *viz.* of *Gabinius*, king of the *Quadi*, in the weſt; and of *Paras*, king of *Armenia*,
in the eaſt. Of the former we have ſpoken in the reign of *Valentinian*: as to the
latter, he had in ſome degree ſubmitted to the king of *Perſia*, as we have obſerved
above, but afterwards renewed, it ſeems, his alliance with the *Romans*, and was by
them acknowledged king, ſince *Ammianus* gives him that title; but ſeveral perſons, at
the head of whom was count *Terentius*, having tranſmitted to court diſadvantageous c
accounts of his conduct and adminiſtration, the emperor ſent for him, as if he deſigned
to adviſe with him about the proſecution of the *Perſian* war. Upon his arrival at
Tarſus in *Cilicia*, he was commanded to wait there till further orders; but being in the
mean time informed, that the emperor's deſign was to arreſt him, and ſend another
to be king of *Armenia* in his ſtead, he reſolved to make his eſcape, with the aſſiſt-
ance of three hundred of his own ſubjects, who perſuaded him to it, and privately
provided horſes for that purpoſe. They ſet out in the duſk of the evening; but were
ſoon purſued and overtaken by a whole legion, ſent on purpoſe to prevent their
eſcape. At their approach, *Paras* faced about, and charged them with ſuch reſo-
lution, that they made more haſte to fly from him, than they had done to overtake
him. After this he travelled night and day till he reached the *Euphrates*, which d
he paſſed upon barrels joined together, and purſued his journey with extraordinary
expedition. But in the mean time the emperor, having notice of his eſcape, diſ-
patched a thouſand archers, under the command of two principal officers, to bring
him back. Theſe being well acquainted with the country, to which *Paras* was
altogether a ſtranger, getting through by-ways before him, divided their forces,
and ſeized on two paſſes, three miles diſtant from each other, through one of which
they took for granted he would paſs. But being informed of his danger by a
traveller, and conducted by him through by-paths and thick woods, he eſcaped
the ambuſcade, and got ſafe to his dominions, where he was received with inex-
preſſible joy, while the *Roman* officers, who had long waited for him, were by all e
derided and ridiculed upon their diſappointment. This incenſed them to ſuch a
degree againſt *Paras*, that, in order to haſten his ruin, they made the credulous
emperor believe, that the young prince was a famous magician, and knew how to
conſume and waſte by degrees a man's body, though at never ſo great a diſtance.
This ſo alarmed the emperor, that though *Paras*, forgetting the late affront,
continued faithful to the *Romans*, yet his death was reſolved on, and orders ſent to
Trajan, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Armenia*, to diſpatch him by private
treachery, if he could not by open force. The manner which *Trajan* choſe to put
this baſe and inhuman command in execution, was no leſs baſe and inhuman, than
the command itſelf; for he having gained the young prince's confidence, by fre-
quenting his table, and producing counterfeit letters from *Valens*, filled with the moſt
tender expreſſions of kindneſs, prevailed upon him to accept of an entertainment at
his houſe, during which he cauſed him to be barbarouſly murdered by a ruffian hired
for that purpoſe [w]. The death of *Paras* gave great uneaſineſs to *Sapor*, who had
hoped to gain him over in the end to his intereſt. He was therefore no ſooner
informed of his misfortune, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Valens* with propoſals
for

Paras, *king of* Armenia, *detained at* Tarſus.

He makes his eſcape.

Is treacherouſly murdered.

[s] Socr. l. iv. c. 14. p. 229. [t] Soz. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694. Socr. l. iv. c. 15. p. 229. [u] Lib. vit. p. 58.
[w] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 412—415.

a for an accommodation. The remaining part of this year was ſpent in negotiations, but without ſucceſs, the emperor, who was then at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army, being deſirous of retrieving the glory of the *Roman* arms, and recovering the provinces given up by the treaty with *Jovian*. But in the mean time, *Thrace* being threatened with a general invaſion of the *Gothiſh* nation, he was obliged to conclude a peace with the *Perſians*, but upon what terms we know not. The following year, 375, *Valens* was alarmed by an embaſſy from the *Goths*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, deſired leave to ſettle in *Thrace*. But before we ſpeak of that embaſſy, and the memorable events attending it, we muſt take a curſory view of what happened in the weſt after the death of
b *Valentinian*, who, as we have related already, died at *Bregetio* on the ſeventeenth of *November* of this year. He left two ſons, *viz.* *Gratian*, born in 359, and by his father created emperor on the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt* 367, and *Valentinian* born in 371. As *Gratian* was at a great diſtance from the army when his father died, having been left, as we have obſerved above, at *Treves*, the great officers of the court, uncertain what ſuch an extraordinary and unexpected accident might produce, eſpecially among the *Gauls*, who ſerved in the army, and were then ravaging the country of the *Quadi* beyond the *Danube*, diſpatched a meſſenger with private intel-
c ligence of the emperor's death to *Merobaudes* their leader, who thereupon ſent immediately out of the way, purſuant to his inſtructions, count *Sebaſtian*, an officer greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, and then marched back to the camp at *Bregetio*. Upon his arrival, it was reſolved in a general council of all the chief officers both civil and military, that *Valentinian*, the ſecond ſon of the deceaſed emperor, then a child but four or five years old, ſhould be declared emperor. He was therefore ſent for without delay from a village, named *Murocincta*, about a hundred miles diſtant from *Bregetio*, and upon his arrival proclaimed emperor with the uſual ſolemnity the ſixth day after the death of his father. This ſtep they took to prevent any ſudden attack from the enemy, or mutiny in the army. They hoped, that *Gratian*, who was then but ſeventeen years old, and had already given proofs of an extraor-
d dinary mild temper and an uncommon underſtanding, would acquieſce to the motives, which had induced them to prefer his brother to the empire without his knowledge or conſent. *Gratian* at firſt complained of their taking ſuch an extraordinary ſtep before they had made him privy to it, but immediately confirmed their election, and ever after treated young *Valentinian* more like his child than his brother [x]. *Victor* [y] and *Zoſimus* [z] will have *Equitius* and *Merobaudes* to have been the chief authors of this election, which by *Rufinus* is aſcribed to *Probus* [a]. *Merobaudes* was, according to *Victor*, related to young *Valentinian*, probably by marriage; for he ſeems, ſo far as we can conjecture from his name, to have been a barbarian. The election being confirmed by *Gratian*, and ſoon after by *Valens*, the weſtern provinces were divided between the two brothers: young *Valentinian* had for his ſhare *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and
e *Africa*; and *Gratian*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. This diviſion was made, not by *Gratian*, who was yet too young, as *Zoſimus* pretends [b], but by the great officers of the court. As they did not therein conſult *Valens*, ſome miſunderſtanding aroſe between that prince and his nephew [c]. Notwithſtanding this partition, *Gratian* alone governed the weſtern provinces to his death, *Valentinian* not having been capable of acting on account of his age, ſo long as *Gratian* lived. The firſt thing *Gratian* did, after the death of his father and the promotion of his brother, was to recal to court his mother *Severa*, who had been divorced and baniſhed by *Valentinian*, and reſtored her to her former honours [d].

Gratian *ſucceeds his father* Valentinian.

Valentinian II. *proclaimed emperor by the officers of the army.*

Gratian *confirms their election.*

f THE following year, 376, *Valens* was conſul the fifth time, and young *Valentinian* the firſt. This year *Gratian*, being informed of the unheard-of cruelties practiſed by the famous *Maximinus* both in *Italy* and *Gaul*, cauſed him to be publicly executed; and named one *Antonius*, prefect of *Gaul*, in his room. *Simplicius*, who had been vicar of *Rome* in 574, and *Doryphorianus*, who had ſucceeded him in that office, underwent the ſame fate, being accuſed of the like crimes: the former was beheaded in *Illyricum*, and the latter put to a cruel death, at the inſtigation of *Severa*, ſays *Ammianus*, in *Gaul*, whither he was conveyed from the *Tullian* priſon in *Rome* [e].

Maximinus *and his accomplices put to death.*

As

[x] AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 433, 434. Zos. l. iv. p. 746. SOCR. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249. [y] VICT. epit. Alex. p. 704. [z] Zos. ibid. [a] RUF. l. ii. c. ii. c. 12. p. 184. [b] Zos. ibid. [c] EUNAP. legat. p. 19. [d] Chron. AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 366. [e] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 357.

As theſe three cruel and bloody magiſtrates had, with the utmoſt injuſtice, put a great number of ſenators to death, *Gratian*, by a declaration publiſhed this year, eſtabliſhed the method of trying ſenators [f], which was read by *Symmachus* in the ſenate on the thirteenth of *Auguſt* [g]. To the above-mentioned executions St. *Jerom* no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that this year ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were executed [h]. *Maximinus*, *Simplicius*, and *Doryphorianus*, had long deſerved the doom which at length overtook them, and died unlamented; but the death of the renowned count *Theodoſius*, one of the greateſt officers and beſt men of his age, is a ſtain on the character of *Gratian* never to be effaced. Of his glorious exploits in *Britain* and *Africa*, we have ſpoken at length in the reign of *Valentinian*; but notwithſtanding the eminent ſervices he had rendered the empire, he was this year by an order from court beheaded at *Carthage*, after he had triumphed over *Firmus*, and with his prudence and induſtry reſtored *Africa* to its former tranquillity. His death was owing, if St. *Jerom* [i], *Oroſius* [k], and St. *Ambroſe* [l], are to be credited, to the malicious ſuggeſtions of certain perſons at court, who, envying him the mighty reputation he had deſervedly acquired, filled the young prince's mind with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, and by that means compaſſed the ruin of a perſon worthy, both for his valour and unblemiſhed conduct, of the greateſt honours the emperor could confer upon him. He was, at his earneſt requeſt, baptized juſt before he died; ſo that his death was no leſs exemplary, than his life had been glorious [m]. *Socrates* writes, as we have obſerved above, that, on occaſion of the conſpiracy of *Theodorus*, all thoſe were by *Valens* put to death, whoſe names began with *Theod*; and among the reſt of the names one *Theodoſiolus*, who was, ſays he, a man of great courage, and deſcended from an illuſtrious family in *Spain*, meaning perhaps count *Theodoſius*; at leaſt *Baronius* [n], *Jornandes* [o], who, for the moſt part follows *Socrates*, and *Flechier*, in his life of the emperor *Theodoſius*, are of that opinion. But *Theodoſius* was put to death at *Carthage*, and not in the eaſt, where *Valens* reigned. Beſides, we cannot help looking upon the whole account of *Socrates* as a fable, to which he too eaſily gave credit, ſince neither *Ammianus* nor *Zoſimus*, who ſeem to take particular pleaſure in diſplaying the cruelties of *Valens*, make no mention of ſuch a remarkable piece of cruelty as his putting ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to death merely for the ſake of their names. *Sozomen* indeed ſpeaks of it, but as of a thing that was reported, perhaps becauſe he had read it in *Socrates* [p]. Be that as it will, ſtatues, and other extraordinary honours, were decreed to *Theodoſius* ſome years after his death by the ſenate of *Rome*; and ſeveral inſcriptions, ſetting forth his virtues and exploits, have reached our times [q]. His ſon, named likewiſe *Theodoſius*, who being duke of *Mœſia* in 374. had, with a courage and conduct above his years, defended that province againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, as we have related above, was obliged to yield to the ſtorm, and retire to *Spain*, his native country, where he lived in a kind of exile, till he was recalled by *Gratian*, and raiſed to the empire. As *Ammianus* takes no notice of theſe remarkable executions, we cannot help thinking there is a chaſm in this part of his hiſtory, the more becauſe he had promiſed elſewhere [r] to ſpeak in a more proper place of the death of *Maximinus* and his accomplices, of which, however, no mention is made in ſuch of his books as have reached us; nay, we find nothing in them relating to the weſtern provinces, from the death of *Valentinian* I. that is, from the year 375, to 378. This year *Valens* ſent the celebrated philoſopher *Themiſtius*, with the character of embaſſador, to *Gratian*, then in *Gaul*; but what was the ſubject of his embaſſy, we know not. The philoſopher, on his return to the eaſt, came to *Rome*, complying therein with the requeſt of *Gratian*, deſiring the *Romans* might have the pleaſure and honour of ſeeing ſo great a man [s]. It was at *Rome*, and before the ſenate of that great metropolis, that *Themiſtius* pronounced an oration altogether unworthy of a philoſopher, nay, of any perſon who pretended to the leaſt gravity [t]. However, he beſtows great encomiums upon *Gratian*; extols his liberality and generous temper; and obſerves, among other things, that the avaricious and cruel exactors of the old debts due to the exchequer were in the utmoſt confuſion, becauſe the inſtruments of their malice and cruelty had, by the

The celebrated count Theodoſius *unjuſtly put to death.*

Young Theodoſius *retires to his native country.*

[f] Cod. Theodoſ. p. 96. [g] SYMM. l. x. ep. 2. p. 390, 391. [h] HIER. in chron. [i] HIER. chron. [k] OROS. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. [l] AMBROS. div. 3. p. 125. [m] OROS. ibid. [n] BARON. ad ann. 370. [o] JOR. de reg. ſucc. c. 40. p. 652. [p] Soz. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694. [q] Vide REIN. p. 326. GRUTER. p. 412. [r] AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 366. [s] THEMIST. or. xiii. p. 163—168. [t] Idem ibid. p. 178.

a the prince's order being conſumed in the flames [u], alluding, no doubt, to what we read in *Auſonius*, *viz.* that *Gratian* remitted whatever was due to the exchequer at the time of his father's death, and cauſed all the papers relating thereunto to be burnt throughout the provinces that were ſubject to him [w]. *Themiſtius* writes, that he found *Gratian* not far from the ocean [x]; that is, in *Gaul*; for he was, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, during the months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *September*, at *Treves*; and we have no proof of his being elſewhere this year. By a law dated from *Treves* the twenty-third of *May*, he raiſes the ſalaries of all public profeſſors in the metropolitan cities of *Gaul*, eſpecially in the moſt illuſtrious city of *Treves*, as it is ſtyled [y]. From this law ſome pretend to infer, that *Spain* and *Britain* were at this b time governed, not by vicars, but proconſuls, independent of the prefect of *Gaul*. However that be, it is certain, that vicars were ſoon after re-eſtabliſhed in both provinces. By another law dated the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, which was an anſwer to *Artemius* vicar of *Spain* and ſeveral biſhops, the emperor declares, that religious matters ought to be judged and decided on the ſpot by a ſynod of the dioceſe. By a dioceſe is meant the diſtrict within the juriſdiction of a vicar. By a third law, addreſſed to *Nitentius*, *Gratian* forbids all heretics, eſpecially the *Donatiſts*, to hold aſſembles; and commands the places where they ſhall aſſemble to be confiſcated, except the churches, which he orders to be reſtored to the catholics [z]. From ſeveral monuments of this year, it appears, that the emperor allowed more liberty to c the pagans, than to the *Donatiſts*, *Arians*, and other heretics.

An inſtance of Gratian's *generoſity.*

Heretical laws againſt heretics.

While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, a dreadful ſtorm was raiſed in the eaſt by the *Hunns*, a nation till this time quite unknown to the *Romans*. They dwelt on the eaſt ſide of the *Palus Mæotis*, now the ſea of *Zabache*, and were near neighbours to the *Goths*, as *Sozomen* ſtyles them [a], or rather to the *Alans*, who inhabited the country bordering on the oppoſite ſide of that marſh, which both nations looked upon as a deep ſea, and were therefore altogether unacquainted with each other, till a hind, purſued by ſome hunters, or, as others will have it, an ox ſtung by a gad-fly, having paſſed the marſh, ſome *Hunns* followed their guide to the oppoſite ſide, where they diſcovered a country far more agreeable and fruitful than their own [b]. What d we find concerning the *Hunns* in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the moſt ancient author that ſpeaks of them, and moſt worthy of credit, is, that they firſt broke into the country of the *Alans*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, the boundary between *Europe* and *Aſia*; and having obliged that nation to enter into an alliance with them, they fell, thus re-enforced, upon the *Goths*, called by *Ammianus*, *Greuthongi*, and by *Jornandes*, *Oſtrogoths*, and ſpread every-where ſuch terror among them, that *Ermenric*, or, as *Jornandes* calls him, *Ermanaric*, their king, tho' a martial prince, laid violent hands on himſelf, to avoid by that means the dreadful calamities that threatened him. The *Hunns* were headed, according to *Jornandes*, by one *Balamir*, by him ſtyled king, probably becauſe he was the moſt powerful man of their nation; for, e according to *Ammianus*, they had no kings, but ſeveral chiefs, whoſe authority was very precarious [c]. *Vithimir*, created king of the *Greuthongi* or *Oſtrogoths*, in the room of *Ermenric*, attempted to make head againſt the *Hunns*; but was killed in a battle. *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, governors to his ſon *Vitheric*, apprehending all their efforts would prove unſucceſsful againſt the numerous and formidable forces of the enemy, abandoned the country, and withdrew into the plains between the *Boryſthenes* and the *Danube*; that is into the preſent *Podolia*. *Athaniric*, king or chief of the *Thervingi*, who had aſſiſted *Procopius* in his late uſurpation, reſolved to ſtand upon his guard, and prepared for a vigorous defence; but the *Hunns*, falling upon him before he had the leaſt notice of their approach, obliged him to retire in diſorder, after he had loſt f great numbers of his men. As the enemy, overloaded with booty, purſued him but ſlowly, he improved the ſhort reſpite they allowed him, in fortifying himſelf by a wall, which he carried through the country of the *Taifali* from the *Geraſus*, or the *Pruth*, to the *Danube* [d]. The other *Goths*, who had the good luck to eſcape the dreadful havock which the *Hunns* made of their nation, found no other recourſe, but to abandon their country, and ſave themſelves within the *Roman* dominions. They therefore approached the banks of the *Danube*, to the number of two hundred thouſand men,

The Goths *driven out of their country by the* Hunns.

[u] Idem ibid. p. 175. [w] Auson. ad Grat. proconſ. p. 406, 407. [x] Themist orat. xiii. p. 163: [y] Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 11. p. 39, 40. [z] Idem, tit. 6. p. 224, 225. [a] Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 696. [b] Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 644. [c] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 435—440. Jorn. ibid. p. 645. [d] Ammian. p. 440, 441.

men, moſt of them the ſubjects of king *Athanaric*, and thoſe whom *Jornandes* calls *Viſigoths*. From thence they diſpatched embaſſadors to *Valens*, who was then at *Antioch*, begging, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to be admitted into *Thrace*, where they promiſed to live peaceably, and to ſerve, whenever called upon, in the *Roman* armies [e]. At the head of this embaſſy was their biſhop *Ulphilas*, who, on this occaſion, out of complaiſance to *Valens*, became a proſelyte to the doctrine of *Arius*, and infected with the tenets of that hereſiarch, not only ſuch of his nation as already profeſſed the chriſtian religion, but thoſe too who promiſed to embrace it, provided proper perſons were ſent to inſtruct them [f]. The demand of the *Goths* occaſioned great debates in a grand council held at court ſoon after the arrival of their embaſſadors; but *Valens* in the end reſolved to grant them their requeſt, ſeveral ſycophants about him flattering him, and extolling his good fortune, which had unexpectedly brought him a perpetual ſupply of excellent ſoldiers, with which he could be furniſhed at his pleaſure, and by that means ſave the expence of new levies, to the great benefit of his treaſury; nay, their demand was thought ſo advantagious to the empire, that ſome *Roman* officers having cut off a party of *Goths*, who attempted to paſs the *Danube* before the return of the embaſſadors, whom both their nation and the governor of *Thrace* had ſent to *Antioch*, they were caſhiered as good officers, but bad politicians [g]. *Valens*, upon the imaginary proſpect of the great advantages that would accrue to the empire from ſuch an increaſe of people, ordered them to be immediately tranſported, to be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, and lands to be aſſigned them to cultivate. He took, however, therein ſuch precautions, as would perhaps have prevented the diſturbances which ſoon followed, had they been duly obſerved; for, according to the inſtructions which he ſent to his officers and miniſters, the children were to paſs the firſt, and be ſent into *Aſia*, where they were to be kept as hoſtages; and as for the reſt, they were not to be ſuffered to land on the *Roman* ſide, till they had quitted their arms. But the heads of the nation, by preſenting the *Roman* officers with ſums of money, with beautiful women, and robuſt ſlaves, prevailed upon them to neglect both theſe orders [h]. Thus the *Goths*, in this year 376, abandoned to the *Huns* the country, in which they had dwelt for the ſpace of one hundred and fifty years. We are told, that great numbers of them were drowned in their paſſage, the river happening to be greatly ſwelled at that time [i]. *Ammianus* writes, that the *Roman* officers deſigned to have counted them as they paſſed, but could not by reaſon of their numbers, which that writer compares to the ſparks which at that very time iſſued out of mount *Ætna*, and to the ſands of the *Lybian* ſhore. They were under the conduct of *Alavivus* and *Fritigern*, who are ſtyled kings [k]. *Vitheric*, king of the *Greuthongi*, with his governors *Saphrax* and *Alatheus*, and another chief named *Farnobius*, being likewiſe driven out of their country by the *Huns* and the *Alans*, flocked in ſwarms to the banks of the *Danube*, and, encouraged by the reception which their countrymen had met with from *Valens*, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, begging, that they too might be admitted within the *Roman* dominions; but the emperor not thinking it conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate to comply with their requeſt, they continued for ſome time on the banks of the *Danube*, which they paſſed in the end, in ſpite of the *Romans*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. As for *Athanaric*, he retired with his people to a place defended by inacceſſible rocks, named *Caucalanda*, having driven from thence the *Sarmatians* and the *Taifali*. The latter people followed and joined the *Greuthongi*. A numerous body of *Goths* had been admitted ſome time before, on what occaſion we are no where told, and were at this time encamped in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, under the command of their two chiefs *Suerid* and *Colias*: perhaps *Valens* had ſent for them on occaſion of his intended expedition into *Perſia*; for *Ammianus* aſſures us, that he hired troops of the *Goths* [l]. The following year 377, when *Gratian* was conſul the fourth time, with *Merobaudes*, *Valens* was, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, at *Antioch* on the fourth of *April*; at *Hierapolis* on the fourth of *July* and the ninth of *Auguſt*; and again at *Antioch* on the twenty-fourth of *September*. The *Romans* ought in policy to have immediately led the *Goths* away from the *Danube*; for by that means they would have got them into their power, and, remaining maſters of the river, prevented their receiving any aſſiſtance from their countrymen, encamped in great numbers

They demand to be admitted into Thrace.

Valens *complies with their requeſt.*

They enter Thrace.

[e] Idem ibid. Jorv. c. 25: p. 646. legat. p. 19. Socr. l. iv, c. 34. p. 252.
[f] Soz. l. vi. c. 37. p. 679.
[g] Ammian. ibid. Eunap.
[h] Ammian. ibid.
[i] Idat. faſt.
[k] Ammian. p. 443.
[l] Idem, l. xxx. p. 416.

a bers on the oppoſite bank; but, inſtead of that, *Lupicinus* and *Maximus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, the former with the title of *count*, and the latter with that of *duke*, ſuffered them to continue long in that neighbourhoud, pretending ſcarcity of proviſions, in order to impoſe upon them, and oblige them to buy neceſſaries at extravagant rates. The *Goths*, thus pinched with hunger, and provoked by other outrages, began to mutiny; which *Lupicinus* perceiving, he ordered them to begin their march, and remove from the neighbourhood of the *Danube*, charging the ſoldiers who guarded the banks of the *Danube*, to drive them on, and take care that they committed no diſorders in the countries through which they paſſed. The *Greuthongi*, finding the banks of the river unguarded, laid hold of that opportunity to paſs it, following at
b ſome diſtance *Fritigern* and *Ablavivus*, who were advancing at the head of the *Thervingi* to *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Lower Mæſia*. Upon their arrival in then eighbourhood of that city, *Lupicinus*, who reſided there, invited the two chiefs to a banquet; but at the ſame time placed guards at the gates, to prevent their troops from entering the city, tho' they deſired to be admitted as friends, only to buy the neceſſary proviſions, of which they ſtood in great need. Hereupon the *Thervingi*, who were in a ſtarving condition, falling upon the guards, cut moſt of them in pieces; which *Lupicinus* no ſooner heard, than, by way of retaliation, he commanded the attendants of the two chiefs to be aſſaſſinated in the height of their mirth. The *Thervingi* without the walls, provoked at the treachety and cruelty of the governor,
c vowed revenge; but nevertheleſs wiſely forbore for the preſent all hoſtilities, and diſſembled their juſt reſentment, leſt the *Romans* ſhould offer any affront to their chiefs, or detain them as hoſtages. This *Fritigern* himſelf apprehended, and therefore begged leave of *Lupicinus* to go with *Ablavivus*, and ſhew himſelf to his men, who were ready to mutiny, upon a falſe report, that they had both been killed with the reſt. *Lupicinus*, who by this time was ſo intoxicated with wine, that he knew not what he did, complied with his requeſt; and the two chiefs, being received with great joy by their countrymen, immediately mounted their horſes, declared themſelves enemies, and began to plunder the open country. *Lupicinus* marched out againſt them the next day, with the few troops he had with him; but the *Goths*,
d falling upon him with great reſolution and intrepidity, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged him to fly back into the city. We have obſerved above, that a conſiderable body of *Goths* was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. Theſe, upon the news of the revolt, and the victory gained by *Fritigern*, continued quiet in their camp, without betraying the leaſt inclination to join him; but when they received orders to paſs without delay over into the *Helleſpont*, and the chief magiſtrate of *Adrianople*, incenſed againſt them for ſome damage they had done at his country-ſeat, inſtead of ſupplying them with the neceſſary proviſions for their march, ordered the people of the country to fall upon them, they likewiſe began to mutiny, put to flight the diſorderly multitude that offered to attack them, and joining *Fritigern*,
e laid ſiege to *Adrianople*; but not being able to reduce it, they left a ſufficient force to block it up, and ravaged all *Thrace*, growing daily ſtronger by the acceſſion of incredible numbers of *Gothiſh* ſlaves, flocking to them from all quarters; nay, many *Romans*, not able to pay the exorbitant taxes with which they were loaded and oppreſſed, took part with them, and it is not to be doubted, but *Vitheric* with his *Greuthongi* joined them ſoon after; for they too fought againſt the *Romans* in the memorable battle of *Adrianople*, of which hereafter. *Valens*, who was then at *Antioch*, watching the deſigns of the king of *Perſia*, upon the firſt notice of theſe dangerous commotions, diſpatched *Victor* to the *Perſian* court, with the character of embaſſador, charging him to conclude a peace with that king, upon the beſt terms he
f could obtain; and at the ſame time ordered the two generals, *Trajan* and *Profuturus*, to march with the utmoſt expedition againſt the *Goths*, at the head of the legions that were quartered in *Armenia*. *Gratian*, alarmed at the danger that threatened his uncle's dominions, ſent to his aſſiſtance *Richomeres*, with a conſiderable reinforcement out of *Gaul*; but the ſoldiers deſerted in great numbers, on their march, ſolicited to it, as was reported, by *Merobaudes*, who apprehended the barbarians might take advantage of their abſence to break into *Gaul*. As *Profuturus* and *Trajan* were commanders of more courage than conduct, inſtead of ſecuring the paſſes, and ſhutting up ſuch multitudes in the province of *Thrace*, where they muſt inevitably have ſoon periſhed with famine, they ventured to engage them at *Salices*, a city of *Leſſer Scythia*. The battle laſted from morning to night, both armies fighting with ſuch obſti-

The Goths, *provoked by the* Romans, *mutiny.*

Declare themſelves enemies, and plunder the country.

They are joined by a body of their countrymen encamped at Adrianople.

The battle of Salices.

nacy and reſolution, as can hardly be expreſſed. Victory continued doubtful to the a
laſt; but the *Romans* having, loſt more men in proportion to the ſmall number of their forces, thought it adviſeable to retire to *Marcianopolis*. Thus *Ammianus*, whom we have all along followed [m]. But *Theodoret* [n], St. *Jerom* [o], and *Oroſius* [p], write, that the *Romans* were defeated, and put to flight. This battle was fought in the latter end of the ſummer of this year 377. *Trajan* and *Profuturus* being afterwards reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops ſent by *Valens*, under the command of *Saturninus* general of the horſe, they attempted to ſhut up the enemy in certain narrow places, and intercept their proviſions; but the *Alans* and *Hunns* themſelves haſtening in great numbers to their relief, the *Romans* were obliged to retire, and ſuffer them to ravage and lay waſte all *Thrace*, without daring to oppoſe or moleſt them. b
At a place called *Dibaltum*, they fell upon a tribune, who was ſtationed there with his own legion and ſome other forces. As the tribune, by name *Barzimeres*, was an old experienced officer, he drew his men up in a cloſe body, and, endeavouring to make his way through the enemy's ſquadrons, cut great numbers of them in pieces; but was at length overpowered, and put to the ſword, with all his men [q]. Animated with this ſucceſs, they went in queſt of *Frigerid*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and had been ordered by *Gratian* to march from thence to the aſſiſtance of *Valens*. The *Goths*, under the command of *Farnobius*, met him near *Berea*, a city in *Thrace* properly ſo called, and attacked him with great reſolution. But *Frigerid*, who was an officer of great experience, tho' perhaps over-cautious, and ſilence by c
ſome reproached with timorouſneſs, ſtood his ground, and, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, killed their leader on the ſpot, and put the reſt to the ſword, excepting a very ſmall number, who, throwing down their arms, were ſpared, and ſent captives into *Italy*, where they were employed in tilling the ground about *Mutina*, *Rhegium*, and *Parma*. With this battle, which was fought in the latter end of the autumn, ended the campaign of this year 377 [r].

The Romans *retire, and abandon* Thrace *to the* Goths.

They cut off a Roman *legion*;

But are defeated with great ſlaughter by Frigerid.

As for *Gratian*, he was on the twenty-ſeventh of *February* at *Treves*, where he had paſſed the winter, and on the twenty-eighth of *July* at *Mayence*, perhaps on ſome expedition againſt the *Germans* not mentioned in hiſtory; for *Auſonius* tells us, that he took ſome *Germans* priſoners, and brought them with him into *Gaul* [s]. He was d
returned to *Treves* on the ſeventeenth of *September* [t]. By a law dated the fifth of *March*, and addreſſed to *Cataphronus* vicar of *Italy*, he grants ſeveral exemptions to the clergy, compriſing under that name, not only biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, but likewiſe ſub-deacons, exorciſts, readers, and janitors or door-keepers [u]. A dreadful plague raged this year in moſt of the weſtern provinces, and ſwept off incredible numbers of people [w]. The following year 378, when *Valens* was conſul the ſixth time, and young *Valentinian* the ſecond, the *Goths*, from *Thrace*, advanced into *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, committing every-where dreadful ravages; nay, they approached *Conſtantinople* itſelf, plundered the ſuburbs, and kept the city for ſome time blocked up. *Valens* therefore, having firſt ſent a body of *Saracens* to drive them from the neigh- e
bourhood of that metropolis, ſet out from *Antioch*, in order to head his army in perſon, and arrived at *Conſtantinople* on the thirtieth of *May*, where he found the people highly diſſatisfied with his conduct, in admitting the *Goths* into *Thrace*, and by that means giving riſe to the preſent war. Soon after his arrival, he diſpatched *Trajan* general of the foot, and put count *Sebaſtian*, a brave and experienced commander, in his room [x]. *Theodoret* tells us, that *Trajan*, who was a profeſſed enemy to the *Arians*, and a zealous defender of the *Nicene* faith, hearing himſelf reproached by the emperor with cowardice, as if the loſs of the late battle had been owing to want of courage in him, anſwered boldly, that heaven, juſtly provoked at his driving out the ortho- f
dox biſhops, and putting the infamous followers of *Arius* in their room, had declared for the *Goths*; and conſequently that he ought to blame not his generals, but himſelf, for the loſſes he had hitherto ſuſtained, and for the far greater calamities that would ſoon overtake him, unleſs he altered his conduct. The generals *Arintheus* and *Victor* declared, adds *Theodoret*, that they were of the ſame opinion, and begged the emperor not to reſent their ſpeaking, as his true friends, their ſentiments without diſguiſe [y]. The piety of *Trajan* is greatly commended by the eccleſiaſtic writers, eſpecially by *Theodoret*

Gratian *grants ſeveral exemptions to the clergy.*

The Goths *block up* Conſtantinople. Valens *ſets out for that city.*

Trajan *reproaches the emperor with great freedom.*

[m] Ammian. p. 447—449. [n] Theodor. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703. [o] Hier. chron. [p] Oros. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. [q] Ammian. p. 452. [r] Idem, p. 443—453. [s] Auson. conſul. p. 378. [t] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 97, 98. [u] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 24. p. 56. [w] Ambr. in Luc. xxi. p. 203. Biblioth. patr. tom. 8. p. 579. [x] Ammian. p. 458. [y] Theodor. l. iv. c. 30. p. 703.

a *Theodoret* and St. *Basil*, with whom he lived in great intimacy. But it is no easy task to reconcile with his extraordinary piety the death of *Paras* king of *Armenia*, whom, if the account of *Ammianus* be true, he caused to be murdered with the utmost treachery and barbarity, as we have related above. *Valens* continued but a very short time at *Constantinople*; for he left that city on the eleventh of *June*, highly exasperated against the inhabitants, who had insulted him as the author of the present war, and threatening, if he came back safe, to turn their city into a desert [z]. From *Constantinople* he marched to *Melanthias*, an imperial castle, about eighteen miles distant from the city; and thence detached *Sebastian* with a body of chosen troops against *Fritigern*, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. *Valens marches against the Goths:*

b *Sebastian*, coming upon the enemy unawares, cut off several of their parties, who were roving about the country, without the least apprehension of danger, and recovered the booty with which they were loaded. Hereupon *Fritigern*, having sent orders to all the parties that were dispersed about the country, to join him without delay, retired upon their arrival to the city of *Catyle*, of which geographers can give no account [a]. *Zosimus* tells us, that *Sebastian* engaged to force the *Goths* either to quit the *Roman* territories, or to submit to *Valens*, with two thousand men only, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their provisions; but that *Valens*, desirous to equal, by some memorable action, the glory acquired this year by *Gratian* in the famous battle of *Argentaria*, rejected his proposal, and leaving *Melanthias*, advanced to the neigh-

c bourhood of *Adrianople*, with a design to give the enemy battle. He was at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army, commanded by officers of great renown, and among the rest by *Trajan*, whom he had restored to his former post. While he lay at *Adrianople*, *Richomeres* arrived there with letters from *Gratian*, acquainting him, that he was on full march with his victorious army to join him, and earnestly intreating him not to hazard a battle till his arrival, nor make that victory doubtful, which the conjunction of their forces would render certain and indisputable. Hereupon a council of war being immediately summoned, *Victor*, who commanded the horse, and was both a brave and prudent officer, advised him by all means to wait the arrival of his nephew, and the reinforcement of the *Gaulish* troops; but *Sebastian* was

d for giving battle without delay; and his opinion the emperor preferred to that of *Victor*, and almost all the other officers, being induced thereunto by his flatterers, telling him, that he stood in no need of the assistance of his nephew, and therefore ought not to allow him any share in the victory, and the glory attending it. At the same time *Fritigern* sent deputies to him, at the head of whom was a christian priest, offering to conclude a peace upon very reasonable terms, which most of his officers advised him by all means to embrace, remonstrating, that an honourable and certain peace was preferable to an uncertain victory; but he, deaf to all their remonstrances, and obstinately bent upon engaging before the arrival of his nephew, leaving the great officers of the court, with his treasures, in *Adrianople*, and all the baggage of the

e army near that city, with a strong detachment to guard it, set out with the rest in quest of the enemy, whom he discovered about noon in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, about fifteen miles from *Adrianople*. The *Goths*, commanded by *Aletheus* and *Saphrax*, were encamped at a considerable distance from the rest. Messengers were therefore immediately dispatched to them; and in the mean time, to amuse the emperor till they arrived, embassadors were sent to him, with proposals of peace, to which the emperor gave ear; but insisted upon their delivering up to him some of their chief men as hostages. At the same time, *Fritergern*, further to amuse the emperor, acquainted him by a private letter, that he was ready to bring all his forces over to him, pro-

f vided some persons of distinction were sent to him as hostages. *Valens*, overjoyed at this proposal, named first *Equico* his kinsman for one of the hostages; but he, as he had been taken prisoner by the *Goths* the preceding year, and had made his escape, begging to be excused, *Richomeres* offered himself of his own accord; but, before he reached the enemy's camp, *Bacurius*, prince of the *Iberians*, and one *Cassio*, who commanded a party of archers, falling upon the *Goths*, gave beginning to the battle, which was fought with great obstinacy and resolution on both sides. *Ammianus* gives us a long, but confused, account of this memorable engagement. According to him, the foot in the left wing of the *Romans*, having advanced too far, and separated themselves from the main body of the army, and from the cavalry that was to sup-

Gratain marches to the assistance of Valens.

But Valens resolves to give battle before his arrival.

The battle of Adrianople:

port

[z] Ammian. l. iii. p. 456. Socr. l. iv. c. 38, p. 255. [a] Vide Baud. p. 142.

port them, were ſurrounded by the enemy, which inſpired the barbarians with great courage [b]. St. *Jerom* [c] and *Socrates* [d] write, that the foot was abandoned by the cavalry; and *Sozomen* [e], that *Valens*, being in too great haſte to engage, did not allow himſelf time to draw up his men as he ought. *Libanius* ſays, that he fought with more courage than prudence or conduct [f]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Romans* were utterly defeated; that two thirds of their army were cut in pieces, and the reſt forced to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight. The *Roman* writers themſelves own this to have been the greateſt overthrow their ſtate had ever received ſince the battle of *Cannæ*. Their foot did all that men, whoſe native courage was emboldened by deſpair, could do; but were in the end overpowered with numbers, and obliged, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, to yield to an enemy, who was not only infinitely ſuperior to them in numbers, but equalled them in courage and bravery. Among many other eminent perſons, fell in this action the brave generals *Trajan* and *Victor*, with *Valerian* the *tribunus ſtabuli*, or maſter of the horſe; *Equico* the emperor's kinſman, and *magiſter palatii*, or great ſteward of the houſhold; and *Patentius*, a youth of extraordinary hopes, and by all greatly reſpected, in regard of his father *Urſicinus*, ſo famous in the reign of *Conſtantius* [g]. But nothing has rendered this battle more memorable in hiſtory, than the unhappy end of *Valens* himſelf, who periſhed on this occaſion, as all authors agree, tho' they differ in their accounts of his death; for ſome write, that he was killed upon the ſpot; and others, that being wounded in the field, and not in a condition to fly, he was carried to a countryman's houſe, which his attendants made good againſt the barbarians, till they, not ſuſpecting the emperor to be there, ſet fire to it, which conſumed the houſe, and all who were in it, except a youth, who having made his eſcape, firſt out of the flames, and afterwards from the enemy, who had taken him priſoner, gave the *Romans* an account of the emperor's unhappy end [h]. Both theſe opinions are related by *Ammianus*; and the former was adopted by *Libanius*, as more proper for a panegyric; but the latter, which is generally thought the moſt probable, by *Victor* [i], St. *Jerom* [k], *Rufinus* [l], *Oroſius* [m], *Zoſimus* [n], and *Socrates* [o]. *Sozomen* [p] and *Philoſtorgius* [q] follow the ſame opinion; but add ſome circumſtances, which ſeem quite improbable. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks of the death of *Valens* periſhing in the flames, as a memorable inſtance of the vanity of all human grandeur [r]. *Theodoret* follows the ſame opinion; but was certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing *Valens* not to have been preſent at the battle [s]. *Ammianus* obſerves, that before *Valens* left *Antioch*, it was become a common curſe or imprecation among the inhabitants of that metropolis, *May* Valens *be burnt alive*. The ſame writer pretends that unhappy end to have been portended by ſeveral prodigies, as a puniſhment inflicted upon him by heaven, for having cauſed *Paras* king of *Armenia* to be inhumanly murdered, and for putting many innocent perſons to death, on occaſion of the conſpiracy of *Theodorus* [t]. The reader will find in *Zoſimus* the deſcription of a ſpectre, which, ſays he, was ſeen by *Valens* and all his court, when he marched out of *Conſtantinople* againſt the *Goths* [u]. To this perhaps *Ammianus* alludes in a paſſage, which ſeems to us very obſcure [w]. *Theophanes* takes notice of ſome other prodigies, and aſſures us, that ſome of the emperor's officers owned after his death, that he had ſuffered the aruſpices to be conſulted concerning the iſſue of this war [x]. *Ammianus*, and other writers, tell us, that near the place where the emperor died, was diſcovered, agreeable to a pretended prediction, the tomb of an ancient *Macedonian* captain, by name *Mimantus* [y]. All authors agree, that neither his body, nor the leaſt remains of it, were ever found; and that his memory was honoured by no funeral obſequies. Eccleſiaſtic writers look upon his death as a judgment from heaven, for his perſecuting with great cruelty the catholics, and his encouraging the hereſy of *Arius*, which flouriſhed and encreaſed in his reign, more than it had done under any of his predeceſſors. With him periſhed in the flames, according to the modern *Greeks*, his great chamberlain, a zealous patron of the *Arians*, and an avowed enemy to the orthodox believers [z]. Such was the end of *Valens*, after he had lived about fifty years, and reigned fifteen, four months, and ſome

The Romans *utterly defeated.*

The death of Valens *variouſly related.*

Said to have been portended by ſeveral prodigies.

[b] Ammian. p. 460—462. [c] Hier. in chron. [d] Socr. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255. [e] Soz. l. vi. c. 40. p. 703. [f] Lib. vit. p. 58, [g] Ammian. p. 463. [h] Idem, p. 462. [i] Vict. epit. [k] Hier. chron. [l] Ruf. l. ii. c. 13. p. 184. [m] Oros. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219. [n] Zos. p. 750. [o] Socr. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255. [p] Sos. l. vi. c. 40. p. 703. [q] Philost. l. ix. c. 17. p. 131, 132. [r] Chrys. ad vid. p. 464. [s] Theod. l. iv. p. 704. [t] Ammian. p. 435. [u] Zos. l. iv. p. 748. [w] Ammian. p. 435. [x] Theoph. p. 55. [y] Ammian. p. 465. Zonar. p. 27. Cedrem. p. 314. [z] Menæa magn. Græc. p. 229.

a ſome days[a]. He was quite a ſtranger to every branch of literature, and no better acquainted with the military art, than with the liberal ſciences. He did not ſo much as underſtand the *Greek* tongue, tho' he had reigned ſo many years in the eaſt among the *Greeks*. He found out no expedients of himſelf; but, when they were propoſed by others, he had diſcernment enough to know which was the beſt and moſt proper[b]. He was naturally indolent and inactive, an enemy to all labour, and averſe to buſineſs, which was owing to the eaſy life he had led, free from trouble, till he was created emperor. He was timorous to a great degree, and unwilling to expoſe himſelf to any danger. To this diſpoſition moſt authors aſcribe the extraordinary deference which he ever paid to his brother *Valentinian*[c]. *Themiſtius* commends his chaſtity[d]; and *Ammianus*, a writer no-ways biaſſed in his favour, does not reproach b him with any kind of lewdneſs or debauchery. He was conſtant and faithful in his friendſhip, whereof ſeveral inſtances are related by *Ammianus*[e]. He raiſed ſuch only of his relations as were perſons of merit, and, generally ſpeaking, had regard to nothing but merit in the diſpoſal of employments[f]. He kept a watchful eye over his miniſters, exacted the military diſcipline with great rigour, not ſuffering his ſoldiers to do the leaſt injury to thoſe through whoſe countries they marched, and ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions ready to hearken to the complaints of his injured ſubjects[g]. He ſeems to have diſcharged the foreign guards, who had been employed by other princes as the miniſters of their cruelty[h]. He was thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of his finances, and therefore did not ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon, as c moſt of his predeceſſors had done, by thoſe who managed them[i]. Tho' he was quite unacquainted with the liberal ſciences, yet he is ſaid to have compoſed ſome ſpeeches, with the aſſiſtance of one *Heliodorus*, a man of a mean deſcent, and infamous character, as we read in *Ammianus*, who complains of the emperor, for obliging perſons of the firſt rank to attend his funeral[k]. *Themiſtius* ſtyles him the father of the provinces, by reaſon of the great care he took in eaſing them, by all poſſible means, of the heavy taxes with which they had been loaded by his predeceſſors[l]. *Ammianus* owns, that he could not with more care conſult the good of his own family, than he did the welfare of all his ſubjects; and that the eaſtern provinces had been under no prince happier than under him[m]. However, all authors agree, that he had a ſtrong biaſs d to avarice and cruelty, which, joined to his jealous and ſuſpicious temper, prompted him often to condemn innocent perſons, and ſeize on their eſtates. The leaſt ſuſpicion of treaſon rendered him inexorable, ſays *Ammianus*, and his ears were open to all manner of accuſations[n]. All the eccleſiaſtic writers agree, that he allowed to the many ſects that then prevailed, nay, even to the *Jews* and pagans, the free exerciſe of their religion; but perſecuted the catholics with the utmoſt cruelty, of which we have ſeen one remarkable inſtance in the hiſtory of his reign; and the reader may find many others in the above-mentioned writers. He left two daughters behind him, *Caroſa* and *Anaſtatia*; but all we know of them is, that *Procopius*, who became famous in the latter end of the reign of *Theodoſius*, married one of them, he being e ſtyled by *Zoſimus*[o] and *Sozomen*[p], the ſon-in-law of *Valens*. What became of the empreſs *Albia Dominica*, after the death of her huſband, we are no-where told. St. *Chryſoſtom*, writing about the year 381, obſerves, that the widow of an emperor, who had been baniſhed by another prince, was then recalled by the mediation of many perſons of diſtinction, who with much ado obtained that favour[q]. Moſt writers take the empreſs, of whom he ſpeaks in that place, to have been the widow of the emperor *Valens*. But as to the cauſe of her diſgrace and misfortune, we are quite in the dark. With the death of *Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus* ends his hiſtory; but of him, and *Eutropius*, who wrote his abridgment of the *Roman* hiſtory in the reign of *Valens*, and f by that prince's command, we ſhall ſpeak in note (K).

[a] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 463, 464. [b] Idem, p. 464. Themist. orat, vi. p. 11. & orat. ix. p. 71. [c] Idem ibid. & Vict. epit. Theodor. vit. patr. p. 815. [d] Themist. orat. viii. p. 119, 120. [e] Ammian. p. 464. [f] Idem. p. 463. [g] Themist. orat. x. p. 158. [h] Idem, orat. xii. p. 155. [i] Idem, orat. viii. p. 114. [k] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 392, 393. [l] Themist. orat. x. p. 129. [m] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 464. [n] Idem, p. 465. [o] Zos. l. v. p. 786. [p] Zoz. l. iv. c. 9. p. 469. [q] Chrys. ad vid. jun. p. 463.

(K) *Ammianus Marcellinus* was a native of *Antioch*, where his family made ſome figure (1). He ſerved ſeveral years in the army, from the year 350. to 359, under count *Urſicinus*, partly in *Meſopotamia*, and partly in *Gaul*, in quality of *domeſticus*, which was then an honourable poſt. He attended *Julian*

(1) *Ammian. l.* xix. *p.* 144.

in his *Perſian* Expedition, and was at *Antioch*, or in that neighbourhood, when the Conſpi acy of *Theodorus* was diſcovered in the reign of *Valens* (2). Afterwards he renounced the profeſſion of arms, and retired to *Rome*, where he wrote his hiſtory, as appears both from the hiſtory itſelf (3), and from a letter which *Libanius* wrote to him from *Antioch* (4), while he was compoſing it. His twenty-ſixth book was not ended before the year 390, and the twenty-ſecond was written the year before (5). His work was divided into thirty one books, and compriſed the reigns of all the emperors, from *Domitian*, where *Suetonius* ends, to the death of *Valens*; but of his thirty-one books, only the laſt eighteen, beginning after the death of *Magnentius* in 353, have reached our times. Tho' he was a *Greek*, he choſe to write in *Latin*; but his *Latin*, in the opinion of *Voſſius*, ſpeaks him both a *Greek* and a ſoldier (6). But his other good qualities make ſufficient amends, ſays the ſame writer, for theſe faults; for he writes with great judgment, and ſeems to have been a great lover of truth (7). However, he plainly betrays a great zeal for the religion of the ancient *Romans*, and no ſmall partiality for thoſe who countenanced it, eſpecially for his hero *Julian*. In his hiſtory he frequently makes long and tedious digreſſions on the comets, and other things, which fall not within the province of an hiſtorian. In his accounts he is now-and-then ſomewhat confuſed, and often leaves out the moſt material circumſtances of the facts he relates; which has induced ſome to believe, that his hiſtory is in ſeveral places maimed and imperfect. But, after all, without his hiſtory, we ſhould have been quite in the dark with reſpect to the moſt remarkable tranſactions of thoſe times. Some epigrams by one *Ammianus* have reached our times; but whether they were the work of the hiſtorian, is altogether uncertain. The reader will find ſeveral things relating to *Ammianus*, and his hiſtory, in the *prolegomena*, which Mr. *Valois* has prefixed to the laſt edition of the works of that hiſtorian at *Paris* in 1681. *Eutropius* wrote his abridgment of the *Roman* hiſtory in the reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and inſcribed it to the latter, having undertaken it at his requeſt. He gives that prince the title of *Gothicus*, a plain proof that he publiſhed his work after the year 369, in which *Valens* defeated *Athanaric*, one of the kings or chiefs of the *Goths*. Mr. *Valois* ſtyles him a polite and elegant writer; but *Vinetus*, who publiſhed his works in 1553, concludes from his ſtyle, that he was not a *Roman*, but a *Greek* (8). *Voſſius* too finds fault with his ſtyle; but, upon the whole, commends his work, as an abridgment of the *Roman* hiſtory done with great judgment (9). He is often copied by St. *Jerom* in his chronicle, and quoted by other *Latin* writers. His work ſeems to have been in great requeſt among the *Greeks*; for two tranſlations of it were done into that language, the one by *Pæanius*, and the other by *Capito*. The latter, who was by birth a *Lycian*, not only tranſlated into *Greek* the abridgment of *Livy*, ſays *Suidas*, done by *Eutropius*, but wrote beſides the hiſtory of *Iſauria* in eight books, and likewiſe that of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. The tranſlation of *Eutropius* by *Pæanius*, was publiſhed among the other *Auguſtin* writers by *Sylburgius* at *Francfort* in 1590. *Sylburgius* is of opinion, that *Pæanius* was contemporary with *Eutropius*. However that be, it is certain, that he often deviates both from the meaning of the original, and the truth of hiſtory (10). As for *Eutropius* himſelf, *Suidas* ſtyles him an *Italian* ſophiſt; and adds, that he publiſhed ſeveral other works (11). From his works it does not appear, whether he profeſſed the chriſtian religion, or no. He was preſent, according to *Codin*, at the laying the foundations of *Conſtantinople*, and left behind him an account of the origin of that city (12). If what that author writes be true, *Eutropius* muſt have been very young at that time. He attended *Julian* in his expedition into *Perſia* (13). He ſeems to have been of the ſenatorial order; for, at the head of his work, he is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *clariſſimus*, which was peculiar to ſenators. In the reign of *Valentinian*, and before the year 376, died, according to St *Jerom*, *Aquilius*, or *Cecilius Severus*, a native of *Spain*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own life in proſe and verſe, under the title of *cataſtrophe*. He was deſcended from another *Severus*, to whom *Lactantius* inſcribed two books of his letters. St. *Jerom* places him among the eccleſiaſtic writers (14); but his work has been long ſince loſt.

(2) *Idem*, *l.* xxix. *p.* 387. (3) *Idem*, *l.* xxxi. *p.* 469. (4) *Ammian. vit. p.* 4—8. (5) *Idem p.* 8, 9. (6) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 9. *p.* 201. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Eutrop. p.* 557. (9) *Voſſ hiſt. Lat. c.* 8. *p.* 198. (10) *Eutrop. Græc. p.* 63. (11) *Suid. p.* 1099. (12) *Codin, antiq. Conſtantinop. p.* 17. (13) *Eutrop. p.* 589. (14) *Hier. vir. illuſtr. c.* 111.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Valens *to the diviſion of the empire.*

The Lentienſes *paſs the* Rhine, *and break into* Gaul.

GRATIAN, alarmed at the danger that threatned the eaſtern provinces, overrun by the barbarians, reſolved to march in perſon to the aſſiſtance of his uncle, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of the forces he had with him in *Gaul* to haſten into *Illyricum*, and, joining the troops quartered in that province, to enter *Thrace*, and reinforce the army which *Valens* had ſent thither. This the *Germans* called *Lentienſes*, whoſe country bordered upon *Rhætia*, no ſooner underſtood, than by an open breach of the treaty, which they had but lately a

a lately concluded, with *Gratian*, they paſſed the *Rhine* upon the ice, to the number of forty thouſand men, and upwards; and entering *Gaul*, began to commit dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of that river. Hereupon the emperor recalled the troops which he had ordered to march into *Illyricum*, and ſent them reinforced with thoſe that were left in *Gaul* under the conduct of count *Nannianus*, and *Mallobaudes*, king of the *Franks*, who ſerved in the *Roman* army in quality of *comes domeſticorum*, to drive back the *Lentienſes*, whoſe numbers increaſed daily, the *Romans*, who guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, having through fear of the barbarians, abandoned their ſtations. The two generals, though at the head of a handful of men, gave them battle in the neighbourhood of *Argentaria*, which moſt geographers take to
b have ſtood where the preſent City of *Colmar* ſtands. The *Romans* at firſt gave ground, being overpowered with numbers; but in the end gained a complete victory, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of the enemy, that, out of ſuch a prodigious multitude, ſcarce five thouſand had the good luck to make their eſcape, thirty thouſand of them being killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt either ſlain in the purſuit, or taken priſoners. Their king *Triarius*, the chief author of the war, was in the number of the ſlain [r]. *Oroſius* writes, that *Gratian* was preſent at the battle; and that, depending upon the aſſiſtance of heaven, he attacked the enemy, tho' greatly ſuperior to him in number [s]. But *Ammianus* only writes, that *Gratian* advanced to ſupport his generals [t]. This battle was not fought before the month of *May*; for on the twenty-
c ſecond of *April* the emperor was ſtill at *Treves*, as appears from a law bearing that date [u]. After this victory, *Gratian* paſs'd the *Rhine* at the head of his army; and, entering the enemy's country, ſhut them up on all ſides among the barren mountains, to which they had fled with their families; and by that means reduced them in a ſhort time to ſuch ſtreights, that they were forced to ſubmit to the terms the conqueror thought fit to preſcribe; one of which was, that they ſhould deliver up their youth to ſerve in the *Roman* army, which they did accordingly. Thus were the *Romans* greatly reinforced by this new acceſſion of ſtrength, and at the ſame time that inconſtant and faithleſs nation put out of a condition of raiſing new diſturbances in the emperor's abſence. In this expedition *Gratian* gave ſignal proofs of
d his courage, prudence, good-nature, and generoſity; which gained him the eſteem and affection of all who ſerved under him [w]. He immediately wrote to *Valens*, acquainting him with his victory, and begging him not to hazard a battle till he had joined him, which he aſſured him would be very ſoon. But *Valens*, now jealous of the reputation of his young nephew, which he thought eclipſed his own, and deſirous of equalling his exploits againſt the *Germans*, reſolved to give battle before his arrival, that he might enjoy, without a rival, the glory of the victory, which he looked upon as certain. In the mean time, *Gratian* having ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of *Gaul*, began his march, and with great expedition advanced to *Arbor Felix*, now *Arbon*, on the lake of *Conſtance*, and from thence to *Lauriacum*,
e now *Lork*, in *Auſtria*, on the *Danube*, between the *Traun* and the *Ens*. There he embarqued part of his troops on the *Danube*, and marched by land with the reſt to *Bononia* in *Lower Dacia*, and from thence to *Sirmium*, where he ſtaid but four days, tho' he was then ill of an intermitting fever. From *Sirmium* he purſued his march along the *Danube* to a fort in the ſame province, called *Caſtra Martis*. In his march, ſome of his men, who had ſtraggled from the army, were intercepted and cut off by the *Alans*. From *Caſtra Martis* he diſpatched *Richomeres*, his *comes domeſticorum*, to acquaint *Valens*, that he was at hand, and earneſtly intreat him in his name not to engage the numerous forces of the enemy till his arrival. But *Valens*, haſtening the battle, that his nephew might have no ſhare in the victory, was utterly
f defeated and periſhed, with two-thirds of his army, in the manner we have related above. The day after the battle, the *Goths*, informed by a deſerter, that *Valens* had left many perſons of great diſtinction in *Adrianople*, and that the imperial treaſure was lodged there, laid ſiege to the place; but being repulſed with great ſlaughter, as quite ſtrangers to the art of beſieging towns, they dropped the enterprize; and marching towards *Perinthus* or *Heraclea*, laid waſte that fertile country, and then advanced to *Conſtantinople*, hoping to make themſelves maſters of that ſtately metropolis, and of the immenſe wealth lodged in it. But the *Saracens*, whom *Maria*

They are utterly defeated by the Romans.

They ſubmit to Gratian.

Gratian *marches to the aſſiſtance of his uncle.*

Valens *gives battle, and is defeated and killed before his arrival.*

The Goths *beſiege in vain* Adrianople *and* Conſtantinople.

[r] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 453, 454. Vict. epit. Hier. in chron. [s] Oros. l. vii. c. 33 p. 219.
[t] Ammian. ibid. [u] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 98. [w] Ammian. ibid. p. 455.

their

their queen had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, and who were more dextrous at ſudden onſets, than regular engagements, having in ſeveral ſallies cut off great numbers of the *Goths*, the reſt thought it adviſeable to break up the ſiege, and retire from the neighbourhood of that city. The remaining part of this year they ſpent in ravaging, without oppoſition, *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Mœſia*, and even *Illyricum*, as far as the *Julian Alps*, which part that province from *Italy* [x]. The neighbouring barbarians, namely the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, entered the *Roman* territories at the ſame time, putting all to fire and ſword, and ſurpaſſing the *Goths* themſelves in the unheard-of cruelties they practiſed [y]. St. *Jerom* gives us a pathetic account of the calamities ſuffered at that time by the ſubjects of the empire. The whole country, ſays he, from *Conſtantinople* to the *Julian Alps*, have been ſwimming theſe twenty years in *Roman* blood: *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Dardania*, *Dacia*, *Theſſalonica*, (or rather *Theſſaly*) *Achaia*, both *Epirus's*, *Dalmatia*, both *Pannonia's*, are filled with *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Quadians*, *Alans*, *Hunns*, *Vandals*, *Marcomans*, &c. whoſe avarice nothing has eſcaped, whoſe cruelty has been felt by perſons of all ranks, ages, and conditions. How many eminent perſons of both ſexes, how many ſacred virgins, have been outrageouſly inſulted, and hurried into captivity? Biſhops have been inhumanly maſſacred, with their clergy; churches pulled down, the reliques of the holy martyrs dug up, and the ſacred altars turned into mangers. The downfal of the *Roman* empire is at hand [z]. The ſame ſaint, writing in the year 406, that is, eight years after the preſent time, tells us, that *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, and *Dalmatia*, his native country, looked ſtill like deſerts, and that nothing was to be ſeen in them but briars and thick foreſts [a]. The cities of *Illyricum*, which ſuffered moſt on this occaſion, were *Petavio* and *Murſia*; the former is ſaid to have been betrayed to the barbarians by *Valens*, whom the *Arians* had attempted to raiſe to that ſee [b]. As there were great numbers of *Goths*, who ſerved in the *Roman* armies, quartered in the forts and cities of *Aſia*, *Julius*, who commanded in that province, apprehending they would riſe and join their countrymen, if they ſhould move that way, by private letters ſent to the governors of the cities where they were quartered, ordered them all to be maſſacred at the ſame time. This ſevere, but perhaps neceſſary, order was put in execution without the leaſt noiſe or diſturbance, and *Aſia* delivered from the danger it had juſt reaſon to apprehend; for *Zoſimus* aſſures us, that the *Goths* only wanted an opportunity to revolt, aud treat the *Romans* as they were treated by them [c].

Dreadful ravages committed by the Goths, *and other barbarians.*

All the Goths *put to the ſword in the eaſt.*

WE left *Gratian* on the frontiers of *Thrace*, ready to enter that province, and join *Valens*; but he no ſooner heard the news of his death, and of the great loſs the *Romans* had ſuſtained in the fatal battle of *Adrianople*, which was brought to him by *Victor*, who had had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter, than he marched back to *Sirmium*, to deliberate there on the moſt proper meaſures to be taken in ſo critical a conjuncture. After a ſhort ſtay at *Sirmium*, he marched at the head of all the forces he could aſſemble, to *Conſtantinople*, to ſecure that metropolis; and in the mean time conſidering with himſelf how many brave officers had periſhed in the preſent war, and how much he ſtood in need of an able and faithful general, he ſent for young *Theodoſius*, who, after having given ſignal proofs of his courage, conduct and experience in military affairs, had, upon the death of his father, retired to *Spain*, his native country, to avoid, as we have related above, the ſtorm that threatened him. *Theodoſius* complied with the emperor's command; and quitting his retirement, haſtened into *Illyricum*, where he was received by *Gratian* with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and ſoon after ſent at the head of a conſiderable army againſt the *Sarmatians*, who were in full march to join the *Goths*: but *Theodoſius*, falling upon them, cut the greater part of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the *Danube*. The victory he gained on this occaſion was ſo complete, that the emperor could not believe the account which *Theodoſius* himſelf gave him of it upon his return to court, till he was informed of the truth by perſons ſent on purpoſe to view the field of battle [d]. To this victory, and the other which *Gratian* had gained this year over the *Germans* before he left *Gaul*, *Auſonius* no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that the emperor in one and the ſame year appeaſed the troubles on the *Rhine* and the *Danube* [e]. From *Conſtantinople* the

Gratian *ſends for* Theodoſius.

Who gains a complete victory over the Sarmatians.

[x] Idem, p. 456—458. & l. xx. p. 160. [y] Idem, l. xxxi. p. 469. Zos. l. iv. p. 751. [z] HIER. epiſt. 3. p. 26. [a] Idem in Soph. 1. p. 209. [b] AMBROS. epiſt. 1. p. 167. [c] Zos. p. 752. AMMIAN. p. 469. [d] THEODORET. l. v. c. 5. p. 710. [e] AUSON. conſ. p. 378.

emperor

a emperor returned to *Sirmium*, and paſſed the winter there. As he was a zealous catholic, he no ſooner ſaw himſelf by the death of *Valens*, maſter of the eaſt, than he recalled and reſtored to their ſees, the orthodox biſhops, who had been baniſhed by *Valens*; and, by an edict, granted an entire liberty of conſcience to chriſtians of all denominations, except the *Manichees*, the *Photinians*, and the *Eunomians*, whom he would not ſuffer to have any churches [f]. This edict put a ſtop to the perſecution, which the *Arians* had raiſed, and carried on with great cruelty againſt the catholics, during the whole reign of *Valens*. *Gratian*, notwithſtanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, did not think it adviſeable for the preſent to meddle any farther with religious affairs, through fear of raiſing new diſturbances, which, in the preſent
b diſtracted ſtate of the empire, might have been attended by dangerous conſequences. This law, granting liberty of conſcience to all chriſtians, ſeems to have taken place only in the eaſt, where the catholics did not enjoy it before; for by another law enacted this very year, and addreſſed to *Flavianus*, vicar of *Africa*, he abſolutely condemns the *Donatiſts*, orders their churches to be delivered up to the catholics, and declares, that he will ſuffer no other doctrine to be taught or held, except that which is agreeable to the goſpel, to the faith of the apoſtles, and to the tradition of the church [g]. While he reſided at *Sirmium*, ſurrounded on all ſides by the barbarians, he named *Auſonius* and *Olybrius* conſuls for the enſuing year. He wrote to *Auſonius*, who had been his preceptor, a moſt obliging letter, acquainting him with
c his promotion, and at the ſame time ſent him the conſular robe, that which the emperors wore when they triumphed [h]. As *Valens* died without iſſue male, *Gratian*, by his death, became ſole maſter of the empire; but not thinking himſelf, being then only in the twentieth year of his age, equal to ſo great a burden, eſpecially at ſo critical a conjuncture, when the *Goths*, *Hunns*, *Alans*, *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* had broken into the empire on one ſide, and the *Alemans* and other *German* nations were ready to invade it on the other, he reſolved to take a collegue capable of eaſing him of part of his burden, and extricating the ſtate out of the difficulties under which it laboured. Young *Valentinian* ſhared indeed with him the title, but not the authority of emperor, he being then but ſeven or at moſt eight years old.
d Without any regard therefore to his own relations, or rather looking upon thoſe, to uſe the expreſſion of *Themiſtius*, as his neareſt relations, who were beſt qualified for ſo great a truſt, he determined to aſſume *Theodoſius* for his partner in the ſupreme power; a perſon of moſt extraordinary accompliſhments, and no leſs admired by all on account of his exemplary piety, than for his prudence, his experience in war, and the mighty exploits he had already performed [i]. Purſuant to this reſolution, he declared him emperor at *Sirmium* on the nineteenth of *January* of the enſuing year 379, while *Auſonius* and *Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius* were conſuls. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that *Gratian* prevailed upon him to accept, ſays *Pacatus*, what others ſought with ſo much ambition, and employed the moſt unlawful means
e to attain. He refuſed, continues the ſame author, what others looked upon as the greateſt happineſs, in ſuch manner as evidently ſhewed, that he accepted it in the end by mere conſtraint [k]. After *Gratian* had to the general ſatisfaction both of the people and ſoldiery, declared him emperor with the uſual ſolemnity, he committed to his care the eaſt, *Thrace*, and the reſt of the provinces, which had been governed by *Valens*, reſerving for himſelf only *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; for *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*, were held by his brother *Valentinian* [l]. *Sozomen* writes, that to the eaſt *Gracian* added *Illyricum* [m]; which, if true, muſt be underſtood of the eaſt part of *Illyricum*; for the weſt part was always held by the princes of the weſtern empire, who till this time had been maſters of both. *Weſt Illyricum* compriſed both *Pan-*
f *nia's*, the one and the other *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, and *Savia*, which we take to be the province that was for ſome time known by the name of *Valeria*. That *Gratian* kept theſe provinces is paſt diſpute [n]. *Eaſt Illyricum* conſiſted of *Macedon*, the one and the other *Epirus*, *Theſſaly*, *Achaia*, *Crete*, both *Dacia's*, *Upper Mœſia*, *Dardania*, and *Prævalitana* [o].

Gratian recalls the baniſhed biſhops.

He condemns the Donatiſts.

He raiſes the poet Auſonius *to the conſulſhip.*

He reſolves to take a collegue.

He raiſes Theodoſius *to the empire.*

And commits the eaſtern province to his care.

Theodoſius, whom *Gratian* raiſed to the empire, was, according to moſt authors, a native of *Cauca* in *Galicia*, which city ſtill retains the ſame name; but *Marcellinus* in

Birth, education, employments, &c. of Theodoſius.

[f] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 116. [g] Idem. tit. 6. leg. 2. p. 194. [h] Auſon. ibid. p. 381.
[i] Themist. or. xiv. p. 182 [k] Pacat. p. 253, 254. [l] Theod. l. v. c. 6. p. 711. Zos. p. 746.
[m] Soz. l. vii. c. 4. p. 707. [n] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13. p. 100. &. l. xiii. tit. 1. leg. 11. p. 14.
[o] Notit. c. 3. p. 6.

in his chronicle ſuppoſes him to have been born in *Italica* near *Seville*, the birth a
place of the emperor *Trajan*; and both that writer and *Claudian* reckon him among
the great men of the *Ulpian* family, from which *Trajan* was ſprung [p]. *Theodoſius*
reſembled that prince according to *Victor*, both in the features of his face, and the
virtues of his mind; but was a ſtranger to the vices of *Trajan*, ſuch as drunkenneſs,
incontinence, and ambition [q]. He was the ſon of *Theſmantia* and the celebrated
Theodoſius, who conquered a new province in *Britain*, overcame *Firmus* in *Africa*,
and was deſervedly accounted the greateſt commander of his age [r]. But his triumphs
and great reputation having raiſed him many enemies at court, he was executed at
Carthage in the year 376, the ſecond of *Gratian*'s reign, as we have related above.
Victor tells us, that the name of the emperor *Theodoſius*'s father was *Honorius* [s]; b
but he is therein contradicted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and all the other writers.
Both the emperor and his father, in moſt ancient coins bear the prænomen of *Fla-
vius*, which, after *Conſtantine*'s time, became common to thoſe who had none of
their own: whence ſome authors conclude, and perhaps not improbably, that the
family of *Theodoſius* made no great figure before that prince's reign; and that *Clau-
dian* and *Victor* only flattered him in deriving his pedigree from *Trajan*. *Pacatus*
obſerves, that he was a native of *Spain*, as well as *Trajan* and *Adrian*; but takes
not the leaſt notice of his being of the ſame family, which we can ſcarce believe
he would have omitted, had *Theodoſius* been allied to thoſe two great princes. He
had according to *Victor*, only one brother and a ſiſter, whoſe children he brought c
up with the ſame care as he did his own [t]. St. *Ambroſe* and *Symmachus* ſuppoſe him
to have had ſeveral brothers [u]. One of his brothers, by name *Honorius*, had by
his wife *Maria*, whom *Claudian* ſtyles one of the moſt illuſtrious women *Spain* ever
produced, two daughters, *Thermantia* and *Serena*, of whom the latter was married
to the famous *Stilicho*, and the former to another general, whoſe name is not men-
tioned [w]. *Eucherius*, whom we ſhall ſee conſul in 381, is ſuppoſed to have been
another of the emperor's brothers [x]. The emperor himſelf was born in the year
346, ſo that he was advanced to the empire in the thirty-third year of his age [y].
We are told that he was called *Theodoſius*, not only becauſe his father had been
ſo named, but becauſe both his parents were commanded in a dream to give him d
that name, ſignifying according to the import of the *Greek* word *Theodoſius*, that
the child was in a particular manner the gift of God [z]. He ſerved under his father
in *Britain*, when he was yet very young [a]; and being ſoon after created duke of
Mœſia, he gained a memorable victory over the *Sarmatians* in 374, being then only
eighteen years old [b]. After the death of his father he withdrew to *Spain*, to avoid
the ſtorm which threatned him too; and there led a retired life, employing his time
partly in reading, and partly in works of agriculture, till he was recalled by *Gra-
tian* in 373, and declared emperor [c]. He was then married to *Flaccilla*, called by
moſt of the *Greek* writers *Placilla*, and by ſome *Placidia*. She is thought to have
been the daughter of *Antonius*, who, after having been prefect of *Italy* and *Gaul* in e
376, and the two following years, was raiſed to the conſulſhip in 382 [d]. She was a
native of *Spain* [e], and Siſter to the mother of *Nebridius*, who married *Salvina*, the
daughter of *Gildo* a *Mooriſh* prince, and count of *Africa* [f]. *Nebridius*, was proconſul
of *Aſia* in 396, but died ſoon after; for *Salvina* was a widow, when St. *Jerom*, who
had lived in great intimacy with the father of *Nebridius*, wrote to her in 400 [g].
Theodoſius had at leaſt three children by *Flaccilla*, viz. *Arcadius*, born about the year
377, during his father's retirement; for he was thirty when he died on the firſt of
May 408. *Honorius*, born in 384, and a daughter, named *Pulcheria*, born before the
year 379, ſince *Theodoſius* had then according to *Claudian* [h], ſeveral children. To
theſe ſome add, and among the reſt St. *Ambroſe* [i], and *Themiſtius* [k], a third ſon, f
named *Gratian*. They do not tell us whether he was the ſon of *Faccilla*, or *Galla*,
the emperor's ſecond wife, of whom hereafter; but *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* writes in expreſs
terms, that the emperor had by *Flaccilla* only three children, *viz.* two ſons and one
daugh-

[p] Marcell. chron. p. 78. Claud. p. 40 [q] Vict. p. 546, 547. [r] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 368. [s] Vict. p. 546 [t] Idem, p. 547. [u] Ambros. epiſt. 17. p. 214. Sym. l. x. epiſt. 57. p. 459. [w] Claud. de laud. Stil. p. 194. Cange Byz. fam. p. 75. [x] Themist. or. xvi. p. 203. [y] Theodor. l. v. c. 5. p. 710. [z] Vict. p. 46. [a] Zos. p. 760. [b] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 410. [c] Ambros. ſermo de diverſ. p. 125 Vict. p. 546. [d] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 350. [e] Claud. ibid. p. 193. [f] Hier. ep. 9. p. 73. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Claud. ibid. p. 194. [i] Ambros. ibid. p. 122. [k] Themist. p. 477.

a daughter [l]. Beſides *Gratian*, who died before his father, the emperor had by *Galla* the celebrated *Placidia*, mother to *Valentinian* III. and another ſon; but the mother died in child-bed, and the child with her [m].

THE joy which the news of *Theodoſius*'s promotion gave to all the ſubjects of the empire, was equal to the mighty opinion they entertained of his juſtice, integrity, moderation, and abilities in war; and truly, tho' commendations in the mouth of a poet are of no great weight, yet we cannot help thinking with *Claudian*, that the empire, without the aſſiſtance of *Theodoſius*, would never have recovered its former luſtre, but rather become a prey to the barbarians [n]. But to return to *Gratian*, he ſeems to have continued ſome months at *Sirmium*, after the promotion of *Theodoſius* [o];
b nay, *Socrates*, tho' in this place ſomewhat confuſed, tells us, that he gained conſiderable advantages over the barbarians, who ſurrounded him on all ſides; and ſoon after ſet out for *Gaul*, upon intelligence, that the *Germans* were up in arms, and ready to break into that province [p]. He was at *Aqueleia* in the beginning of *July*, and in the latter end of the ſame month at *Milan* [q], where he contracted great intimacy with St. *Ambroſe*, to whom he ever after ſhewed the higheſt reſpect and veneration, as appears from a letter he wrote to him with his own hand, which in our opinion deſerves no leſs to be admired for the elegance of the ſtyle, than for the pious and truly chriſtian ſentiments it contains [r]. It was at his requeſt that St.
c *Ambroſe* wrote, tho' unwilling to engage in religious debates, his excellent treatiſe on faith, in which he proves the divinity of the Son, and another proving the divinity of the Holy Ghoſt [s]. The pious emperor was ſo well pleaſed with theſe two pieces, that he immediately ordered a church to be delivered up to the catholics, which he had ſequeſtred at *Milan* in 380, with a deſign, as was thought, to give it to the *Arians*, out of complaiſance to his mother-in-law *Juſtina*. At the ſame time, revoking the law by which he had granted, the preceding year, liberty of conſcience to all ſects, he publiſhed another, forbidding all heretics, eſpecially the re-baptizers, to preach their tenets, or to hold aſſemblies in any part of the empire. This law is dated from *Milan* the third of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 379 [t]. and was, no doubt,
d owing to the zeal of St. *Ambroſe*. *Gratian* left *Milan* ſoon after; and paſſing thro' *Rhætia*, the province of the *Sequani*, and *Germania Prima*, repaired to *Treves*, where he was on the fourteenth of *September* [u], and perhaps before; for he is ſaid to have marched with incredible expedition, and to have ſurpriſed the people of *Gaul* with his unexpected arrival [w]. He paſſed the winter at *Treves*, and conſequently was in that city, when *Auſonius*, upon the expiring of his conſulſhip, pronounced the oration, which has reached our times, thanking the emperor for that and the other honours he had conferred upon him [x]. This year we find the *Lombards*, whom we ſhall ſee
e two hundred years hence maſters of *Italy*, firſt mentioned in hiſtory. *Proſper*, who after having copied the chronicle of St. *Jerom* to this time, begins now one of his own, tells us, that the *Lombards*, abandoning the moſt diſtant coaſts of the ocean, and their native country *Scandinavia*, and ſeeking new ſettlements, as they were over-ſtocked with people at home, attacked firſt, and overcame about this time the *Vandals*, a *German* nation. They were headed by two chiefs named *Iboreus* and *Aionus*, who dying about ten years after, they created *Agelmond*, ſon to the latter, their firſt king, who reigned thirty-three years [y]. We are told, that the *Lombards*, and the *Gepidæ*, were for many years one and the ſame nation; and that they paſſed the *Danube* together about the year 400, in the reign of *Honorius*, who allowed them ſettlement about *Sirmium* and *Singidunum*. This is what *Grotius* writes upon the authority of *Paulus Diaconus*, who flouriſhed in the ninth century [z]. *Grotius*
f adds, that the *Gepidæ*, and conſequently the *Lombards*, held the tenets of *Arius*, and that they were originally *Vandals* [a]. Tho' we have ſaid after *Grotius*, that *Proſper* is the firſt author who mentions the *Lombards*, yet we muſt own, that their name is to be met with in *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus* and *Strabo*. But to this *Grotius* anſwers, that by the name of *Lombards* in thoſe authors are meant, not the people we are here ſpeaking of, but other *German* nations, who from their long beards were called *Longobarbi* and *Langobardi*.

Gratian returns to Gaul.

A law againſt heretics.

The Lombards.

WE

[l] GREG. NYSS. in funere Flaccillæ, p. 533. [m] ZOS. l. iv. p. 777. [n] CLAUD. conſul. Hon. c. 4. p. 40, 41. [o] AUSON. ep. 2. p. 5, 6. [p] SOCR. l. v. c. 6. p. 260. [q] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 100. [r] AMBROS. de fide, p. 109—112. [s] Idem ibid. & de Spir. l. i. c. 1. p. 213. [t] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 117. [u] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 100. [w] AUSON. conſ. p. 411. [x] Idem ibid. [y] PROSP. chron. GROT. proleg. in hiſt. Goth. p. 53. [z] Idem, ibid. p. 27. PAUL. DIAC. de geſt. Longobard. l. i. c. 2—16. p. 746. [a] GROT. p. 27, 53.

The deplorable ſtate of the eaſtern provinces.

We left *Theodoſius* at *Sirmium*, where he had been declared emperor on the nineteenth of *January* of this year 379. He was ſurrounded on all ſides by numberleſs multitudes of barbarians, who, after the defeat and death of *Valens*, ſcoured the neighbouring countries without reſtraint, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Dacia*, *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were already loſt. The *Goths*, the *Taifali*, the *Alans* and the *Hunns*, were maſters of the greateſt part of theſe provinces, and had ravaged and laid waſte the reſt: the *Armenians*, *Iberians* and *Perſians*, were likewiſe up in arms, and ready to take advantage of the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the empire [b]. What evils, ſays *Gregory Nazianzen*, have we not ſeen or heard of? whole countries have been deſtroyed with fire and ſword; many thouſand perſons of all ranks and ages have been inhumanly maſſacred; the rivers are ſtill dyed with blood, and the ground covered with heaps of dead bodies. Let us not aſcribe the calamities we ſuffer to the cowardice of our ſoldiers, who have conquered the world; our ſins, and the *Arian* impiety, which has ſo long prevailed, are the only cauſe of our misfortunes [c]. The few ſoldiers who had ſurvived the late defeat, ſtruck with terror and diſmay, kept within the cities and ſtrong-holds of *Thrace*, without daring ſo much as to look abroad, much leſs to make head againſt the victorious enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies [d]. *Gratian*, in all likelihood, gave the new emperor ſome troops; 'tis at leaſt certain, that he left with him two officers of great diſtinction, *viz.* count *Ricomer*, a *Frank* by nation, and *Majorianus*, who commanded the troops of *Illyricum* under *Gratian*, and was by *Theodoſius* raiſed to the poſt of general both of the horſe and foot. Both theſe officers diſtinguiſhed themſelves under *Theodoſius* in a very eminent manner, and gained great advantages over the *Goths* [e]. *Theodoſius*, leaving *Sirmium* ſoon after the departure of *Gratian*, repaired to *Theſſalonica*, the capital of *Eaſt Illyricum*, which *Gratian* had yielded to him, as we have obſerved above [f], and was ſtill there on the ſeventeenth of *June* [g]. During his ſtay in that metropolis, the chief cities of the eaſt ſent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his acceſſion to the ſovereign power, and craving his protection. At the head of the deputies from *Conſtantinople* was the celebrated orator *Themiſtius*, who, in a ſpeech which he pronounced on that occaſion, begged the emperor to confirm the privileges granted to that great metropolis by his anceſtors. The emperor received them all in a moſt obliging manner, promiſing to redreſs, as far as in him lay, the evils of which they complained [h]. Having reinforced his army with new levies, and made other preparations for war, during his ſtay at *Theſſalonica*, he took the field, probably about the end of *June*; for on the ſeventh of *July* he was at *Scupi* in *Dardania*, and on the tenth of *Auguſt* at a place called *Vicus Auguſti* [i], the ſituation of which is unknown to geographers. Several battles were fought this year, of which we can ſcarce give any account; for our beſt guide, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, fails us here; and other authors are ſo obſcure in their accounts, ſo inconſiſtent with each other, and often with themſelves, that we can ſcarce depend upon any thing they relate. *Idatius* [k], *Proſper* [l], and *Oroſius* [m], tell us, that many great battles were fought, and as many ſignal victories gained by *Theodoſius*. On the other hand, *Zoſimus* mentions but one battle, which he deſcribes at length; but as he ſtudies on all occaſions to detract as much as he can from the glory of *Theodoſius*, he aſcribes the ſignal victory that was gained, not to him, but to one *Modares*, a prince of royal extraction among the *Goths*, who had lately taken party with the *Romans* [n]. *Zoſimus*, prompted by his blind zeal for the worſhip of the idols, omits no opportunity of vomiting his venom againſt a prince who compleated, as we ſhall ſee, the ruin of idolatry, which other princes had ſuffered out of policy, or had not been able utterly to extirpate. We ought to be very cautious in giving credit to what that writer relates to the prejudice of a prince, againſt whom he betrays on all occaſions an inveterate hatred, and unſurmountable prejudice. As to *Modares*, by whoſe conduct *Thrace* was delivered, according to that writer, from ruin and deſtruction, he was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity and experience in war. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* wrote ſome letters to him, wherein he extols his piety, and recommends to him the peace and tranquillity of the church [o]; whence we may conclude him to have been, not

The chief cities in the eaſt ſend deputies to Theodoſius.

He gains ſeveral victories over the Goths.

[b] Themist. or. xvi. p. 207. [c] Greg. Nas. or. xiv. p. 214. [d] Themist. ibid. p. 180. [e] Sidon. car. v. p. 312. [f] Zos. l. iv. p. 751. [g] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 99. [h] Themist. or. xiv. p. 180—183. Zos. l. iv. p. 751. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 100 [k] Idat. chron. faſt. [l] Prosper. chron. [m] Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. [n] Zos. l. iv. p. 751, 752. [o] Greg. Naz. epiſt. 135, 136. p. 864.

a not only a chriſtian, but a catholic. *Proſper* tells us, that *Theodoſius* not only overcame the *Goths* in ſeveral pitched battles, but forced them to repaſs the *Danube*, and by that means delivered *Thrace* from the inſupportable yoke under which it groaned [p]. Great numbers of them took part with the *Romans*, after having delivered up to the emperor ſome of the chief men among them as hoſtages. Thus *Proſper*, *Zoſimus* [q], and *Sozomen* [r]. However, it is no eaſy matter to determine, whither thoſe retired who repaſſed the *Danube*, ſince their own country was poſſeſſed by the *Hunns*, who had driven them out. The operations of this campaign are by ſome authors confuſedly related, and only hinted at by others; and therefore we have not been able to give any diſtinct account of them. All we know for certain is, that part of the *Goths* b ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*, and the reſt withdrew from *Thrace*. In this, at leaſt, all authors are unanimous. The emperor, having thus reſtored *Thrace* to its former tranquillity, returned in the latter end of the autumn to *Theſſalonica*, and there took up his winter-quarters.

And delivers Thrace.

THE following year 380, the two emperors were conſuls, *Gratian* the fifth time, and *Theodoſius* the firſt. The former, after having paſſed the winter at *Treves*, from which place we find two laws dated the ſixth and fifteenth of *February*, ſet out early in the ſpring for *Italy*, and was on the fourteenth of *March* at *Aquileia*, and at *Milan* on the twenty-fourth of *April*. From *Milan* he advanced to *Sirmium*, and continued till the end of the ſummer, partly in the neighbourhood of that city, and partly in c *Pannonia* [s]. *Theodoſius* was ſeized in the month of *February* of this year with a dangerous malady; and this was what obliged *Gratian* to quit *Gaul*, and haſten into *Illyricum*, leſt the neighbouring barbarians ſhould lay hold of that opportunity to break into *Thrace* [t]. As the *Goths* were ſtill in arms, and threatened to paſs the *Danube*, *Gratian*, during the malady of his colleague, propoſed, and concluded a treaty of peace with them, which, however advantagious to their nation, was confirmed by *Theodoſius* upon his recovery [u]. One of the articles of this treaty was, if *Zoſimus* is to be credited, that the *Goths*, who ſerved in the *Roman* armies, ſhould be at liberty to quit the ſervice when they pleaſed, provided they found others to ſubſtitute in their room [w]. *Gratian*, by a law dated from *Milan* the twenty-fourth of d *April*, exempts from the obligation of acting upon the ſtage ſuch women as had embraced the chriſtian religion, tho' bound by their birth to follow that infamous profeſſion [x]. He renewed the ſame law the following year, adding this clauſe to it, that if ſuch women behaved for the future more like players than chriſtians, they ſhould be condemned to ſerve the ſtage the remaining part of their lives, without remiſſion [y]. As for *Theodoſius*, being ſeized in the beginning of this year with a dangerous malady, as we have hinted above, he demanded with great earneſtneſs the ſacrament of baptiſm; which he received with exemplary piety at the hands of *Aſcolus* biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, after having carefully informed himſelf of the faith that prelate profeſſed. Finding him to be both orthodox in his belief, and blameleſs in e his manners, the pious emperor immediately ſent for him to court, was baptized by him; and from that inſtant, the violence of the malady abating, he began to recover [z]. Soon after, the emperor gave a ſignal proof of his zeal for the orthodox faith, by the famous law dated from *Theſſalonica* the twenty-eighth of *February* of the preſent year 380. In that law *Theodoſius* declares, that he will have all his ſubjects, without exception, to adhere to the faith which the church of *Rome* had received of St. *Peter*, which was taught by *Damaſcus* biſhop of that city, and by *Peter* biſhop of *Alexandria*, a man of great ſanctity; that is, that they muſt all acknowledge and confeſs the divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, that thoſe who held this doctrine, ſhould be deemed chriſtian catholics: but, on the con- f trary, ſuch as rejected it, ſhould be treated as heretics and infamous perſons; their conventicles ſhould not be called churches, and they themſelves ſhould undergo thoſe puniſhments, which were due to their wickedneſs, from the imperial authority and divine juſtice, it being a crime and a ſacrilege to depart from the true faith through contempt, nay, or out of ignorance [a]. Thus this memorable law, which was addreſſed to the people of *Conſtantinople*, and to the prefect *Eutropius*, with orders to

Gratian *returns to* Illyricum.

And concludes a treaty with the Goths.

Theodoſius *being ſeized with a dangerous malady, is baptized.*

His zeal for the orthodox faith.

ſend

[p] PROSP. chron. p. 102—104. [q] Zos. p. 756. [r] Soz. l. vii. c. 4. p. 707. [s] Cod. Theod. chron. [t] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 27. p. 649. [u] PROSP. chron. [w] Zos. l. iv. p. 756. [x] Cod. Theod. l, xv. tit. 7. leg. 4. p. 365. [y] Idem, leg. 9. p. 371. & leg. viii. p. 370. [z] AMBROS. ep. 21. p. 229. Soz. p. 707. AUG. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 26. p. 64. [a] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 25. p. 57.

ſend it into all the provinces, and cauſe it to be every-where obſerved by the ſubjects of the empire [b]. To this law St. *Auſtin*, no doubt, alluded, when he wrote, that *Theodoſius*, upon his acceſſion to the empire, by a law full of mercy and juſtice, curbed the fury of the wicked, and relieved the church, long oppreſſed by the protection given by *Valens* to the *Arians* [c]. Beſides this, the emperor publiſhed ſeveral other laws this year, tending to the reformation of manners, *viz.* one dated the twenty-ſeventh of *March*, forbidding all capital trials during the forty days preceding *Eaſter*; that is, during *Lent*; another of the eighteenth of *December*, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, widows to marry during the time of mourning for their deceaſed huſbands, which was by this law extended from ten months to a whole year: Several laws againſt informers, who were to be puniſhed with death, if they were found to have informed thrice, tho' their informations had always proved true. By a law dated the ſixteenth of *November*, the emperor declares it unlawful for any one to beg the eſtate of ſuch perſons as were condemned for treaſon; adding, whereas the importunity of ſuch petitioners often wreſts from the prince what he ought not to grant, his reſcript in their favour ſhall be of no force; and ſuch as ſhall by that means have obtained the confiſcated eſtates, ſhall be puniſhed as tranſgreſſors of the laws. Theſe eſtates he will have the prince to grant merely of his own motion [d]. Under other princes, the eſtates of perſons condemned for treaſon were frequently granted to thoſe who had accuſed them, which proved a great encouragement to informers; but this, and the other laws of *Theodoſius*, put a ſtop to their vile practices. By former laws, the eſtates of ſuch as had been baniſhed, or executed, fell to the exchequer; but *Theodoſius*, by two laws of this year, dated the ſeventeenth of *June*, orders the eſtates of the former to be divided between the exchequer and the criminal, or his children; and thoſe of the latter to be left intire to their children or grand-children [e]. We are not told what induced the emperor to be more indulgent to the children of thoſe who were executed, than to the children of ſuch as were only baniſhed. In caſes of treaſon, only one ſixth of the criminal's eſtate was to be left to his children, whether he was baniſhed or executed. The emperor publiſhed ſeveral other laws this year, which are ſo many inſtances of his good-nature, his application to buſineſs, and his care of public welfare [f].

Several laws of this year.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty which the *Goths* had concluded with *Gratian*, during the malady of *Theodoſius*, that prince had no ſooner left *Illyricum*, to return to *Gaul*, than they paſſed the *Danube*, under the conduct of *Fritigern*, *Alatheus*, and *Saphrax*; and, breaking into *Thrace* and *Pannonia*, advanced as far as *Macedon*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword [g]. *Zoſimus* writes, that they laid waſte *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, and penetrated as far as *Achaia*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition [h]. *Theodoſius*, having in the mean time drawn together his troops, took the field; and coming up with the enemy on the frontiers of *Macedon*, thought it adviſeable not to venture an engagement with forces ſo much ſuperior to him in number; but to haraſs them, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys. The *Goths*, appriſed of his deſign, attacked the *Roman* camp in the dead of the night, made themſelves maſters of it, cut moſt of *Theodoſius*'s men in pieces, and would have taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, had he not ſaved himſelf by a ſpeedy flight, while the *Goths* were buſied in plundering the tents [i]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But *Idatius* [k], *Marcellinus* [l], *Gregory Nazianzen*, who was then at *Conſtantinople* [m], and *Philoſtorgius* [n], an *Arian* writer, and conſequently no-ways partial to *Theodoſius*, aſſure us, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Goths*; and that, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, which happened, according to ſome, on the ſeventeenth, according to others, on the twenty-fourth, of *November*, he entered that metropolis in triumph. *Jornandes*, who omits no opportunity of ſetting forth the exploits of his *Goths*, takes no notice of their pretended victory over *Theodoſius*. Beſides, *Gregory Nazianzen* deſcribes his triumphal entry into *Conſtantinople*, of which he was an eye-witneſs; and adds, that he well deſerved that honour, for having checked the fury of the barbarians, who, confiding in their numbers and natural fierceneſs, had ventured to engage him [o]. The emperor, ſoon after his arrival in that metropolis, appointed

The Goths *reenter* Thrace.

Theodoſius *defeats the* Goths.

[b] Idem ibid. & Soz. p. p. 708. [c] August. ibid. l. v. c. 26. p. 64. [d] Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 441. [e] Idem, l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 8. p. 335. [f] Idem, l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 3. p. 29. tit. 3. leg. 6. p. 31. tit. 2. leg. 6. p. 32. & l. x. tit. 18. leg. 2. p. 486. [g] Jorn. ibid. p. 649. [h] Zos. p. 756. [i] Idem, p. 757. [k] Idat. faſt. [l] Marcel. chron. [m] Greg. Naz. car. 1. p. 20. [n] Philost. l. ix. c. 19. p. 133. [o] Greg. Naz. car. i. p. 20, 21.

appointed *Gregory Nazianzen* biſhop of the place, in the room of the *Arian* biſhop *Demophilus*, who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the doctrine of the council of *Nice*. The emperor in perſon conducted the new biſhop to the great church, and put him in poſſeſſion, both of that, and of all the other churches in the city, with their revenues, driving out the *Arians*, who had held them for the ſpace of forty years [p]. Thus was the orthodox faith re-eſtabliſhed in the metropolis of the eaſt, about the latter end of this year 380. The next conſuls were *Fl. Syagrius* and *Fl. Eucherius*, uncle, as is ſuppoſed, to *Theodoſius*. *Gratian* was this year, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, at *Milan* on the twenty-ninth of *March*; at *Aquileia* on the twenty-ſecond of *April* and eighth of *May*; and at *Treves* on the fourteenth of *October*. He returned to *Aquileia* on the twenty-ſixth of *December*, and ſeems to have paſſed the winter in
b that city [q]. *Valentinian* had introduced the cuſtom of ſetting yearly at liberty ſome criminals, on occaſion of the feſtival of *Eaſter*. This cuſtom *Gratian* confirmed by a law addreſſed to *Antidius*, vicar of *Rome*; but excludes from ſuch indulgence all criminals guilty of treaſon, parricide, murder, adultery, rapes, inceſt, magic, all falſe coiners, and ſuch as had been pardoned before. This law was read at *Rome* on the twenty-firſt of *July* of this year 381 [r]. As to the affairs in the eaſt, *Theodoſius* continued at *Conſtantinople*, at leaſt to the nineteenth of *July*. During his ſtay in that metropolis, he publiſhed a law dated the tenth of *January*, forbidding heretics of all denominations to hold aſſemblies in cities, and commanding the churches throughout
c the empire to be immediately delivered up to the catholics. The execution of this memorable law was committed to *Sapor*, one of the greateſt generals of his time, who was ſent into the ſeveral provinces, with orders every-where to drive out the heretics, and put the catholic paſtors in poſſeſſion of the churches the ſectaries had uſurped. *Sapor* met no-where with the leaſt difficulty in the execution of his commiſſion, except at *Antioch*, where the catholics were divided among themſelves [s]. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that the *Arians* were not only driven from the churches, but from the city of *Conſtantinople* [t]. This year *Athanaric*, the moſt powerful of all the *Gothiſh* princes, who had maintained a three years war with *Valens*, as we have related above, being driven out by a faction at home, took refuge in the *Roman* territories, notwithſtanding his
d pretended oath never to tread on *Roman* ground; and coming to *Conſtantinople*, was there received with great marks of friendſhip by *Theodoſius*, who went out to meet him, and attended him, and his numerous retinue, into the city on the eleventh of *January* of the preſent year. But *Athanaric* died ſoon after, *viz.* on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month; and *Theodoſius* cauſed him to be buried after the *Roman* manner, with ſuch pomp and ſolemnity, that the *Goths*, who had attended him in his flight, aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the funeral, returned home, reſolved never to moleſt the *Romans*; nay, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceaſed prince, they took upon them to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and prevented the *Romans* from being attacked on that ſide [u]. *Oroſius* writes,
e that the emperor's generous behaviour to *Athanaric* made ſuch a deep impreſſion on all the *Gothiſh* nations, that, charmed with virtue and ſingular good-nature, they renounced all farther thoughts of war, and ſubmitted to the laws of the empire [w]. The ſame thing is confirmed by *Idatius* and *Marcellinus*; but this did not happen till the third of *October* of the following year, as we ſhall relate anon. A few days after the arrival of *Athanaric* at *Conſtantinople*, and before his death, the philoſopher *Themiſtius* pronounced his fifteenth oration in the palace before the emperor, in which he obſerves, among other things, that *Theodoſius*, who was then in the third year of his reign, had granted innumerable favours, but had not yet condemned one perſon to death [x]. The pious emperor, no leſs deſirous to heal the diviſions
f that rent the church, than to redreſs the abuſes which prevailed in the ſtate, ſummoned this year, in the month of *May*, the ſecond general or œcumenical council, which was held at *Conſtantinople* by all the biſhops of his dominions [y]. While the council was aſſembling, the emperor publiſhed a law dated the ſecond of *May*, depriving ſuch as had renounced the chriſtian religion to embrace paganiſm, of the right of diſpoſing of any thing by will [z]. By a law dated of the eighth of the ſame month,

The orthodox faith re-eſtabliſhed in the eaſt.

All the churches delivered up to the catholics.

Athanaric *recurs to* Theodoſius, *dies, and is interred at* Conſtantinople.

The ſecond œcumenical council. Several laws of Theodoſius *againſt heretics*

[p] Socr. l. v. c. 7. p. 263, 264. Greg. Naz. ibid. [q] Cod. Theod. chron. p, 104, 105. [r] Idem, l. ix. tit. 31. leg. 6. p. 275. [s] Idem, l. vi. tit. 5. leg. 6. p. 117, 118. Theodoret. l. v. c. 2. p. 706. [t] Philoſt. l. 9. c. 19. p. 522. [u] Zos. l. iv. p. 758, 759, Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. [w] Oros. ibid. [x] Themist. orat. xv. p. 185—190. [y] Socr. l. v. c. 8. p. 264. [z] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 203.

month, he extends that penalty to the *Manichees*, whoſe eſtates he declares confiſ- a
cated, unleſs their children ſhould embrace the true religion; in which caſe they were to enjoy the inheritance of their parents [b]. In a council held before the emperor on the twenty-ninth of *June*, *Theodoſius* declared, that the reſpect due to the prieſthood not ſuffering biſhops to be ſummoned to the public courts as witneſſes, they were by the laws exempted from the obligation of appearing there [c]. By another law dated the nineteenth of *July*, he forbids the *Eunomians* and *Arians* to build churches, either in the cities, or in the country, and declares the places where they ſhall have preached, or performed any other function, confiſcated [d]. All theſe laws are dated from *Conſtantinople*; but two others, of the twenty-firſt of *July*, from *Heraclea* in *Thrace* [e], whither the emperor had advanced againſt ſuch of the barbarians as were ſtill in arms. b
Zoſimus tells us, that having demanded aſſiſtance of *Gratian*, that prince ſent him a conſiderable body of troops commanded by *Baudo*, or *Bauto*, and *Arbogaſtes*, who were both *Franks*, but experienced officers, and greatly attached to the empire. The former was father to *Eudoxia* the wife of *Arcadius*, and maintained a correſpondence by letters with *Symmachus* [f]. Of the latter we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Upon the arrival of theſe two renowned commanders, the *Goths*, who were ravaging *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, retired with great precipitation into *Thrace*; but not being able to ſubſiſt in that province, which they themſelves had laid waſte the preceding year, they were forced to ſue for peace, and ſubmit to *Theodoſius* [g]. Thus *Zoſimus*, detracting, according to his cuſtom, as much as he can, from the glory of *Theodoſius*. c

The Scyri *and* Carpodacæ *defeated by* Theodoſius.

However, he owns, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Scyri* and *Carpodacæ*, who had, jointly with the *Hunns*, broken into the empire, and that he obliged them to repaſs the *Danube* [h]. We find the *Scyri* frequently mentioned amongſt the northern barbarians; but of the *Carpodacæ* no farther notice is taken in hiſtory. This campaign ended, it ſeems, in *September*; for, on the fifth of that month, the emperor was at *Adrianople*, and on the twenty-eighth at *Conſtantinople*, where he continued the remaining part of the year [i].

The following year 382. when *Antonius*, called alſo by ſome *Antoninus*, and ſuppoſed to have been father-in-law to *Theodoſius*, was conſul with *Syagrius*, the neighbouring barbarians broke into *Italy*; but were ſoon driven back by *Gratian*, who paſſed the greateſt part of this year at *Milan*, or in that neighbourhood, watching their motions [k]. From ſome laws publiſhed in the month of *September* of this year, d
it appears, that the emperor was forced to raiſe new levies, and demand extraordinary ſubſidies, for the defence of *Rhætia* and *Illyricum*. A law dated the fifteenth of *December* informs us, that perſons of fortune were obliged to ſupply the army with horſes [l]. As *Rome* was infeſted by multitudes of beggars, *Gratian*, by a law dated the twentieth of *June*, orders *Severus*, prefect of the city, to ſeize ſuch of them as were capable of earning their livelihood by working, and to beſtow them upon thoſe who ſhall have informed againſt them, either as ſlaves, if they were ſuch by condition, or to be employed the remaining part of their lives, if they were free-born, in tilling their grounds, and in other works of agriculture [m]. By another law dated the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, he ſuſpends, for the ſpace of thirty days, the execution of all cri- e
minals, reckoning from the day they received ſentence. By another law, he ordered the altar of *Victory*, which ſtood in the place where the *Roman* ſenate aſſembled, to be removed, and declared the revenues belonging to it confiſcated [n]. This altar had been removed by *Conſtantius*, when he came to *Rome* in 357. but re-eſtabliſhed by *Julian* in 361. and ſuffered to continue there by *Valentinian*, who allowed to all his ſubjects the free exerciſe of what religion they liked beſt. At the ſame time, *Gratian* declared void and null all the privileges and exemptions granted by other emperors to the pagan pontiffs, or to the veſtal virgins, ordering the officers of the revenue to ſeize on the lands, which, for the future, ſhould be bequeathed to them or their temples. The pagan ſenators ſent deputies, at the head of whom was *Symmachus*, f
to try whether they could prevail upon the emperor to revoke theſe laws; but *Gratian* would not ſo much as admit them to his preſence [o]. The heretics met with no leſs ſevere treatment in the eaſt from *Theodoſius*, than the pagans in the weſt from *Gratian*;

A law of Gratian *againſt beggars.*

He cauſes the altar of Victory *to be removed out of the ſenate.*

Laws of Theodoſius *againſt heretics.*

[b] Idem, tit. 5. leg. 7. p. 120. [c] Idem, l. xi. tit. 39. leg. 8. p. 327. [d] Idem, tit. 1. leg. 3. p. 9.
[e] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 105. [f] Zos. l. iv. p. 757. Symm. l. iv. ep. 15, 16. p. 150. [g] Zos. ibid. p. 758. [h] Idem, p. 759. [i] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 105. [k] Idem, p. 106. [l] Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 149. [m] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 18. p. 256, 257. [n] Idem, l. x. tit. 16. leg. 10. p. 290.
[o] Ambr. ep. 11. p. 195. Symm. l. x. ep. 54. p. 455, 456.

a *Gratian*; for by a law dated the laſt of *March*, he declared ſuch of the *Manichees*, as were then known by the names of *Encratitæ*, *Saccofori*, and *Hydroparaſtatæ*, that is, the *continent*, the *ſack-bearers*, the *water drinkers*, guilty of death, encouraging all to inform againſt them, and likewiſe againſt ſuch as, in the celebration of *Eaſter*, differed as to the day from other chriſtians; theſe he likewiſe pronounced guilty of death [p]. All the laws enacted this year by *Theodoſius* are dated from *Conſtantinople*; which gives us room to believe, that he continued in that city without taking the field, the *Goths* having, by their deputies, offered to ſubmit to him, as we have related above. As they had been driven out of *Macedon*, and ſhut up in *Thrace*, where they could not ſubſiſt, *Theodoſius*, not caring to drive them to deſpair, received their

The Goths *ſubmit to* Theodoſius.

b deputies in a very obliging manner; and as they could not return to their own country, which was held by the *Hunns*, upon their laying down their arms, he gave them leave to ſettle in *Thrace* and *Mœſia*, which two provinces were almoſt quite diſpeopled by the frequent incurſions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late wars. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other ſubjects of the empire [q]. This was in all likelihood one of the articles on which they ſubmitted. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* ſervice; but formed a ſeparate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation, which proved the ſource of many evils; but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, in-

c juſtice, and cruelty of the *Roman* officers, they refuſed to put themſelves into their power, and inſiſted upon their continuing united, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt ſuch inſults as they had reaſon to apprehend, when diſperſed among the *Roman* troops. *Zoſimus* does not forget to blame the conduct of *Theodoſius*, and his want of foreſight, in this particular [r]; but *Themiſtius*, in a ſpeech which he pronounced before the emperor himſelf, tells him, that he gained by his indulgence and good-nature the barbarians, whom he was not perhaps in a condition to conquer by force of arms [s]. The *Goths* therefore were not yet ſo far weakened, as to ſubmit to what terms the emperor thought fit to impoſe upon them [t].

THE next conſuls were *Fl. Merobaudes* the ſecond time, and *Flavius Saturninus*.

d *Gratian* was, from the twenty-ninth of *January* of this year 383, to the ſecond of *May*, at *Milan*; at *Padua* on the twenty-ſeventh and twenty-eighth of the ſame Month; and at *Verona* on the ſeventeenth of *June* [u]. He publiſhed ſeveral excellent laws this year, and among the reſt one dated the nineteenth of *January*, revoking all the privileges and exemptions granted to particular perſons, to the prejudice of the body to which they belonged [w]; another dated the twenty-ſeventh of *February*, inflicting ſevere penalties on ſuch as ſhould conceal deſerters or robbers [x]; a third, condemning informers to ſuch puniſhments as were due to the crimes of which they accuſed others, when they could not make good the charge [y]; a fourth, forbidding any deference to be paid to ſuch orders as tribunes, ſecretaries, counts, or any other per-

Several laws publiſhed by Gratian.

e ſons, however dignified and diſtinguiſhed, ſhould pretend to have received from the emperor by word of mouth [z]: the former of theſe two laws is dated the twenty-ſeventh of *May*, and the latter the ſeventeenth of *June*. By a law dated the twenty-ſecond of *May*, he declares thoſe incapable of diſpoſing of their eſtates by will, who ſhall renounce the chriſtian religion to embrace paganiſm, *Judaiſm*, or the execrable tenets of the *Manichees*. Thoſe by whom they ſhall have been ſeduced, are ſubjected to the ſame penalty [a]. This year is remarkable for a dreadful famine, that raged in *Rome*, but more on account of the diſturbances that were raiſed in the ſtate by *Maximus*, and put an end to the life and reign of the excellent emperor *Gratian*. That uſurper, named *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, was by birth a *Briton*, as a learned mo-

f dern writer pretends to gather from *Socrates* [b]; but, in our opinion, that author ſpeaks of the place where he began to reign, and not of the place of his nativity [c], as does likewiſe *Gildas* [d]. *Pacatus* who flouriſhed in thoſe times, aſſures us, that he was a ſtranger in *Britain*, and had been baniſhed into this iſland [e]. *Zoſimus* writes, that he was a native of *Spain* [f], which is not improbable, ſince it is certain, that he pretended to be allied to *Theodoſius*. He was brought up, ſays *Pacatus*, in the family of

[p] Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 10. leg. i. p. 208. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 9. p. 124. [q] THEMIST. orat. xvi. p. 199 [r] Zos. p. 758. [s] THEMIST. ibid. p. 211. [t] Idem, p. 212. [u] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 108, 109. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 13. p. 100. [x] Idem, l. ix. tit. 29. leg. 2. p. 222. [y] Idem, tit. 1. leg. 14. p. 19. [z] Idem, l. i. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 27. [a] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 205. [b] USSER. eccleſ. Britan. antiq. p. 199. [c] Vid SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. [d] GILD. de excid. Britan. c 10. p. 117. [e] PACAT. p. 263, 269. [f] Zos. p. 760.

of *Theodoſius* as a ſervant, and employed in the meaneſt offices [g]. *Zoſimus* pretends, a
that he ſerved in *Britain* with *Theodoſius*, who, as we have obſerved above, attended
his father into this iſland in the year 368. Be that as it will, ſeeing *Theodoſius* raiſed
to the empire, ſays *Zoſimus*, while he could not attain to any creditable employment,
prompted by jealouſy and envy, he began to foment the averſion of the *Roman* ſol-
diers to *Gratian*, whom they looked upon as too great an encourager of foreigners;
inſomuch that in the end they revolted, declared *Maximus* emperor, and, with the
Maximus *revolts in* Britain. uſual ſolemnity, gave him the purple and diadem. He gave out, that he was allied
to *Theodoſius*, and that it was with his participation and conſent he had taken upon
him the ſovereignty [h]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But *Sulpicius*, *Severus* [i], and *Oroſius* [k], tell us,
that the ſoldiers mutinying, forced him to accept the purple. The authority of b
theſe two authors, of whom the former flouriſhed at that very time, and the other
His Character. ſoon after, is of great weight with us. *Oroſius* ſtyles him a man of courage, and
worthy of the empire, had he attained it by lawful means [l]; and *Sulpicius* ſpeaks of
him as one, who, abating this uſurpation, deſerved in every other reſpect to be
eſteemed and commended [m]. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that, before his uſurpation,
he had gained ſeveral ſignal victories in *Britain* [n]; and ſome modern authors, that
he drove the *Scots* quite out of the iſland [o]. But neither is conſiſtent with what we
have related above out of *Zoſimus*. *Maximus* at firſt was ſupported only by a ſmall
number of the inhabitants of this iſland; but others flocking to him from all parts of c
Britain, he found himſelf in a very ſhort time at the head of a numerous army,
He paſſes over into Gaul. which, without loſs of time, he tranſported into *Gaul*; and landing at the mouth of
the *Rhine*, he prevailed upon the neighbouring provinces to revolt from *Gratian*, and
join him, not ſo much by force of arms, as by art and addreſs [p], extending, ſays *Gil-
das*, by lyes and perjuries the empire which he had acquired by wickedneſs and
rebellion [q]. *Gratian* was then making war upon the *Germans* called *Juthongi*; but
he no ſooner heard of the arrival of the uſurper in *Gaul*, than he haſtened to *Treves*,
to put a ſtop to his farther progreſs. On his march, great numbers of his troops,
gained over by the emiſſaries of *Maximus*, abandoned him, to take part with the
uſurper. However, thinking himſelf ſtill a match for *Maximus*, he left *Treves*, went d
in queſt of his enemy, and offered him battle [r]. *Baronius* writes, that *Gratian*, finding
himſelf abandoned by his own troops, had called the *Huns* and *Alans* to his aſſiſtance,
and that his army conſiſted chiefly of thoſe barbarians [s]. The learned *Uſher* was once
of the ſame opinion [t]; but afterwards retracted it [u]; St. *Ambroſe*, on whoſe autho-
rity it was grounded, ſpeaking in the letter quoted by *Baronius* [w], not of *Gratian*,
but of *Valentinian* II. *Gratian*'s army was commanded by *Merobaudes*, and count
Balio, an officer of known valour and fidelity [x]. Some authors write, that a battle
was fought near *Paris* [y]. But *Zoſimus* tells us, that the two armies continued for five
days together in the preſence of each other, without any action, except a few ſkir-
miſhes, in which no great advantage was gained on either ſide; but that in the end e
the troops of *Gratian*, provoked at his ſhewing ſo much favour, and giving the pre-
ference, to foreigners, as if he chiefly relied on their courage and fidelity, ſhamefully
Gratian *abandoned by his army.* deſerted him, and went over to *Maximus*. *Gratian*, ſeeing himſelf thus betrayed
and abandoned, fled towards the *Alps*, attended only by three hundred horſemen;
and having got into *Lions*, after he had been refuſed admittance into other cities,
he was there taken priſoner, and ſoon after put to death [z]. That he was put to
death at *Lions*, all authors agree, except *Zoſimus*, who miſtook, as is ſuppoſed, *Sin-*
And put to death at Lions. *gidunum* in *Mœſia* for *Lugdunum* in *Gaul*. *Socrates* [a] and *Sozomen* [b] relate his death
with ſeveral circumſtances unknown to other writers; for they tell us, that *Andra-
gathius*, who was general of the horſe under *Maximus*, and ſent by him to purſue f
Gratian, coming up with the fugitive prince as he was croſſing the *Rhone*, put him-
ſelf into a cloſe litter, and ordered his men to give out, that in the litter was the
empreſs *Læta*, whom *Gratian* had lately married, going to her huſband. The
emperor, giving credit to this report, and impatient to ſee one whom he ſo tenderly
loved,

[g] Pacat. p. 264. [h] Zos. p. 760. [i] Sulp. Sev. vit. S. Martin. c. 23. p. 208. [k] Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. [l] Oros. ibid. [m] Sulp. Sev. l. ii. c. 7. p. 290. [n] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. i. c. 43. p. 30. [o] Vide Uss. eccleſ. Brit. antiq. p. 592. [p] Zos. l. iv. p. 760. [q] Gild. excid. Brit. c. 10, 11. p. 117. [r] Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. Zos. p. 760. [s] Baron. ad ann. 383. [t] Uss. Brit. eccleſ. antiq. p. 590. [u] Idem ibid. p. 1058. [w] Ambros. ep. 56. p. 320. [x] Prosper. p. 267. Ambros. ep. 56. p. 320, 321. [y] Prosp. Tyro. chron. [z] Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. Hier. chron. p. 26. Ambros. pſal. lxi. p. 746. [a] Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270 [b] Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721.

a loved, turned back to meet her; but while he was ſtanding with open arms ready to receive her, *Andragathius*, ſtarting out of the litter, ſeized him, and ſoon after put him to death. This account cannot be reconciled with what we read in St. *Ambroſe*, a contemporary writer, *viz.* that *Gratian* was betrayed by a perſon whom he had truſted with intire provinces: that being by the traitor invited to a banquet, he refuſed at firſt to comply with the invitation, ſuſpecting ſome treachery; but being in the end deceived by falſe oaths, and feigned proteſtations, he came to the banquet, but was murdered, as he withdrew by thoſe who had feaſted with him [c]. Theſe circumſtances are not mentioned by hiſtorians; only *Oroſius* and *Marcellinus* write, that he was ſurpriſed by the craft and artifice of *Maximus*, and ſoon after put to death [d].

b Thus died *Gratian* in the flower of his age, having lived only twenty-four years, and three or four months, and reigned, from the time he had been created emperor, ſixteen years, and one day, but from the death of his father, only ſeven years, and nine months [e]. He married in 374 or 375 *Conſtantia*, the poſthumous daughter of the emperor *Conſtantius*, and had by her a ſon, and other children [f]; but they all died, it ſeems, before him [g], as did likewiſe his wife *Conſtantia*, whoſe body was brought this very year to *Conſtantinople*, according to *Idatius* and the chronicle of *Alexandria*, on the thirty-firſt of *Auguſt*, and interred on the ſecond of *December*. *Gratian* not long before his death married to his ſecond wife *Læta* [h], to whom, as well as to her mother, by name *Piſſamine*, *Theodoſius* allowed a yearly penſion, to ſupport

c them according to their rank, which they employed in relieving the poor of *Rome*, while that city was beſieged by *Alaric* in the year 408 [i]. The death of *Gratian* was no ſooner known at *Milan*, than St. *Ambroſe*, who had lived in great intimacy with him, and was, as appears from his works, deeply affected with the loſs of ſuch an excellent and inimitable prince, as he ſtyles him, ſet out in great haſte from that city to demand his body of *Maximus* in the name of *Valentinian*. But the uſurper refuſed it to him, pretending, that the tranſporting of his aſhes would ſerve only to renew the grief of the ſoldiery [k]. However, they were afterwards brought to *Milan*, and interred there near the tomb of *Valentinian* II. As for his character, all *His character.*

d writers, whether chriſtians or pagans, agree, that he was endowed with every good quality that can be deſired in a prince, extolling with one voice his modeſty, his juſtice, his moderation, and deſire of doing good to all, in which he ſeemed to place his chief happineſs. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, tho' a zealous pagan, writes, that he would have equalled the greateſt princes of antiquity, had he lived longer; but at the ſame time blames him, as being too much addicted to hunting, and other diverſions [l], which may be juſtly imputed to his youth, and for which he would, in all likelihood, have made ample amends by applying ſeriouſly to buſineſs in his riper years. St. *Ambroſe*, *Theodoret*, *Rufinus*, *Auſonius*, and even *Zoſimus* himſelf, give us a great idea of his piety, in which he ſurpaſſed all the princes who had reigned before him, *Conſtantine* himſelf not excepted. St. *Ambroſe*, in his anſwer to a letter the emperor had written to him, gives him the title of *moſt chriſtian* [m]. The many laws he enacted in favour of the

e catholics, are ſo many inſtances of his zeal for the orthodox faith. Tho' none of the chriſtian princes his predeceſſors had ſcrupled to aſſume the habit of the high pontiff of the pagans, yet when it was, according to cuſtom, brought to him, he rejected *Is ſaid to be the firſt who rejected the title of high pontiff.* it, ſaying, that it was not conſiſtent with the principles of the chriſtian religion to wear that habit. Thus *Zoſimus* [n]; but it will be no eaſy taſk to prove, that either *Conſtantine* after his converſion, or any other chriſtian prince, ever aſſumed the habit or title of PONTIFEX MAXIMUS though the latter was commonly given to them by the *pagans*, and even to *Gratian* himſelf [o]. The pagan prieſts, adds *Zoſimus*, finding the emperor would not accept either of the habit or title of high-pontiff,

f the chief man among them uttered theſe memorable words; *If the prince will not be ſtyled* pontifex maximus, Maximus *will ſoon become* potifex [p], foretelling, that *Maximus* would be raiſed to the empire. But this pretended prediction, or, as we may call it, pun, was, without all doubt, invented after the revolt of *Maximus*. However that be, *Maximus* was no ſooner informed of the death of *Gratian*, than Maximus *declare his ſon* he took his ſon *Flavius Victor* for his collegue in the power he had uſurped, and Victor *his collegue.* gave

[c] AMBROS. pſal lxi. p. 848. [d] OROS. p. 220. MARCELL. chron. [e] SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. MARCELL chron. [f] AUG. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 25. AMBR. de fid. l. i. c. 20. [g] THEODOR. l. v. c. 12. p. 722. [h] Soz. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721. [i] Idem ibid. Zos. l. v. p. 815. [k] AMBROS. pſal. lxi. p. 849. [l] AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 344. [m] AMBROS. de fid. p. 110. [n] Zos. l. iv. p. 761. [o] GRUT. p. 160. BARON. ann. 312. [p] Zos. ibid.

gave him, though then only an infant, the title of *Auguſtus*, as we read in *Victor* the hiſtorian [p]; which is confirmed by ſome antient inſcriptions [q], tho' *Roſimus* gives him only the title of *Cæſar* [r]. The uſurper fixed the ſeat of his empire at *Treves*, and extended his wings, to uſe the expreſſion of *Gildas* [s], over *Spain* and *Britain*, being maſter, according to *Zoſimus* [t], of all the countries, which *Gratian*, in the diviſion of the weſtern provinces, had reſerved for his own ſhare. We do not find, that he put any of *Gratian*'s favourites to death, except *Merobaudes*, the conſul of this year, and *Balio*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Vallio*, one of the beſt officers of his age; their only crime was their inviolable attachment to *Gratian*, by whom they had been raiſed for their eminent ſervices to the greateſt offices in the ſtate [u]. *Merobaudes* received orders from the tyrant to diſpatch himſelf, which he did accordingly, to avoid a more ignominious death [w]. *Pacatus* writes, that *Balio* was ſtrangled in his own houſe by the *Britons*, who ſerved under *Maximus* [x]; but from St. *Ambroſe* it appears, that the uſurper had commanded him to be conveyed to *Challon* on the *Saone*, to be there burnt alive; but that he by a violent death, prevented the execution of ſo cruel a ſentence [y]. *Proſper*, in his chronicle, writes, that *Gratian* was betrayed by *Merobaudes*; but is therein contradicted by all other writers, and the death of that brave officer ſufficiently clears him from ſo black an aſperſion: whence in the chronicle of *Proſper*, ſome, inſtead of *Merobaudes*, read *Mellobaudes*; for *Mellobaudes*, king of the *Franks*, ſerved under *Gratian* in quality of *comes domeſticorum* [z]; and treachery was in thoſe days the peculiar character of that nation. *Maximus* commanded count *Narſes* likewiſe, and *Leucadius*, governor of a province, to be put to death for their attachment to *Gracian*; but was prevailed upon by the famous St. *Martin* to ſpare them [a]. *Paulinus Diaconus*, in his life of St. *Ambroſe*, tells us, that that prelate was ſent into *Gaul* to propoſe an accommodation between *Maximus* and young *Valentinian*; on which occaſion he treated the uſurper as one cut off from the communion of the church, exhorting him to attone by a ſincere repentance for the enormous crime he had committed in imbruing his hands in the blood of an innocent prince, his lawful ſovereign: the ſame author adds, that other biſhops, more complaiſant, flocking from all parts to the tyrant's court, by their low and ſhameful flatteries, lulled him aſleep in his wickedneſs [b]. As *Maximus* had brought over with him into *Gaul* the flower of the *Britiſh* youth, and the *Roman* ſoldiers quartered in the iſland, the country remained by that means expoſed to the incurſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who meeting with little or no oppoſition, over-ran the northern parts, committing every-where dreadful ravages. The *Romans* now-and then ſent over troops to drive them back into their own country; but they conſtantly returned, and continued thus harraſſing the *Roman* provinces till the arrival of the *Angles* and *Saxons*, who made themſelves maſters of that part of the iſland which is now known by the name of *England*, about the middle of the fifth century [c]. Thoſe *Britons*, who attended *Maximus* into *Gaul*, never returned to their native country; but are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in *Armorica*, which was allotted to them by *Maximus*, and from its new inhabitants called *Britania*, now *Bretagne* [d]. Colonies are ſaid to have been ſent from this iſland into *Bretagne* at three different times, *viz.* in the reign of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*, during the uſurpation of *Maximus*, and when the *Angles* made themſelves maſters of this iſland [e]. The ancients mention the latter, but take no notice of the other two colonies; which gives us room to queſtion the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. *Conſtantius*, who in the end of the fifth century wrote the life of St. *Germain* of *Auxerre*, calls *Bretagne*, *Armorica* [f]; but *Sidonius* of *Clermont*, who flouriſhed about the ſame time, ſpeaks of *Britons* inhabiting the country that borders on the *Loire* [g]; nay, amongſt his letters we find one to *Riotham* their king [h]. That the *Britons*, who went over with *Maximus*, ſettled in *Armorica* among the natives of the country, is not affirmed by any ancient hiſtorian, but may be looked upon as a conjecture not altogether improbable; but that they, driving out the ancient proprietors, made themſelves abſolute maſters of the country under the conduct of their leader *Conon Meriodoc*; and wanting women, had recourſe to *Dionotus*, or *Diodochus*, king of *Cornwall*,

Puts Merobaudes *and* Balio *to death.*

The Britons, *who attended* Maximus *into* Gaul, *are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in* Bretagne.

[p] VICT. p. 546. [q] REIN. p. 326. [r] Zos. p. 770. [s] GILD. excid. Brit. c. 10. p. 117. [t] Zos. p. 706. [u] PACAT. p. 267. AMBROS. ep. 56. p. 320. [w] PACAT. ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] AMBROS. ep. 56. p. 321. [z] Vide VALES. rer. Fran. l. ii. p. 59. [a] SULP. dialog. iii. c. 15. p. 321. [b] PAUL. DIAC. vit. Ambroſ. p. 82, 83. [c] GILD. c. 11. p. 117. [d] Idem ibid. USSER. ibid. p. 199, 200. [e] USSER. ibid. p. 421. [f] SURIUS, 31 Jul. p. 366. [g] SIDON. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. [h] Idem, l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74.

a *wall*, who ſent them his own daughter, by name *Urſula*, with eleven thouſand young women of quality, and ſixty thouſand of an inferior rank, is now deemed an arrant fable, even by the *Roman-catholic* writers. Had the *Britons* wanted women, they would, without all doubt, have kept thoſe of the country, when they drove out the men. Beſides, it is altogether improbable, that *Cornwall* was ſo ſtocked with women as to ſpare ſeventy-one thouſand virgins. The fleet, fraught with theſe unhappy virgins, is ſuppoſed to have been driven by a ſtorm to the mouth of the *Rhine*, and to have ſailed up that river to *Cologn*, where they fell into the hands of the barbarians, who fought for *Gratian* againſt *Maximus*, and were by them either put to death, or carried into captivity. *Urſula* is ſtill revered in the church of *Rome* b as a ſaint; but the number of eleven thouſand virgins, ſaid to have ſuffered martyrdom with her, has been not many years ſince left out of the *Roman* breviary. Of *Auſonius*, who was preceptor to *Gratian*, we ſhall ſpeak in note (L).

But

(L) *Decius*, or rather *Decimus Magnus Auſonius*, was a native of *Bourdeaux*. He tells us, that he was deſcended of a noble family (15); however, his father, who was a native of *Bazas*, and lived at *Bourdeaux*, followed the profeſſion of phyſic, till his ſon procured him the rank and title of honorary prefect of *Illyricum*. He practiſed *gratis*, and was generally eſteemed a man of learning; but, what may ſeem ſtrange, was better acquainted with the *Greek* than the *Latin* tongue. He died in 377. at the age of eighty eight or ninety (16). *Cæcilius Argicius Arborius*, uncle to *Auſonius* by the mother, was born in *Autun*, and deſcended of an illuſtrious family; but his father and uncle being proſcribed in the reign of *Gallienus* and *Aurelian*, he was obliged to abandon his country, and retire to *Bayonne*, where he married *Æmilia Corinthia Maura*, deſcended of a good family, and had by her one ſon named, *Æmilius Magnus Arborius*, and three daughters, *Hiluria*, *Dryadia* and *Æonia*: *Arborius* was a celebrated profeſſor of eloquence; *Hilaria* profeſſed celibacy, and became famous for her virtue; *Dryadia* was betrothed, but died a little before the celebrations of her nuptials; *Æonia* was mother to *Auſonius*. *Julia Cataphronia*, the ſiſter of *Julius Auſonius*, our author's father, embraced the ſtate of virginity, and lived to a great age (17). As for *Auſonius* himſelf, he ſtudied rhetoric under his uncle *Arborius* at *Toulouſe*, where *Arborius* taught about the year 325. before he was invited to *Conſtantinople* by *Conſtantine*: he ſtudied likewiſe at *Bourdeaux* under *Minervius*, *Nepotianus*, and *Staphylus*, profeſſors of grammar and rhetoric (18). When he had ended his ſtudies, he firſt pleaded at the bar, and afterwards taught grammar and rhetoric; which profeſſion he followed for the ſpace of near thirty years, till he was by *Valentinian* I. appointed preceptor to his ſon *Gratian* in 367. whom he attended into *Germany* the following year 368 (19). He had ſoon after ſome employment at court with the title of *comes* or count, and was by degres raiſed to the firſt offices in the ſtate. *Valentinian* made him quæſtor, and had even promiſed him the conſulſhip (20). After the death of *Valentinian*, *Gratian* raiſed him to the high ſtation of *præfectus prætorio*, firſt of *Italy* and *Africa*, and afterwards of *Gaul*. He was prefect of *Gaul*, and likewiſe conſul, in 379 (21). He was, it ſeems, at *Treves* when *Gratian* was killed (22); but ſoon after retired to *Guienne* (23). In a letter to *Paulinus* about the year 392. he deſcribes the place where he then led a retired life (24), which is ſuppoſed to have been in *Saintonge*. He profeſſed, without all doubt, the chriſtian religion; but his writings are, even in the opinion of *Scaliger*, altogether unworthy of the chriſtian name, being filled with pagan expreſſions, and the moſt bare-faced obſcenities, in which he perhaps ſurpaſſes the moſt infamous among the pagan poets. As for his ſtyle, it is commended by ſome, and found fault with by others. The reader will find the different opinions of critics concerning his writings in *Baillet* (25). His works, which give ſome light to hiſtory, are the epigrams he wrote on the profeſſors of *Bourdeaux*, his verſes on the chief cities of the empire, and the ſpeech in which he returned thanks to *Gratian* for the honour he had done to him in raiſing him to the conſulſhip. He wrote verſes on all the emperors who had reigned till his time, and likewiſe conſular tables, extending to the year 382 or 383 (26). But the latter work has been long ſince intirely loſt, and of the former only a ſmall part has reached us. His poem on the *Moſelle* was greatly eſteemed by *Symmachus* (27), and is ſtill looked upon by the beſt judges as his maſterpiece (28). Some aſcribe to him, but without ſufficient ground, the diſtichs that paſs under the name of *Cato* (29). The emperor *Theodoſius*, who had a particular eſteem for him, wrote to him with his own hand, demanding his works (30). *Auſonius* and *Symmachus* lived in great intimacy, as appears from their letters to each other (31). *Gratian*, out of gratitude to his preceptor, not only preferred him to the greateſt employments of the ſtate, but likewiſe raiſed moſt of his relations. His father was by him honoured, as we have hinted above with the title of prefect of *Illyricum* before the year 379. for in that year he died, being then in the eighty-eighth or ninetieth year of his age (32). *Sanctus*, who married his wife's ſiſter, was made governor of *Britain* (33). *Paulinus*, ſon-in-law to his ſiſter *Dryadia*, was raiſed to the government of the province of *Tarraca* in *Spain*, and the huſband of his other niece by the ſame *Dryadia* to great employments (34). *Arborius*, prefect of *Rome* in 380, is ſuppoſed to have been his nephew by the ſame ſiſter (35). *Auſonius* married *Attuſia Lucana Sabina*, the daughter of *Attuſius Lucanus Taliſius*, one of the chief citizens of *Bourdeaux*, and had by her two ſons, *viz.* *Auſonius* and *Heſperus*, and one daughter, whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory. *Auſonius* died in his infancy; but *Heſperus* was prefect in *Africa* in 376. of *Italy* in 378. and the ſame year prefect of

(15) *Auſon. grat. act. pro conſul. p.* 389. (16) *Idem, parent.* i. *idyl* 30. *p.* 355—359. (17) *Idem, parent.* iv. *p.* 106—109. *Profeſſ. Burdeg. car.* 17. *p.* 160. (18) *Vorſius in clar urb. p.* 408. *epiſt. p.* 257. *idyl. p.* 367. *profeſſ. Burdeg. car.* 12. 25. *p.* 156, 169. (19) *Idyl.* 32. *p.* 367. *epiſt.* 4. *p.* 428. (20) *Idem grat. act. pro. conſ. p.* 378. (21) *Idem ibid. p.* 391. (22) *idem, epiſt.* 9. *p.* 443. (23) *Idem. epiſt.* 18. *p.* 463. *idyl.* 31. *p.* 485. (24) *Idem, epiſt.* 23. *p* 485. (25) *Baillet jugemens des ſovans. p.* 466—472 (26) *Auſon p.* 126, 199, 375. (27) *Sym. l.* i. *epiſt.* 8. 9. (28) *Vide Baillet, p.* 472. (29) *Voſſ. poet Lat. c.* 4. *p.* 65. (30) *Auſon. p.* 1. (31) *Sym. l.* i. *ep.* 8. *p.* 9. *ep.* 26. *p.* 22. *ep.* 31. *p.* 25, &c. (32) *Auſon. idyl.* 30. *p.* 358, 359. *parent.* i. *p.* 102. (33) *Idem, parent.* xviii. *p.* 123. (35) *Idem ibid. p.* 123, 129. *idyl.* 30. *p.* 358. (35) *Idem, parent. p.* 121.

But to resume the thread of the history. *Theodosius*, who had never stirred this year from *Constantinople*, or the neighbourhood of that metropolis, was no sooner informed of the death of *Gratian*, than he drew together all his forces, with the design to march against the usurper, and prevent him from seizing on *Italy* and *West-Illyricum*, belonging to young *Valentinian*. But in the mean time, *Maximus* having assured him by his deputies, that he had no design upon the dominions of *Valentinian*, but that he would suffer him peaceably to reign in *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*, *Theodosius* thought it advisable to put off his journey into the west [a]. Not long after, *Maximus* sent his great chamberlain to *Theodosius*, not to make an apology, says *Zosimus* [b], for the murder of *Gratian*, but to propose an alliance with the emperor against the common enemies of the empire; and in case he rejected that friendly offer, to denounce war against him. *Theodosius* not thinking the glory that might accrue to him from revenging the death of *Gratian* a sufficient motive for entering into a war, which he foresaw would be attended with great evils, and perhaps with the ruin of the empire, the neighbouring barbarians being ready to invade it on all sides, hearkened to the proposals of *Maximus*; and acknowledging him in the end for his collegue, sent *Cynegius*, then *comes largitionum*, and afterwards prefect of the east, into *Egypt*, with orders to proclaim *Maximus* there, and to cause his image to be set up in *Alexandria* [c]. *Zosimus* in this place writes, that *Theodosius* only pretended to be reconciled with *Maximus*, to divert him from surprising young *Valentinian*, who was not in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy; and elsewhere [d] blames him for observing the treaty he concluded with the usurper, when he ought both in policy and honour to have made war upon him. *Pacatus* tells us, that when *Maximus* revolted, *Theodosius* was engaged in a war on the most distant confines of the east [e], perhaps with the *Saracens*; for he is said by *Marcellinus* [f] to have overcome them about the beginning of his reign; and *Libanius* writes, that the news of a victory gained this year by *Richomer* was received with great joy by the inhabitants of *Antioch* [g]. The *Hunns*, likewise called *Euthalites* or *Nephalites*, whose country bordered on *Persia*, as appears from *Procopius*, are said to have broken into *Mesopotamia* about this time, and to have even laid siege to *Edessa*, which obliged *Theodosius* to send part of his forces to the relief of that city [h]. No wonder therefore, that the emperor at this juncture chose rather to receive *Maximus* for his partner in the empire, than, by rejecting his proposals, to kindle a war in the very bowels of the empire, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to both parties. The wars we have mentioned were managed by his generals; for the emperor himself, as we have observed above, continued the whole year at *Constantinople*, or in that neighbourhood. In the very beginning of the present year 383. that is, on the sixteenth, or, as others will have it, on the nineteenth of *January*, he had declared his son *Arcadius* emperor [i], The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp at the palace of *Hebdomon*, distant seven miles from *Constantinople*. *Arcadius* was then about six years old; for at the time of his death, which happened on the first of *May* 408, he was, according to *Socrates*, in the thirty-first year of his age [k]. As for *Valentinian* II. who possessed the

Maximus *proposes an alliance with* Theodosius.

Who acknowledges him for his collegue.

Arcadius *declared emperor.*

[a] Themist. or. xviii. p. 220. [b] Zos. l. iv. p. 764. [c] Idem, p. 761. [d] Idem. p. 768.
[e] Pacat. p. 263. [f] Marcell. chron. [g] Liban. vit. p. 67. [h] Sur. 15 Novemb. p. 342.
[i] Idat. Marcell. Prosp. chron. [k] Socr. l. vi. c. 23. p. 332.

Gaul with his father. The daughter of *Ausonius* was married first to *Vallatinus Euromius*, who died when he was yet very young, tho' he had been already governor of a province in *Illyricum*, and afterwards to *Thalassius*, who was proconsul of *Africa* in 378. She had one son by *Euromus* or *Euromius*, and several children by *Thalassius*, of whom the eldest was named *Ausonius* (36). *Symmachus* mentions a son of *Thalassius*, to whom the senate had at his request granted some favours (37). *Ausonius* had taken care to instruct his daughter in the liberal sciences (38). His wife *Sabina* died in the twenty eighth year of her age (39; and *Ausonius* composed her epitaph thirty-six years after (40). He wrote his consular tables, and some other historical pieces, for the use and instruction of his son *Hesperus*, whom he commends as a young man of extraordinary parts, and naturally more grave and composed than himself (41). *Hesperus* married the daughter of *Severus Censor Julianus*, and *Pomponia Urbica*, who was descended of an illustrious family, and had by her at least three children, of whom the youngest, named *Pastor*, died when he was but a youth: of *Paulinus*, his eldest son surnamed the *penitent*, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. From the poem he wrote on his repentance, and styled *Eucharisticon*, it appears, that his father was first vicar of *Macedon*, where *Paulinus* was born in 376, and afterwards proconsul of *Africa*, which employment he held for the space of twenty-eight months (42).

(36) *Idem. ibid. p.* 119. *idyl* 30. *p.* 358. *Sym. l. i. ep.* 19. *p.* 17. (37) *Sym. l. v. ep.* 56. *p.* 208.
(38) *Auson. idyl.* 32. *p.* 364, 365. (39) *Idem, parent. p.* 114. (40) *Idem. ibid. p.* 113. (41) *Auson. p.* 79. *idyl.* 32. *p.* 362. (42) *Paulin. euch. p.* 284. 286.

a the weſtern provinces of *Illyricum*, with *Italy* and *Africa*, while *Maximus* held *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, he was at this time but twelve, or at moſt thirteen, years old; and the great diſturbances which his mother *Juſtina* raiſed, by eſpouſing with too much warmth the cauſe of the *Arians*, give us room to believe, that ſhe reigned in her ſon's name. Under her *Probus*, who had been conſul in 371. and prefect of *Illyricum* and *Italy* in 368, had the chief direction of affairs [l]; but, in all matters of moment, the young prince had recourſe to *Theodoſius* [m]; nay, *Oroſius* looks upon *Theodoſius* as ſole emperor, after the death of *Gratian*, of the weſtern as well as the eaſtern provinces [n].

THE next conſuls were *Richomer* and *Clearchus*. The former was of the royal blood of the *Franks*, had been *comes domeſticorum* under *Gratian*, and was left by that
b prince with *Theodoſius*, when created emperor. In a law of the year 391. he is ſtyled general of the horſe and foot [o]. He was a pagan, but a man of great integrity, valour, and experience in war, as appears from the ſeveral letters which *Symmachus* wrote to him [p]. He is by ſome called *Ricimer*, and by others *Richimer*, and *Ricomer*. *Gregory* of *Tours* ſpeaks of one *Richimer*, the father of *Theodomir* king of the *Franks* [q], whom ſome authors, whoſe opinion is not ill grounded, take to be the conſul of this year 384. *Clearchus*, his collegue, had been proconſul of *Aſia* in 364. and afterwards prefect of *Conſtantinople*, in which employment he was ſucceeded this year by the philoſopher *Themiſtius*, who, on that occaſion, made a ſhort ſpeech in commendation of *Theodoſius*, who had raiſed him to that dignity [r]. This year *Pro-*
c *culus*, count of the eaſt, being accuſed of extortion, and ſeveral outrages committed by his orders at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, was ignominiouſly depoſed, and obliged to abſcond, till the rage of the multitude was appeaſed [s]. *Icarius*, the ſon of *Theodorus*, who had conſpired againſt *Valens*, was appointed count of the eaſt in his room, which office he diſcharged with great rigor and ſeverity, not ſparing even the public magiſtrates, whom he to put the rack, in defiance of the laws, ſays *Libanus* [t], which had been but lately publiſhed; that is, of the laws dated the twenty-ſixth of *April* 380. and thirty-firſt of *July*, 381. This year a famine, attended as uſual with a dreadful plague, raged in *Antioch*, and moſt other cities of *Syria*. The plague ſoon ceaſed; but the famine continuing, *Libanius*, in the name of the people of *Antioch*, had recourſe
d to *Icarius*, intreating him to relieve, by ſome means or other, the poor, who had flocked from all parts to that metropolis, and were daily periſhing in great numbers with hunger. But *Icarius*, without being in the leaſt affected with their calamity, returned no other anſwer, than that they were abhorred, and juſtly puniſhed, by the gods [w]. This occaſioned great diſturbances in *Antioch*, which, however, were appeaſed without bloodſhed. The ſame year, *Theodoſius*, reſolving utterly to extirpate the idolatrous worſhip of the pagan gods, enacted ſeveral laws, forbidding all his ſubjects, on pain of death or perpetual baniſhment, to offer ſacrifices to idols; to conſult aruſpices, or diviners of what denomination ſoever; or to practiſe any of thoſe cere-
e monies, which had been forbidden by his chriſtian predeceſſors [x]. *Zoſimus*, in his uſual ſtyle, better becoming a declaimer than an orator, tells us, that *Theodoſius* proclaimed war againſt the gods; that he attacked them in their temples; that he proceeded with ſuch ſeverity againſt thoſe who worſhipped them, that no one dared own he believed there were gods, or could with ſafety lift up his eyes to heaven, and adore the ſtars that ſhine there [y]. *Libanius* writes, that on a certain occaſion, ſtanding in need of the aſſiſtance of the gods, he had recourſe to their altars; but not daring to implore their protection, or ſhed a tear before their ſtatues, he only bewailed within himſelf his unhappy condition [z]. It was on occaſion of the above-mentioned laws, that *Libanius* made his famous ſpeech in defence of the temples, wherein he inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt the monks; blames the conduct of *Conſtantine*
f *the Great*; extols *Julian*; and ends his ſpeech with threatening, that the country-people, who were more attached to the religion of their anceſtors, than the inhabitants of the cities, will, if further provoked, take arms, and defend them by force [a]. The attachment of the country-people, or inhabitants of villages, called by the *Latins* *Pagani*, to their idols and temples, gave riſe to the denomination of *Paganus* or *Pagan*,

A famine in Syria.

The cruelty of Icarius.

[l] SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. SOZ. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. [m] AMBROS. ep. xi. p. 195. [n] OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [o] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. [p] SYMM. l. iii. ep. 59, 61. p. 129. et ep. 54, 56, 69, &c. [q] GREG. Tur. hiſt. Fran. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64. [r] THEMIST. orat. xvii. p. 213. [s] Liban. vit. p. 68. & orat. xx. p. 471. [t] Idem, orat. xx. p. 464. [u] Cod. Theod. tit. iv. p. 435. [w] Liban. vit. p. 60. & orat. xx. p. 468. [x] Cod. Theod. tit. 9. p. 267. & l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 18. p. 203. & tit. 10. leg. 7. p. 266. [y] Zos. p. 758. [z] Lib. vit. p. 63. [a] Idem, orat. pro temp. p. 10—63.

gan, which began about this time to be given to all who worſhipped idols. *Libanius*, a in that ſpeech, often addreſſes himſelf to *Theodoſius* as preſent; but nevetheleſs we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that he had the boldneſs to pronounce it before ſo religious and zealous a prince. It ought, in our opinion, to be looked upon only as a declamation, delivered not in the preſence of the emperor, but perhaps of his own ſcholars, and other pagan auditors. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the pious emperor was ſo far from yielding to the arguments which the pagan ſophiſt alledged in favour of his idols, that, on the contrary, having appointed *Cynegius* this very year prefect of the eaſt, he ſtrictly injoined him to ſhut up all the temples within his juriſdiction.

Theodoſius cauſes all the temples to be ſhut up in the Eaſt, *and in* Egypt.

Cynegius executed his orders with ſuch zeal and fidelity in the *Eaſt*, properly ſo called, that he was ſoon after ſent by the emperor for the ſame purpoſe into *Egypt*, where, b by breaking in pieces the idols, by prohibiting all manner of idolatrous worſhip, and by ſhutting up the temples, in ſuch manner that no one could have acceſs to them, he, in a ſhort time, utterly aboliſhed the very remains of idolatry in a country, which, for many ages, had been, above all others, addicted to ſuperſtition [l]. The zeal, which he exerted on this occaſion for the true religion, procured him after his death, which happened in 388. the honour of being interred in the church of the *Apoſtles* at *Conſtantinople*, the burying-place of the emperors [m]; whence his aſhes were conveyed the enſuing year by his wife *Acancia* into *Spain*, probably the place of his nativity [n]. He was *comes largitionum* from 381 to 383. when he was made prefect of the eaſt, in which office he continued till his death; that is, to the c year 388. in which he died, being then conſul with the emperor *Theodoſius* [o]. *Libanius* himſelf, notwithſtanding his zeal for idolatry, could not help commending him as a magiſtrate of an unblemiſhed character [p]; and *Theodoſius*, in a law addreſſed to him in 385. ſays, that his juſtice and equity were known and applauded by all the world [q]. It is ſurpriſing, that *Baronius* ſhould confound the prefect *Cynegius* with another of the ſame name, who in 401. was ſent by *Arcadius* to demoliſh the temple of *Marnas*, and other temples in the city of *Gaza*. This year the emperor publiſhed a law, forbidding the marriages of couſin-germans, which had been always deemed lawful among the *Romans*, and no one ever looked upon as inceſtuous. However, d *Theodoſius* not only prohibited ſuch marriages, but, by the ſame law, commanded the contracting parties to be burnt alive, their eſtates to be confiſcated, and their children to be deemed illegitimate [r]. *Arcadius* ſoftened the rigor of this law by another, dated the twenty-ſixth of *November* 396. whereby he exempts the tranſgreſſors from the penalties inflicted on them by the law of *Theodoſius*; but nevertheleſs declares ſuch marriages unlawful and inceſtuous, and the children incapable of receiving the leaſt legacy from their parents [s]. In 405. he entirely revoked the law of his father, declaring the marriages of couſin-germans abſolutely lawful [t]. This revocation was not received in the weſt till the time of *Juſtinian*, who cauſed it to be put into his code; by which means it became general, and ſuch marriages were celebrated without reſtraint or ſcruple in the weſt, as well as in the eaſt. At the ſame time, e and under the ſame penalties, *Theodoſius* revived the ancient law, forbidding the marrying of nieces, which he extended to the niece of a firſt wife [u]. By another law of this year, dated the twenty-firſt of *January*, he ordered *Cynegius* to make a diligent ſearch after the *Eunomian*, *Macedonian*, *Arian*, and *Apollinarian* biſhops and clergy in *Conſtantinople*, and to drive them all, without exception, out of the city [w]. By a third he forbids the *Jews* to buy chriſtian ſlaves; and allows all chriſtians the liberty of ſetting free ſuch ſlaves as they ſhall have purchaſed [x]. *Theodoſius*, as appears from the dates of his laws, paſſed moſt part of this year at *Conſtantinople*, and there received a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to him by the king of *Perſia*, to ſolicit, or

He forbids, under ſevere penalties, the marriages of couſin-germans.

A ſolemn embaſſy ſent to him by the king of Perſia.

rather to buy, a peace with rich preſents, and to excuſe, ſays a panegyriſt [y], by his f ſubmiſſion, all the evils, which, till that time, the *Romans* had ſuffered from the *Perſian* nation. They had loſt their great king *Sapor* II. who died about the year 379, after having lived and reigned ſeventy years. He was ſucceeded by *Artaxer*, whom *Eutychius* ſuppoſes to have been his ſon [z], tho' *Agathias* and *Abulfaragius* call him his

[l] Zos. l. iv. p. 762. Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 444. Idat. chron. [m] Zos. p. 769. [n] Idat. faſt. [o] Zos. l. iv. p. 762. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 111. [p] Liban. de ingred. ad judices, p. 100. [q] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 15. p. 21. [r] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 297. [s] Idem, tit. 1. p. 297. [t] Cod. Juſt. l. v. tit. 4. leg. 19. p. 419. [u] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 297. [w] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 13. p. 129. [x] Idem, l. iii. tit. 1. leg. 5. p. 246. [y] Pacat. p. 263. [z] Eutych. p. 470.

his younger brother [a]. But if *Sapor* himſelf was born after the deceaſe of his father, as moſt authors write, he could not be ſucceeded by his younger brother. *Artaxer*, ſtyled *Ardſhir* by *Abulfaragius* and *Eutychius*, and *Artaxerxes* by *Scaliger* and *Petavius*, reigned only four years, and was ſucceeded in 383. by his ſon *Sapor* III. called by *Theophanes*, *Arſabel*, who, after having reigned five years, bequeathed the kingdom in 388. to his ſon *Vararanes* or *Varanes* IV. ſurnamed *Kermaſaa*, perhaps from ſome country called *Kerma*, conquered by his father. *Varanes* reigned eleven years, and maintained the whole time a good underſtanding with the *Romans* [b]. The embaſſadors, of whom we have ſpoken above, were ſent, not by *Sapor* II. as *Pacatus* ſeems to ſuppoſe;[c] but by *Sapor* III. who reigned in *Perſia* this year 384. *Oroſius* writes, that a treaty was concluded between the *Perſians* and the *Romans*, in virtue of which the whole eaſt ſtill enjoyed a profound tranquillity at the time he was compoſing his hiſtory; that is, about the year 416 [d]. The articles of this treaty are not mentioned by an hiſtorian; but from a law of *Theodoſius*, dated the fourteenth of *June* 387. and addreſſed to *Gaddanes*, *ſatrapa* or governor of *Sophene*, it appears, that the authority of the *Roman* emperors was acknowledged in that province, which, by moſt geographers, is placed in the ſouth of *Armenia*, and is reckoned, by ſome hiſtorians, one of the five provinces which *Jovian* yielded to the *Perſians*. While the *Perſian* embaſſadors were ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, a ſecond ſon was born to the emperor in that city on the ninth of *September*. *Theodoſius* gave him the name of *Honorius*, to honour in his ſon, ſays the poet *Claudian*, the memory of his brother [e], diſtinguiſhed him with the title of *nobiliſſimus*, or *moſt noble*, and named him conſul for the year 386 [f].

With whom he concludes a treaty.

Honorius *born.*

THE ſame year, the *Sarmatians* having made an irruption into the dominions of *Valentinian*, he diſpatched one of his generals, not named in hiſtory, againſt them, who drove them back with great ſlaughter, and took many priſoners, who were all ſent to *Rome*, to be either maſſacred in the ſhews of gladiators, or deſtroyed by the wild beaſts. The emperor, in the letter which he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the ſucceſs that had attended his arms, beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on the general who commanded on that occaſion [g]. As for *Valentinian* himſelf, he continued the whole year, as appears from his laws, in *Italy*; for, during the months of *March* and *April*, he was at *Milan*; at *Aqueleia* in the month of *September*; and again at *Milan* in *October*, and the two remaining months of the year [h]. By a law dated the twenty ſecond of *March*, which was this year *good-friday*, he commanded all the priſoners, who were not charged with the enormous crimes mentioned in the law, to be ſet at liberty, in honour of the approaching great feſtival [i]. This year died *Vettius Agorius Prætexatus*, a perſon greatly commended and extolled, as one of the moſt deſerving men of his age, by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who wrote his hiſtory about this time, by *Zoſimus*, *Symmachus*, *Libanius*, and in general all the pagan writers; for he was not only a pagan himſelf, but augur, high-pontiff of *Veſta* and the ſun, and the head, as we may ſtyle him, of the pagan ſuperſtition. He was by *Julian* made proconſul of *Achaia* in 362. by *Valentinian* I. prefect of *Rome* in 367, and afterwards prefect of *Italy* and *Illyricum*; in which employments he acquitted himſelf ſo as to be at the ſame time feared and beloved. *Ammianus* writes, that, from his youth, he excelled in every virtue becoming a man of his rank; that he revived the gravity and probity of the ancient *Romans* [k]. *Zoſimus* calls him a man of an unblemiſhed character, and propoſes him as a pattern to be imitated by all governors of provinces, and other magiſtrates [l]. *Macrobius* ſuppoſes the banquet of the learned men, which is the ſubject of his *Saturnalia*, to have been celebrated at the houſe of *Prætextatus* [m]. *Symmachus* looked upon him as in every reſpect the beſt, or, at leaſt, as one of the beſt men of his age. He tells us among other things, that he accepted no legacies, but conſtantly yielded to the children or relations of the teſtator, whatever was bequeathed to him; that he was no leſs affected with the misfortunes of others, than with his own; and that ſuch as poſſeſſed eſtates adjoining to his, in the diſputes which aroſe between him and them, concerning the limits of their lands, would admit of no other judge but himſelf; ſo great was the opinion they had of

The Sarmatians *defeated by the troops of* Valentinian,

Prætextatus *dies.*

His character.

[a] AGATH. l. iv. p. 135. ABULF. p. 90. [b] AGATH. p. 136. THEOPH. p. 55, 58. EUTYCH. p. 472. CLAUD. in Eut. l. ii. p. 120. [c] PACT. p. 263. [d] OROS. ibid. [e] CLAUD. de Ser. p. 194. [f] SOCR. l. v. c. 12. p. 171. THEOPH. p. 59. [g] SYMM. l. x. ep. 61. 461. [h] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 112. [i] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 7. p. 276, 277. [k] AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 219. & l. xxvii. p. 399. [l] Zos. l. iv. p. 735. [m] MACROB. l. i. c. 1. p. 162.

of his integrity [n]. The many letters which *Symmachus* wrote to him, and, after his death, to the emperors concerning him, are ſo many panegyrics, in which he extols his wiſdom, his integrity, his modeſty and moderation, his humanity and good-nature to all, not excepting even his moſt inveterate enemies [o]. He came this year to *Rome*, and entered that metropolis in a kind of triumph, being attended by all the magiſtrates, by the nobility and the people, and repairing, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude, to the capitol, pronounced there an elegant oration in prai'e of *Valentinian* [p]. He was then conſul elect; but before he entered upon that new office, he was ſnatched away by a natural, but ſudden, death, to the inexpreſſible grief of the *Roman* people. The ſenate erected ſeveral ſtatues to the honour of a perſon, who lived, to uſe the expreſſion of *Symmachus*, even after his death, in the memory of all good men [q]. St. *Jerom*, who was then at *Rome*, compares the death of *Prætextatus*, whom he ſtyles a ſacrilegious idolater, with that of the holy abbeſs *Lea*, who died a few days after him [r]. *Prætextatus* was no friend to the chriſtians; but uſed to ſay, by way of raillery, that he would readily embrace their religion, provided they would make him biſhop of *Rome* [s]. About this time, *Symmachus* was appointed prefect of *Rome*, in which employment he acquitted himſelf with great reputation, and procured a law from the emperor, moderating the expences of the new conſuls, prætors and quæſtors. The conſuls uſed, agreeable to a cuſtom which then obtained, to ſend rich preſents to their friends, and to all perſons of diſtinction; and the prætors and quæſtors to expend immenſe ſums in the public ſports, which they were bound to exhibit. The value of the preſents to be given by the conſuls, and the ſums to be laid out in the public ſhews by the two other magiſtrates, were fixed by this law, and thoſe declared infamous, who ſhould ſolicit an exemption from it [t]. This year a famine being apprehended in *Rome*, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of corn in *Africa*, which uſed of late years to ſupply that metropolis, *Theodoſius*, at the requeſt of *Symmachus*, delivered the *Roman* people from the danger that threatened them, by ſending them great plenty of grain from *Egypt* and *Macedon*. For this ſeaſonable ſupply *Symmachus* returned thanks, not only to *Theodoſius*, but to count *Ricomer*, and likewiſe to *Rufinus*, who, it ſeems, made already ſome figure in the emperor's court [u]. The great power he afterwards acquired there, does no ways redound to the honour of *Theodoſius*. The following year 385, when *Arcadius* and *Bauto* were conſuls. St. *Auguſtin*, then profeſſor of rhetoric in *Milan*, pronounced on the firſt of *January* a panegyric on the two new conſuls [w]. *Bauto* was by nation a *Frank*, and had been ſent by *Gratian* in 381. to the aſſiſtance of *Theodoſius*; but returning afterwards into the weſt, he ſerved *Valentian* II. with great fidelity. *Valentinian* paſſed the firſt ſix months of this year at *Milan*, and the reſt either at *Aquileia* or *Verona* [x]. Tho' he enacted this year ſeveral exellent laws in favour of the church, yet he ſuffered his mother *Juſtina* to perſecute and oppreſs the catholics, becauſe they would not yield the great church at *Milan* to the *Arians*, whom ſhe countenanced and protected [y]. *Theodoſius* continued all this time at *Conſtantinople*, where a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt him; but diſcovered a little before it was to be put in execution. Moſt of the conſpirators were apprehended, tried, and ſentenced to death; but *Theodoſius* generouſly forgave them, and would not allow any inquiries to be made after their accomplices, tho' ſome perſons, in whom he repoſed great confidence, were ſuſpected to be in that number [z]. Not long after died at *Conſtantinople* the emperor's daughter *Pulcheria*, who was ſoon followed by the empreſs *Flaccilla* her mother, to the great grief of *Theodoſius*, who was no leſs a tender father than huſband. The empreſs died at *Scotuminum* in *Thrace*, where ſhe was drinking the waters for the recovery of her health, but her body was brought back to *Conſtantinople*, and interred there with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, pronounced her funeral oration, as he had done ſome time before that of her daughter *Pulcheria* [a]. The fathers of the church who lived in that age, beſtow upon her the higheſt encomiums; and the pagan writers themſelves cannot help extolling her piety, moderation, and other virtues

Symmachus *made prefect of* Rome.

Theodoſius *ſupplies* Rome *with corn.*

He forgives thoſe who had conſpired againſt him.

The death of Pulcheria, *and her mother the empreſs* Flaccilla.

[n] Symm. l. i. ep. 38—49. p. 29. ep. 47. p. 34. [o] Idem, l. x. ep. 34. p. 417. ep. 23, 25. p. 415. ep. 34. p. 417. [p] Idem, l. x. ep. 37. p. 424. Hier. ep. 24. p. 156. [q] Idem, l, x. ep. 23, 24, 37. p. 405, 406, 424. [r] Hier. ep. 24. p. 156. [s] Idem, ep. 61. p. 165. [t] Symm. ep. 21. p. 402. & cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 383, 384. [u] Symm. l. iii. ep. 55, 82. p. 127, 138. [w] Aug. contra lit. Petiliani, l. iii. c. 25. p. 131. [x] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 144. [y] Socr. l. v. c. 11. [z] Themist. orat. xix. p. 231. [a] Greg. Nyſſ. de Pul. p. 516. & de Flaccill. p. 528.

a tues [b]. The *Greeks* honour her as a ſaint, and celebrate her feaſt on the fourteenth of *September*, perhaps the day on which ſhe died [c]. The next conſuls were *Honorius*, ſtyled in the *faſti nobiliſſimus puer*, and *Evodius*, perhaps the prefect of *Gaul* under *Maximus*. This year *Theodoſius* continued at *Conſtantinople* till the third of *September*, when he is ſuppoſed to have left that metropolis, in order to march againſt the *Greuthongi*, who were ready to paſs the *Danube*, and break into the empire, under the conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with the title of king [d]. The barbarians were attacked, and utterly defeated by the two emperors *Theodoſius* and *Arcadius*, who returned to *Conſtantinople*, leading with them an incredible number of captives, and entered that city in triumph on the twelfth of *October*. Thus *Idatius* in his *faſti*, and *Marcellinus* in his chronicle [e]. *Claudian* likewiſe ſpeaks of a victory gained this year by the two emperors over the *Greuthongi* [f]. But *Zoſimus*, to rob *Theodoſius* of the glory of this, as he does of moſt other victories, aſcribes it to *Promotus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, in quality of general of the foot. According to his account, *Promotus* ſent into the enemy's camp ſome perſons, who, pretending to be deſerters, undertook to conduct the barbarians over the river, and to betray the *Roman* commander and his army into their hands. *Odotheus*, not ſuſpecting any treachery, ſuffered himſelf to be conducted by them; but, in the mean time, *Promotus*, informed by his emiſſaries of the enemy's deſign, received them ſo briſkly, while they expected to meet with no oppoſition, that great numbers of them were driven back into the *Danube*, and drowned, and the reſt either taken priſoners, or cut in pieces. After this, *Promotus* attacked and made himſelf maſter of their camp, in which he found a great booty, and an incredible multitude of women and children, whom he immediately ſent to *Theodoſius*; but the emperor ordered them to be ſet at liberty, and having made them rich preſents, gave them leave to return to their own country, hoping by that means to gain the good-will of the barbarians, ſays *Zoſimus*, to entice them into his ſervice, and to employ them in the war againſt *Maximus*, for which he was then making great preparations under-hand [g]. All other writers ſuppoſe *Theodoſius* to have commanded his troops in perſon; nay, *Claudian* tells us, that he engaged *Odotheus* himſelf, who was killed in the battle [h]. The emperor, ſoon after his return to *Conſtantinople*, married to his ſecond wife *Galla*, ſiſter to *Valentinian* II. and daughter to *Valentinian* I. by the empreſs *Juſtina*. He had by her a ſon called *Gratian*, who died before his father, and a daughter named *Galla Placidia*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of her brother *Honorius*, and her ſon *Valentinian* III [i]. As for *Valentinian*, he was at *Milan* on the eighteenth of *January*; at *Ticinum* or *Pavia* of the fifteenth of *February*; at *Aquileia* on the twentieth of *April*; at *Milan* during the months of *June* and *July*; at *Aquileia* on the third of *November*; and again at *Milan* on the eighteenth of the ſame month, and on the third of *December* [k]. *Baronius* produces a letter written this year by *Valentinian* to *Saluſt* prefect of *Rome*, injoining him to rebuild the church of St. *Paul* in the neighbourhood of that city, and to inlarge it, by taking in, with the conſent of the ſenate and people of *Rome*, part of the public road: he commands him to acquaint the ſenate, and the chriſtian people, with the orders he had received, and to follow in every thing the directors of the venerable biſhop of that city [l]. *Prudentius* deſcribes the church of St. *Paul* placed on the *Oſtian-way*, or the way leading to *Oſtia*, and tells us, that it was built by an emperor, which *Baronius* underſtands of the emperor who reigned in *Prudentius*'s time, and thence concludes, that the above-mentioned church was finiſhed by *Honorius* [m]. That it was finiſhed in the reign of *Honorius*, is certain, not from the words of *Prudentius* quoted by *Baronius*, but from an ancient inſcription, which informs us at the ſame time, that it was begun by *Theodoſius*, perhaps when he came to *Rome* in 398. and imbelliſhed by his daughter *Placidia*, in the time of *Leo the Great*, biſhop of *Rome* [n]. However, it is manifeſt from the code [o], that *Valentinian* iſſued orders this year 386. for the building of that church, tho' the work was not begun till the reign of *Honorius*. The next conſuls where the emperor *Valentinian* the third time, and *Eutropius*, who had been proconſul of *Aſia*, and afterwards prefect of the eaſt. In the very beginning of this year 387.

b Theodoſius gains a great victory over the Greuthongi.

c He ſets the captives at liberty.

d He marries Galla.

e Valentinian orders the church of St. Paul in the Oſtian-way to be rebuilt.

f

Theodoſius

[b] Themist. orat. xix. p. 231. orat. xviii. p. 225. Byz. fam. p. 70. [c] Vide men. mag. Græc. 14 Sep. p. 209. & Cange [d] Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 55. [e] Idat. p. 61. Marcel. p. 6. [f] Claud. ibid. [g] Zos. l. iv. p. 759—763. [h] Claud. ibid. p. 55. [i] Philost. l. x. c. 7. p. 139. [k] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 116—117. [l] Baron. ann. 386. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Gruter p. 1100. [o] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 383.

Theodoſius publiſhed a law addreſſed by way of letter to all the cities of the eaſt, a injoining the magiſtrates to honour the ſolemnity of *Eaſter*, by ſetting at liberty ſuch as on the approach of that great feſtival they ſhould find in their priſons, unleſs they had been confined for very enormous crimes. It was on this occaſion that the emperor uttered thoſe memorable words; *I wiſh it were in my power to reſtore life to the dead* [m]. This year, *Theodoſius* finding the exchequer quite drained, and being on the other hand obliged to celebrate, according to cuſtom, the fifth year of the reign of his ſon *Arcadius*, to which he added, it ſeems, the ſolemnity of the tenth year of his own reign, tho' he was then only in his ninth, an extraordinary tax was laid on the people to defray that expence [n]; for we are told, that on ſuch occaſions each ſoldier received five pieces of gold [o]. Moſt cities ſubmitted chear- b
fully to this burden; but the people of *Antioch*, complaining of it as an unreaſonable
A ſedition at Antioch; oppreſſion, crouded to the houſe of *Flavianus* their biſhop, as ſoon as the edict was publiſhed, to implore his protection; but not finding him, they returned to the forum, and would have torn the governor of the city in pieces, had not the officers who attended him, with much ado, kept back the enraged multitude till he made his eſcape. Being thus prevented from venting their fury upon him, they fell upon the emperor's ſtatues, broke ſome of them in pieces, and dragged others, with the ſtatues of his two ſons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, of the late empreſs *Faccilla*, and of his father *Theodoſius*, through the chief ſtreets of the city, uttering the whole time moſt injurious and abuſive reflections againſt their perſons [p]. Having thus demo- c
liſhed moſt of the emperor's ſtatues, they ſet fire to the houſe of one of the principal citizens, to whom they bore ſome grudge, and would have committed other diſorders, had they not been diſperſed by a body of archers, who, by wounding only two of the rabble, ſtruck terror into all the reſt. The governor, hearing the archers were come, ſhewed himſelf to the multitude, and with an air of autho-
Which is appeaſed, and the authors of it puniſhed. rity commanded them to diſperſe, and retire to their houſes. Thus was the ſedition quelled at once; and the city reſtored by noon to its former tranquillity [q]. The two perſons, who had been wounded by the archers, being taken, informed againſt their accomplices, who were all by different ways put to death by the governor of the city: ſome were beheaded; others expoſed to the wild beaſts in the theatre, and d
ſome burnt alive; he did not even ſpare the children, who had inſulted the emperor's ſtatues; and cauſed ſeveral perſons to be executed, who had been but bare ſpectators of the injuries offered them [r]. While the cruel governor was thus proceeding with inexorable ſeverity againſt the unhappy *Antiochians*, almoſt without diſtinction of guilty or innocent, a report was ſpread, that a body of troops was at hand, with orders to plunder the city, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. Hereupon that populous metropolis of *Syria* was at once turned into a deſert, the citizens abandoning in the utmoſt terror and confuſion their dwellings, and retiring with their wives and families to the neighbouring mountains and deſerts. As that report proved groundleſs, ſome returned to their e
native country; but the far greater part, dreading the cruelty of the governor, and the juſt reſentment of the emperor, kept themſelves concealed in the neighbouring cities, or amongſt the rocks and mountains. To thoſe who returned, St. *Chryſoſtom* preached ſome of thoſe inimitable homilies, which have reached our times, and are wonderfully adapted to ſtir them up to repentance, and to make them look upon the danger that threatened them as drawn down upon them from heaven by their ſins [s]. The eloquence and zeal of the preacher, joined to the apprehenſion they were under of the effects of the emperor's indignation, wrought a great change in that licentious and diſſolute people, as appears not only from St. *Chryſoſtom* himſelf [t], but from *Sozomen* [u], and even from *Libanius* [w]. In the mean time, *Theodoſius*, being f
informed of what had paſſed at *Antioch*, and particularly of the inſults offered to his ſtatues, and to thoſe of his father, of the late empreſs, and of his children, was provoked to ſuch a degree, that in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion he commanded
Theodoſius *highey provoked againſt the city of* Antioch. the city to be laid in aſhes, and the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age, to be put to the ſword [x]. This ſhews, that he was naturally choleric, and apt, when in

[m] Chrys. tom. i. or. 6. p. 84. [n] Liban. or. xxiii. p. 526. [o] Ammian. p. 314, 315. [p] Lib. or. xv. p. 407. [q] Idem, or. xiv. & xxiii. p. 395, 415. [r] Chrys. homil. iii. p. 49. Theodoret. l. v. c. 19. p. 731. Lib. p. 397. [s] Vide Chrys. hom. ii. p. 22. hom. xi. p. 127. hom. vi. p. 86. hom. iv. p. 54. [t] Idem, p. 169. [u] Soz. l. vi. c. 23. p. 741. [w] Lib. or. xiv. p. 403. [x] Chrys. ep. ad Cel. hom. vii. p. 207. Theodoret. l. v. c. 19. p. 731.

a in a paſſion to enter into the moſt violent meaſures. His indignation ſeemed to him the more juſt, as he had favoured that city above all the reſt; for he had deſigned to reſide ſome time there, as *Valens* had done, and had with that view built a magnificent palace at *Daphne*, and another in the old city, beſides ſeveral other ſtructures, with which he had at a great expence embelliſhed that metropolis [y]. But nothing incenſed him ſo much againſt that ungrateful city, as their having inſolently inſulted even the dead [z], that is, his father and the empreſs *Flaccilla*. However, as his wrath ſoon aſſuaged, he revoked the order he had given, and contented himſelf for the preſent with cauſing the public baths, the theatre, and the circus, to be ſhut up, with degrading the city from the rank of a metropolis, and ſubjecting it
b as a common village to its rival *Laodicea* [a]. A certain quantity of bread was there daily diſtributed amongſt the poor, as at *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*; and of this largeſs too the emperor thought fit to deprive them [b]. Theſe puniſhments *Theodoſius* inflicted on the *Antiochians* in general, but at the ſame time he diſpatched *Cæſarius*, *magiſter officiorum*, and *Ellebichus*, *magiſter militum*, or general, with full power to try and puniſh ſuch as had been concerned in the late riot [c]. *Ellebichus* was a man of an unblemiſhed character, and is ſaid to have ſquared all his actions by that golden and truly chriſtian rule, *Do as you would be done by* [d]. *Gregory Nazianzen* wrote a letter to him, intreating him, by their ancient friendſhip, to diſcharge a reader from the ſervice, and aſſuring him, that by ſo doing he would draw down the bleſſing of
c Heaven upon his arms, in a war of which he had the whole management [e]. *Cæſarius*, his collegue in this commiſſion, was at this time *magiſter officiorum*, was prefect of *Conſtantinople* in 365. prefect of the eaſt in 395, and conſul in 397 [f]. He is commended by *Sozomen* and *Libanius* as a man of great integrity, and one who never promiſed what he did not deſign to perform [g]. Theſe two officers the emperor choſes in regard of their known integrity, to try and puniſh, according to the laws, ſuch of the *Antiochians* as ſhould be accuſed and found guilty of having been any-ways concerned in the late ſedition. St. *Chryſoſtom* deſcribes, with his uſual eloquence, the dread and terror which on this occaſion ſeized the inhabitants of *Antioch*: they apprehended nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of their city; the emperor, as they
d were well informed, was highly offended, eſpecially at the outrages offered to his deceaſed father and to the late empreſs, and reſolved to puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity; the judges were men not to be moved by intreaties, or gained over with preſents; the crime they had committed was open rebellion, and, according to the laws of the empire, puniſhable with death and the confiſcation of their eſtates; even ſuch as were barely ſuſpected, were liable to the moſt rigorous inquiries, to racks and tortures. The conſternation was, as St. *Chryſoſtom* inform us, ſo great and general, that the inhabitants were preparing to retire, all to a man, with what effects they could carry with them, to the mountains and deſerts; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he and the governor diverted them from that reſolution.
e As the two judges approached the city, the whole people went out to meet them, and were received by them, eſpecially by *Ellebichus*, in a very obliging manner, which allayed in ſome degree their fears. The next morning the alarm was renewed; for the two commiſſioners, having placed guards in the ſeveral quarters of the city, to reſtrain the people from aſſembling, ſummoned all the members of the ſenate or public council to their lodging, examined them concerning the late riot, heard with great patience what they alledged in their own defence, and in defence of their fellow-citizens; and after various inquiries, diſmiſſed them, highly ſatisfied with the treatment they had met with, eſpecially from *Ellebichus*, who could not refrain from
f tears, when they, throwing themſelves at his feet, implored his protection. The compaſſion and good-nature he ſhewed on this occaſion revived in a manner the whole city; their fears began to abate, and joy appeared in every face. But the ſcene ſoon changed; for *Ellebichus*, having cauſed great numbers of perſons of all ranks to be ſeized in the night-time upon private informations, repaired early next morning to the place where juſtice was uſually adminiſtered; and ordering the priſoners to be brought in chains before his tribunal, ſentenced ſuch of them to death as owned their crime, and ordered thoſe who denied it to be cruelly racked, without ſhewing

Appoints judges to try and puniſh the offenders.

The city in the utmoſt conſternation.

[y] Theodoret. l. v. c. 18. p. 731. & c. 19. p. 733. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Chrys. or. xii. p. 137. Lib. or. xvii. p. 197. Theod. l. v. c. 19. p. 731. [b] Lib. p. 408. [c] Chrys. or. xvii. p. 195. [d] Lib. or. xxiii. p. 529. [e] Greg. Naz. ep. cxxiii. p. 857. [f] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 354. [g] Soz. l. ix. c. 2. p. 802. Lib. or. xxii. p. 518.

Ellebichus, one of the judges, proceeds with the utmoſt ſecurity.

ſhewing the leaſt pity or compaſſion, as if he had changed his nature. Thoſe who a
had ſeen him the day before, could ſcarce perſuade themſelves he was the ſame man;
for not ſatisfied with cauſing perſons of the firſt quality to be racked and tortured,
like ſo many ſlaves, he uttered dreadful menaces againſt the whole city, threatening
to lay it in aſhes, and put the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or
condition, to the ſword, unleſs they redeemed themſelves and their children from
impending ruin, by a timely diſcovery, not only of the authors and ringleaders of
the late treaſonable and wicked attempts, but of all who had been any-ways con-
cerned in them. St. *Chryſoſtom*, who was an eye-witneſs of all that paſſed, ſo far as
his tenderneſs and compaſſion for the unhappy ſufferers would allow him, gives us a
lively, but dreadful deſcription of this ſcene of horror, which he compares to that of b
the laſt day, when all diſtinction of birth, wealth, and rank will ceaſe, and every one
be puniſhed or rewarded according to his deſerts [h]. Multitudes were dragged in
chains from every quarter of the city to the tribunal of the inexorable judges, who,
unmoved with their tears, and deaf to the entreaties of their relations, after a ſhort
hearing, either ſentenced them to death, or ordered them to be racked till they owned
themſelves guilty, and diſcovered their accomplices. St. *Chryſoſtom* mentions a lady
of the firſt quality, who, ſeeing her ſon apprehended by an officer on horſeback, laid
hold of his bridle, and ſuffered herſelf to be dragged in that manner through the
ſtreets to the tribunal, where, with her hair diſhevelled, and bathed in tears, ſhe
threw herſelf at the feet of *Ellebichus*; but he, deaf to all intreaties, purſued his c
inquiries with ſuch rigor, as threw the whole city into the utmoſt confuſion. St.
Chryſoſtom, who, with ſome others of the ſacerdotal order, was admitted into the
hall where the criminals were examined and tortured, exerted all his eloquence to
move the judges to compaſſion, and was therein ſeconded by the hermits, who were
very numerous in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, where they led a retired life amongſt
the adjacent mountains; but, quitting their ſolitude, they had flocked to the city on
this extraordinary occaſion, to comfort with their preſence the diſconſolate citizens,
and try whether they could raiſe any ſentiments of humanity or commiſeration in the
hearts of their judges. With this view they repaired to the hall, where the judges
were ſitting; and having exhorted them in a very pathetic manner to treat their d
fellow-creatures with more humanity and compaſſion, they prevailed upon them in
the end to ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt thoſe who were
found guilty, and all proceeding againſt ſuch as were not yet convicted, till a report
of the whole had been made for the emperor, and his further pleaſure were known.
One *Macedonius*, an anchoret, univerſally eſteemed and revered for his ſanctity,
diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt; for meeting *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius* on horſe-
back in the forum, laying hold of one of them by the garment, he commanded them
both, with an air of authority, to diſmount. As neither of them knew him, they
were not a little ſurpriſed, that a perſon, in appearance ſo mean and contemptible, e
ſhould dare to ſpeak to them in ſuch a ſtyle; but they were no ſooner informed who
he was, than diſmounting from their horſes, they threw themſelves at his feet; when
the holy anchoret, addreſſing them in the *Syriac* tongue, "The emperor, ſaid he,
"however diſtinguiſhed by his imperial dignity, is ſtill a man; and therefore ought
"to conſider his nature, as well as his rank. Thoſe whom he commands, are of the
"ſame nature with himſelf, and the images of the Supreme Being; let him there-
"fore take care not to provoke the Almighty, by deſtroying the living images of
"the divine nature, for an affront offered to the inanimate images of his body.
"Other ſtatues may be eaſily raiſed to him in the room of thoſe that have been
"demoliſhed; but he, notwithſtanding his boaſted power, is not able to make the
"leaſt reparation for a ſingle life, which he has once taken away [i]." We are told, f
that both *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius* heard theſe words, which were interpreted to them
in *Greek*, with the greateſt reſpect and veneration, and immediately acquainted the
emperor with what they had heard [k]. The judges having, at the requeſt of the eccle-
ſiaſtics and hermits, agreed to ſuſpend the execution of the criminals, till the empe-
ror's further pleaſure was known, ſuch as had been found guilty were conducted under
a ſtrong guard to the public priſon, and the reſt diſmiſſed. Amongſt the former
were all thoſe who compoſed the ſenate or council, that is, all the chief men in the
city,

St. Chryſoſtom *and the hermits obtain a reſpite for ſuch as were condemned.*

[h] Chrys. orat. xiii. p. 147—150. & orat. xxii. p. 252. [i] Idem, p. 193, 194. Theodor. l. v. c. 19. p. 731, 732. [k] Idem ibid.

a city, whoſe eſtates were immediately ſeized, together with their houſes and effects, their wives and children being driven out by the officers of the revenue, and obliged to lie in the ſtreets, their friends and neareſt relations fearing, leſt, by harbouring them, they ſhould be involved in the ruin of their huſbands and fathers [l]. The hermits, having thus obtained of the judges a reprieve for the criminals, did not doubt but they ſhould prevail upon the emperor to pardon them. In order to this, they reſolved to repair without delay to *Conſtantinople*, and throw themſelves at the prince's feet; but *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius*, affected with their zeal, and unwilling they ſhould expoſe themſelves to the fatigue and inconveniencies of ſo long a journey, adviſed them rather to draw up a memorial in behalf of the unhappy citizens, and

b took upon themſelves to preſent it to the emperor. The hermits followed their advice, and leaving the memorial in their hands, returned the ſame day to their mountains and deſerts [m]. Upon their departure, it was agreed between *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius*, that the former ſhould remain at *Antioch*, and the latter carry the memorial to the emperor. Accordingly *Cæſarius* ſet out that very evening, and purſued his journey with ſuch expedition, that the ſixth day about noon he reached *Conſtantinople*, diſtant above five hundred miles from *Antioch* [n]. In the mean time, *Ellebichus* cauſed thoſe who had been condemned to be removed from the public priſon to a more convenient place, allowing them the liberty of taking the air in the gardens belonging to it, and ſeeing their friends and relations [o]. St. *Chryſoſtom* let no day paſs without

c viſiting them, in order to bring them, while thus kept in ſuſpenſe between hope and fear, to an entire reſignation to the will of the Almighty, in whom alone he daily exhorted them to place their confidence [p]. The *Antiochians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's reſentment, had ſent, a few days after the riot was committed, *Flavianus*, biſhop of the place, to intercede with *Theodoſius* in their behalf. *Flavianus* had met *Ellebichus* and *Cæſarius* on the road, who acquainted him with the commiſſion they were going to execute at *Antioch*. The holy biſhop, in hearing it, burſt into tears; but nevertheleſs purſued his journey, ſtill hoping he ſhould be able to ſoften the good-natured emperor into compaſſion. The day after his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, he appeared at court; but in order to move the emperor to compaſſion, ſtood

d at a diſtance from him, ſilent, and bathed in tears, as if he dared not look up, or approach him. But the emperor no ſooner obſerved him, than he flew to him, not to upbraid him for undertaking the defence of the rebellious city, but to juſtify his own conduct, and complain to him of the ungrateful return the *Antiochians* had made for the many favours he had heaped upon them. *Flavianus*, burſting into tears, anſwered, that the ſevereſt puniſhment he could inflict upon them, was too mild and gentle for the enormous crimes they had committed, and their undutiful return to ſo indulgent a prince; but at the ſame time he told him, that to forgive one's enemies was a duty incumbent upon every chriſtian; that from his pardoning ſuch enormous

e offences, great glory would redound to the religion he profeſſed; that the *Jews*, *Greeks*, and barbarians, would admire and extol the purity of its morals, *&c.* He added, that now an opportunity offered of making himſelf a laſting inſtance to all poſterity of humanity and good-nature; and ſeaſonably put him in mind of the order he had iſſued this very year, commanding all priſoners to be ſet at liberty againſt the ſolemnity of *Eaſter*, and of the memorable words he uttered on that occaſion, *viz.* *I wiſh it were in my power to recal the dead from their graves, and reſtore them to life!* This admirable ſpeech, which is related at length by St. *Chryſoſtom*, made ſo deep an impreſſion on the mind of the emperor, that he could not refrain from tears, nor forbear crying out, that he pardoned the ungrateful city, and reſtored the inhabitants,

f however guilty, to his favour. Thus St. *Chryſoſtom* [q]. But *Libanius* [r] and *Theodoret* [s] tells us, that the emperor, tho' greatly ſoftened by the ſpeech of *Flavianus*, yet did not grant a general pardon till the arrival of *Cæſarius*; who preſenting to him the memorial of the hermits, and at the ſame time pleading with great energy in favour of the unhappy city, which, he ſaid, had been already ſufficiently puniſhed, prevailed upon him to grant a general pardon. He therefore wrote a letter to the citizens of *Antioch*, ſhewing, that it was not without reaſon he had treated them with ſo much ſeverity, after they had, in ſuch an outrageous manner, inſulted his deceaſed father and wife. He added, that as his anger, however juſt, was ſoon appeaſed, he pardoned

They draw up a memorial in behalf of the Antiochians.

The priſoners treated with great humanity by Ellebichus.

Flavianus, *biſhop of* Antioch *recurs to the emperor in their behalf.*

Theodoſius *grants them a general pardon.*

[l] Idem, p. 517. [m] Idem, orat. xvii. p. 195. [n] Lib. orat. xxii. p. 518. & orat. xxiii. p. 533. [o] Idem, orat. xxii. p. 535. [p] Chrys. orat. xvii. p. 204. [q] Idem, orat. xx. p. 226—233. [r] Lib. orat. xxii. p. 519. [s] Theodor. l. v. c. 19. p. 732.

doned all without exception, whether condemned to death or baniſhment, reſtored a
And reſtores to the city all its privileges. to them their eſtates, their ſhews, baths, theatres, and territory, and to their city the privileges and rights of a metropolis. He concluded with expreſſions of the deepeſt concern for the death of thoſe who had been condemned by the governor, and executed without his knowledge. This letter the emperor delivered to *Flavianus*, that he might have the honour of carrying the joyful tiding to the diſconſolate city; but the holy biſhop, impatient to put an end to the affliction of his people, yielded that honour to another, whom he thought capable of performing the journey with more expedition. It is more eaſy to conceive than expreſs the joy, which the arrival of the meſſenger cauſed in *Antioch*. St. *Chryſoſtom*, to whom we refer our readers, deſcribes at length what paſſed on this occaſion, and concludes with theſe words: b
Let the pagans be aſhamed, or rather inſtructed; and learning our philoſophy of an emperor and a biſhop, renounce their errors, and embrace a religion, which encourages and produces ſuch eminent virtues [s].

Maximus *invades the dominions of* Valentinian, *who flies to* Theodoſius. WHILE theſe things paſſed in the eaſt the boundleſs ambition of *Maximus* raiſed far greater diſturbances in the weſt; for that uſurper, not ſatisfied with the provinces which had been held by *Gratian*, paſſed this year the *Alps* all on a ſudden, with a deſign to ſeize on *Valentinian*'s ſhare too; and, meeting with no oppoſition, marched ſtrait to *Milan*, where *Valentinian* uſually reſided. The young prince, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt him, fled firſt to *Aquileia*, and from thence, being cloſely purſued by *Maximus*, to *Theſſalonica*, with his mother *Juſtina*, c
and the prefect *Probus*, to implore the protection and aſſiſtance of *Theodoſius* [t]. That pious prince, in a letter which he wrote to *Valentinian*, in anſwer to one he had received from his mother *Juſtina*, told him, that he was not at all ſurpriſed at the progreſs *Maximus* had made, nor at the bad ſucceſs that attended his affairs, ſince the tyrant had protected, and he perſecuted, the orthodox faith; for *Valentinian*, as we have hinted above, had not only embraced the doctrine of *Arius*, but proſecuted the orthodox prelates, and driven ſeveral of them from their ſees, being induced thereunto by his mother *Juſtina*, a moſt zealous *Arian*. Soon after, *Theodoſius* removed from *Conſtantinople*, attended by ſeveral members of that ſenate, to *Theſſalonica*, in order to comfort with his preſence the young prince, who had taken refuge in his domi- d
nions. Upon his arrival, he repaired to the palace where *Valentinian* was lodged; and after having aſſured him, that he was reſolved to employ all the forces of the
Who induces him to renounce the doctrine of Arius. eaſt in his defence, he prevailed upon him to renounce the *Arian* impiety, as the only obſtacle to the ſucceſs which they might expect from heaven [u]. *Suidas* relates the diſcourſe which *Theodoſius* made on that ſubject [w]. *Zoſimus* writes, that in a great council held at *Theſſalonica*, all the counſellors to a man were of opinion, that war ſhould be forthwith declared againſt *Maximus*; but that *Theodoſius*, foreſeeing and dreading the evils inſeparable from a civil war, ſent firſt embaſſadors to the tyrant, ſeriouſly exhorting him to reſtore to *Valentinian* the uſurped provinces, and content himſelf with *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain*, which had been yielded to him by himſelf and e
Valentinian [x]. *Maximus* would not, it ſeems, hearken to any propoſals; for this very
Maximus *reduces ſeveral cities.* year he laid ſiege to *Aquileia*, which he reduced, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the inhabitants, as he did *Quaderna*, *Bononia*, *Mutina*, *Regium*, *Placentia*, and ſeveral other cities in *Italy*; nay, he was the enſuing year acknowledged in *Rome*, and in all the provinces of *Africa* [y]. *Theodoſius* therefore, finding a war inevitable, ſpent the remaining part of this, and the firſt months of the following year 388, when he was conſul the ſecond time with *Cynegius*, in making the neceſſary preparations for carrying it on with vigor. His army conſiſted chiefly of *Goths*, *Hunns*, *Alans*, and other barbarians, whom he was glad to take into the ſervice, to prevent their raiſing diſturbances on the frontiers. He appointed *Promotus* general of the horſe, and f
Timaſius of the foot; and having committed the government of the eaſtern provinces to ſuch perſons as, he knew, would, in his abſence, conſult the welfare of his ſubjects, and maintain the public tranquillity, he ſet out from *Theſſalonica* in the begin-
Theodoſius *marches againſt him.* ning of the ſummer, marching with great expedition through *Illyricum*, with a deſign to ſurpriſe *Maximus*, who had not yet taken the field, but continued, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, in *Aquileia*. *Andragathius*, one of the uſurper's generals, a man of great courage and experience in war, had been appointed to guard the paſſes

[s] CHRYS. orat. xx. p. 234. [t] Zos. l. iv. p. 667. THEODOR. l. v. c. 14. Soz. l. vii. c. 14. p. 721.
[u] THEODOR. p. 724. [w] SUID. p. 347. [x] Zos. l. iv. p. 768. [y] AMBROS. ep. 17. p. 215. PACAT. p. 275. Zos. p. 769.

a passes of the *Julian Alps*; but a report being spread, that *Theodosius* designed to pass the *Ionian* sea, and invade *Italy*, he was ordered to quit those passes, and to man with the utmost expedition what ships he could, in order to intercept the emperor in his passage. Thus was *Maximus* deprived of the assistance of that excellent commander, and of the flower of his troops, who were employed in manning the fleet, which *Andragathius* assembled, pursuant to his orders, on the coast of the *Ionian* sea. In the mean time, *Theodosius*, entered *Pannonia*, and advanced to *Sciscia*, now *Seissег*, before the enemy had the least notice of his approach. However, the general, who commanded the troops of *Maximus* in that neighbourhood, having drawn them together with incredible expedition, fell upon *Theodosius* as he was passing the *Save*; but
b his army was utterly defeated, and he himself drowned in the river [y]. From *Sciscia* the emperor advanced to *Petovio*, now *Pettaw* on the *Drave*, where he was met by *Marcellinus*, the brother of *Maximus*, at the head of an army far more numerous than his own. However, the emperor offered him battle, which he readily accepted; but was utterly defeated, tho' his men fought with extraordinary courage and resolution. We are not told, that *Maximus* was present at either of these battles; but he must have at least advanced to support his generals; for both *Pacatus* [z] and St. *Ambrose* [a] write, that after his forces were twice defeated, he fled with the troops that attended him, and with the remains of the shattered army, to *Aquileia*, whither *Theodosius* pursued him, having sent *Arbogastes* before to invest the place, and prevent the
c tyrant from making his escape. *Zosimus* writes, that the emperor arriving soon after, took the town by assault [b]; and *Socrates*, that it was delivered up to him by the soldiers of *Maximus* [c]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the tyrant was seized, according to some, by his own men, according to others, by the soldiers of *Theodosius*, who had entered the city, and dragged in chains to the emperor, encamped about three miles from the city. *Theodosius* reproached him with the death of *Gratian*, and his unbounded ambition, which had prompted him to murder one brother, and drive the other out of his dominions. As *Maximus* was, or at least pretended to be, touched with remorse for the crimes he had committed, and publicly owned he had no claim or title to the power he had usurped, *Theodosius* began to look upon him with an eye
d of compassion; which those about him observing, and fearing he might pardon him, they removed him out of the emperor's sight, and, without waiting his orders, struck off his head [d]. He was executed at a place about three miles distance from *Aquileia*, on the twenty-seventh of *August*, according to *Socrates* [e]; or on the twenty-eighth of *July*, as *Idatius* will have it [f]. St. *Ambrose* writes, that *Maximus* was at the same time defeated by the *Saxons*, the *Franks*, and *Theodosius* [g]. Those two nations had broken into *Gaul*, as appears from *Gregory* of *Tours* [h], under the conduct of *Genobaud*, *Marcomir*, and *Sunno*; and having ravaged the country bordering on the *Rhine*, were preparing to repass that river with an immense booty, when *Nannius* and *Quentinus*, two of *Maximus*'s generals, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of
e them in pieces. *Quentinus* followed the *Franks* cross the *Rhine*, which he passed near the present city of *Nuys*; but, as he was not acquainted with the country, most of his men were cut off by the enemy in the woods and marshes, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a shameful and precipitous flight [i]. *Maximus* had left his son *Victor*, whom he had declared *Augustus*, in *Gaul*, to awe the inhabitants of that province during his absence. Against him *Theodosius* dispatched *Arbogastes*, who took him prisoner, after having dispersed the troops that attended him, and put him to death [k]. *Zosimus* calls him a youth; but all other writers style him an infant. *Andragathius*, hearing of the defeat and death of *Maximus*, as he was cruizing in the *Ionian* gulf, threw himself headlong into the sea, and was drowned, chusing that
f kind of death, to prevent a more ignominious one, which, as *Gratian* had been seized and murdered by him, he had reason to apprehend [l]. *Orosius* writes, that he was overcome in battle [m]; and St. *Ambrose*, that he had joined *Maximus*, before his defeat, and perished soon after [n]. Thus ended a war, which at first threatened the empire with endless calamities? and the glory which *Theodosius* acquired by his victory, was greatly heightened by his moderation and clemency in the use of it; for immediately after

The army of Maximus *defeated.*

Theodosius *gains a second victory.*

And beheaded.

Quentinus, *one of the generals of* Maximus, *defeated by the* Franks.

Victor, *the son of* Maximus, *taken in* Gaul, *and put to death.*

[y] Zos. l. iv. p. 769, 770. Amb. ep. 17. p. 215. [z] Pacat. p. 270—275. [a] Ambr. p. 214. [b] Zos. p. 770. [c] Socr. l. v. c. 14. p. 273. [d] Socr. Zos. ibid. Pacat. p. 279. [e] Socr. p. 273. [f] Idat. chron. [g] Ambr. ep. 17. p. 215. [h] Greg. Turon. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, 59. [i] Idem ibid. p. 59, 60. [k] Zos. l. iv. p. 770. Victor. p. 545. Prosp. p. 515. [l] Zos. Vict. Prosp. ibid. [m] Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [n] Ambr. ep. 17. p. 214.

Theodosius *uses the victory with great clemency and moderation.*

after the death of *Maximus*, he published a general amnesty, and was so far from a
persecuting the friends and relations of the usurper, that he would not even suffer them
to be reproached with their rebellion. No man was banished, says *Pacatus*, no
man's estate was confiscated; and those who deserved, and would have suffered, the
most cruel death under any other prince, were dismissed by *Theodosius*, without so
much as hearing from him an angry word [o]. Those who had with most warmth
espoused the tyrant's cause, were allowed to return unhurt, continues the same author,
to their wives and children, to enjoy their estates unmolested, and with them the same
rank, dignity and honours, by which they had been distinguished before the rebel-
lion [p]. The wife and daughter of *Maximus* had been taken, and confined in a
public prison by some of the emperor's officers; which the good-natured prince no b
sooner knew than he ordered them to be set at liberty, settled a considerable pension
upon them, and charged one of their kinsmen to take care, that no one injured
or insulted them [q]. But what St. *Ambrose* and *Zosimus* himself most of all admired
in *Theodosius*, was, his not only restoring to *Valentinian* his own share, when no one
was in a condition to dispute with him the possession of the whole empire, but his
generously relinquishing to him *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which, before the revolt of
Maximus, had been held by his brother *Gratian*. He was satisfied says St. *Ambrose*,
with the good he had done, without reaping any advantage from it himself, tho'
no one could have blamed him, had he retained some of those provinces, consider-
ing the immense charge he had been at in restoring the young prince to the quiet c
possession of the rest [r]. As *Justina*, the mother of *Valentinian*, died about this time,
Theodosius, during the three years he continued in the west, governed in the name of
that prince, who was, at the death of his mother, scarce seventeen years old, and
consequently not yet equal to so great a burden [s]. While *Theodosius* was pursuing the
war in *Illyricum*, a report was spread at *Constantinople*, that his army was cut off, and
he himself in great danger of falling in the hands of the usurper. Hereupon the

Disturbances raised in Constantinople *by the* Arians.

Arians, whom he had highly disobliged, by driving them from their churches in
380. as we have related above, rising in the night time, set fire to the house of *Nec-
tarius*, the orthodox bishop of *Constantinople*, who perished in the flames, and com-
mitted several other disorders. But the news of the intire defeat of the usurper being d
brought soon after to that metropolis, the *Arians*, dreading the effects of the empe-
ror's indignation, had recourse to the clemency of *Arcadius*, whom *Theodosius* had
left at *Constantinople* in setting out for the war; and the young prince not only for-
gave them himself, but prevailed upon his father to confirm the pardon which he had
granted them [t]. It was without all doubt, on this occasion that the *Arians* set fire
to the church of St. *Sophia*, which consumed the roof of that stately edifice, as we
read in *Codin*; but *Theodosius*, notwithstanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, to
encourage his son to acts of clemency, at his request overlooked that, and the other
enormous disorders committed by the fanatics on that occasion. The emperor was
still at *Aquileia* on the twenty-second of *September*; but on the tenth of *October* at e
Milan, where he seems to have passed the winter [w]. Being informed, while he
resided in that city, that the christians had burnt a synagogue of the *Jews* and a
temple of the pagans at *Callinicum* in *Mesopotamia*, he condemned the bishop of the
place to rebuild the synagogue at his own expence, and ordered all those who had been
any-ways concerned in either of these riots, to be punished with the utmost severity.
But St. *Ambrose*, thinking a prince, who had lately overlooked far greater disorders
in the *Arians*, ought not to exert so much rigor against an orthodox bishop and his
people, wrote to him from *Aquileia* in their favour; and upon his return to *Milan*
persuaded the emperor, by a speech which he pronounced before him in the great
church, to revoke the order he had given [x]. About the latter end of this year, the f

Theodosius *pardons them, at the request of his son* Arcadius.

A deputation from the senate of Rome, *for restoring the altar of* Victory.

senate of *Rome* dispatched deputies to *Theodosius*, earnestly entreating him to give them
leave to restore to its former place the altar of *Victory*, which had been removed by
Gratian. The emperor seemed at first inclined to grant them their request; but was
in the end perswaded by St. *Ambrose* to deny it. However, *Symmachus*, the chief of
the deputies, a man universally esteemed for his eloquence, and greatly beloved by
the pagans, in regard of his zeal for the ancient religion of the *Romans*, in a pane-
gyric

[o] Pacat. p. 281. [p] Idem, p. 282. [q] Ambr. ep. 17. p. 215. [r] Ambr. p. 216. [s] Rufin. l. ii. c. 17. p. 185. [t] Sozom. l. v. c. 13. p. 272. Soz. l. vii. c. 14. p. 722, 723. [u] Codin. orig. Constant. p. 64. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 6. p. 409. & leg. 7. p. 410. [x] Ambr. apol. 17, 18. vit. p. 83, 84.

a gyric which he pronounced ſoon after on *Theodoſius*, renewed the ſame requeſt in the name of the ſenate; which ſo provoked the emperor, that he immediately ordered him to come down, and to be put that inſtant into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into baniſhment, forbidding him, under the ſevereſt penalties, ever to come within an hundred miles of *Rome* [y]. The emperor's indignation ſeemed the more juſt, as *Symmachus* had been but very lately pardoned by him, while accuſed by his enemies of treaſon, in having pronounced a panegyric during the war on the uſurper *Maximus*. However, as *Theodoſius* was never more ready to pardon, that when he ſeemed moſt provoked, the friends of *Symmachus* no ſooner ſpoke in his behalf, than the emperor recalled him, reſtored him to his former rank, and, to convince the world

b that he retained no ill will to him, raiſed him two years after to the conſular dignity [z]. This year *Theodoſius* enacted ſeveral laws againſt heretics, *viz.* one dated the ſecond of *March*, forbidding them, eſpecially the *Apollinarians*, to hold aſſemblies, to have biſhops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear at court, or to preſent any petition to the emperor [a]. The ſame prohobition was renewed by another law, dated the fourteenth of *June* [b]. By another enacted two days after, all public diſputes concerning religion were forbidden under the ſevereſt penalties [c]. A law dated the twenty-ninth of *February* declares all marriages between *Jews* and chriſtians unlawful, and ſubjects the contracting parties to the puniſhments due to adultery; another, addreſſed to *Cynegius*, forbids any one to marry his brother's wife, or his

c own wife's ſiſter [d]. The ſame prohibition had been made by *Conſtantius* in 355 [e]. *Theodoſius*, who was ſtill at *Milan* on the twenty-ſecond of *May* [f], left that city ſoon after, and repaired to *Rome* with young *Valentinian* and his ſon *Honorius*, whom he had ſent for from *Conſtantinople*, after the defeat of *Maximus*. He entered that metropolis in triumph on the thirteenth of *June*; and a few days after *Latinus Pacatus Drepanius*, an orator of *Gaul*, pronounced his panegyric in the ſenate, the emperor himſelf being preſent. The orator takes notice of his liberality towards the people on that occaſion, of his affability and condeſcenſion, not only in viewing the rarities of the city, but in entering the houſes of private perſons, which won him the hearts of the *Roman* people [g]. The poet *Claudian* tells us, that at *Rome* he

d received embaſſadors ſent by the king of *Perſia* to treat with him about a peace between the two empires [h]. To *Theodoſius*'s journey to *Rome* was owing, according to *Prudentius* [i], the converſion of the ſenate and people of that city to the chriſtian religion; not that he uſed any violence, ſays that writer, for he indifferently raiſed pagans and chriſtians to the firſt employments in the ſtate [k]; but ſo great was the force of his example, that few, either in the ſenate or among the people, were ſo attached to their errors as to withſtand it. *Prudentius* mentions ſeveral illuſtrious families converted on this occaſion to the true religion, *viz.* the families of the *Paulini*, of the *Baſſi*, of the *Annii*, and of the *Gracchi*, at that time the moſt ancient and noble family in *Rome*. The people, continues that writer, flocked

e to the *Lateran* church, to receive there the ſacred ſign of the royal chriſm, and to the *Vatican*, to viſit the aſhes of the father of the faith; meaning, we imagine, St. *Peter*, who was then ſuppoſed to have planted the faith in *Rome*. The idols, ſays St. *Jerom*, were every-where pulled down; their temples abandoned; and the gods, once ſo much revered, left in their nitches alone, or attended only by mice and owls: the capitol, continues the ſame writer, formerly ſo much frequented, is now turned into a deſert; the other temples are covered with duſt, and filled with cobwebs; the whole city crouds to the tombs of the martyrs; and the people, in paſſing by thoſe ancient temples, behold them with joy ready to fall, and bury the gods under their ruins. *Rome* forſakes *Jupiter* and his temples, deſpiſes

f his ceremonies, and is aſhamed of the worſhip formerly paid him [l]. *Theodoſius*, however, would not ſuffer the ſtatues of the gods, many of which were the work of the beſt artificers of antiquity, to be deſtroyed; but ordered them to be removed from the places where they had been adored, to the public ſquares, where they ſerved as ornaments to the city [m]. *Theodoſius* ſtaid ſcarce three months at *Rome*, but in that

Their requeſt rejected, and Symmachus *baniſhed, but recalled.*

Several laws of this year, eſpecially againſt heretics.

Theodoſius *goes to* Rome.

Endeavours to aboliſh idolatry in that metropolis.

[y] Socr. l. v. c. 14. p. 273. Prosp. de promiſſ. l. iii. c. 38. p. 149. [z] Ambros. ſermo de diverſ. iii. p. 118. Sym. l. ii. ep. 30, 31. p. 74. ep. 61, 63. p. 89, 90. & l. v. ep. 15. p 191. [a] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 14. p. 130. [b] Idem, leg. 15. p. 131. [c] Idem, tit. 4. leg. 2. p. 100. [d] Idem, l. iii. tit. 7. leg. 2. p. 278. & cod. Juſtin. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 425. [e] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg 2. p. 296. [f] Idem, p. 120. [g] Soz. p. 273. Ruf. l. ii. c. 17. p. 185. [h] Claud. p. 176. [i] Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 218. [k] Idem, p. 220. [l] Hier. ep. 7. p. 54. & in Jov. l. ii. c. 18. p. 95. [m] Prud. p. 220.

that ſhort time he not only ſeriouſly applied himſelf to the ſuppreſſion of idolatry, a
but with indefatigable care laboured to reform many abuſes, which had long pre-
vailed in the city, as appears from the ſeveral laws he publiſhed there [n]. He enacted
one, dated the ſeventeenth of *June*, ordering all the *Manichees* to be driven out of
the city, and declaring them incapable of receiving legacies, or leaving any thing by
will even to their children. A few days before *Theodoſius* left *Rome*, a comet is
A comet appears in the eaſt. ſaid to have appeared in the eaſt in the ſhape of a ſword; and moving northward,
to have vaniſhed in the middle of the *Urſa Major*, after having laſted forty days,
as we read in *Philoſtorgius* [o]; or only twenty-ſix, as *Marcellinus* will have it [p]. The
former writer mentions ſeveral other prodigies, among which he reckons two men
equally remarkable for their ſize, the one being ſeven cubits and three inches, and b
the other no taller, ſays that author, than a partridge, though he had an agreeable
voice, and an excellent underſtanding: the former was a native of *Syria*, and the
latter of *Egypt*, and they both lived to the age of about twenty-five [q]. *Theodoſius*
Theodoſius *leaves* Rome. left *Rome* on the firſt of *September*, was at a place called *Valentia* on the third of
the ſame month, and on the ſixth at *Forum Flaminii*, now *Ponte Centeſimo* on the
Topino, not far from *Fuligno* in the dutchy of *Spoleto*, where he enacted a law for-
bidding the execution of criminals during *Lent* [r]. From thence he purſued his journey
to *Milan*, where he enacted a law, dated the twenty-ſixth of *November*, commanding
the heretic biſhops and clergy to be every-where driven out of the cities and their
ſuburbs [s]. From this law, and ſeveral others of the enſuing year, it appears, that c
Theodoſius paſſed the winter in that city, while *Valentinian* marched into *Gaul*, to
make head againſt the *Franks*, who were preparing to invade that province; but all
Valentinian *concludes a peace with the* Franks. we know of this expedition is, that *Valentinian* had an interview with *Marcomir* and
Sunno, two chiefs of the *Franks*; that they delivered hoſtages to him; and that the
emperor, on the eighth of *November*, was at *Treves*, where he took up his winter-
quarters [t]. This year is chiefly remarkable for the deſtruction of the celebrated
temple of *Scrapis* at *Alexandria*, which, according to the deſcription *Ammianus Mar-*
cellinus gives us of it, ſurpaſſed in grandeur and wealth all the temples in the world,
that of *Jupiter Capitolinus* alone excepted [u]; nay, *Theodoret* calls it the greateſt,
and without exception the moſt beautiful temple, in the univerſe [w]. *Theodoſius*, who d
had hitherto ſpared that ſtately edifice, cauſed it this year to be levelled with the
ground on the following occaſion. *Theophilus*, biſhop of *Alexandria*, having begged
and obtained of the emperor an old temple, formerly conſecrated to *Bacchus*, but
at that time ruin'd and forſaken, with a deſign to convert it into a church, the
workmen, in clearing it of the rubbiſh, found among the ruins ſeveral obſcene figures,
which the biſhop, to ridicule the ſuperſtition of the heathens, cauſed to be expoſed
The pagans riſe againſt the chriſtians in Alexandria. to public view. This provoked the pagans to ſuch a degree, that they flew to
arms; and falling upon the chriſtians, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before
they were in a condition to oppoſe their fury. At length the chriſtians took arms e
in their own defence; and, being ſupported by the few ſoldiers who were quartered
in *Alexandria*, began to repel force by force. Thus a civil war was kindled within
the very walls of the city, and no day paſſed without ſome ſcuffle and bloodſhed.
The pagans, when tired with fighting, or overpowered with numbers, (for the chri-
ſtians were far more numerous) uſed to retire to the temple of *Serapis*; and thence
ſallying out again unexpectedly, ſeize on ſuch of the chriſtians as they met, and
Several chriſtians maſſacred, and put to cruel deaths. dragging them into the temple, either force them by the moſt exquiſite torments
to ſacrifice to their idol, or, if they refuſed, to rack them to death. As they ex-
pected to be ſoon attacked by the emperor's troops, they choſe a philoſopher, by
name *Olympus*, for their leader, with a reſolution to defend themſelves, their temple, f
and their religion, to the laſt extremity. In the mean time, *Evagrius*, governor of
Egypt, and *Romanus*, who commanded the troops there, having attempted in vain
to perſuade the pagans to quit the temple, and retire to their dwellings, ſent a
diſtinct account of the whole to the emperor, who extolling and envying the hap-
pineſs of ſuch as had choſen rather to die, than renounce their religion and offer ſacri-
fice to the idols, would not ſuffer their death to be revenged on thoſe at whoſe hands
they had obtained the crown of martyrdom, but readily forgave them. However,
at

[n] Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 16. leg 1. p 612. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 18. p. 138. [o] PHILOST. l. x. c. 9.
p. 139—141. [p] MARCELL. chron. [q] PHILOS. ibid. p. 142, 143. [r] Cod. Theod. chron.
p. 120, 121. [s] Idem ibid. [t] OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 120. [u] AMMIAN.
l. xxii. p. 234. [w] THEODOR. p. 735.

a at the ſame time, he ordered the temple of *Serapis*, and all the other temples in *Alexandria*, which gave occaſion to frequent diſturbances, to be utterly demoliſhed, charging *Theophilus*, biſhop of the place, who had ſolicited this order, to ſee it put in execution, and injoining *Evagrius* and *Romanus* to follow therein his directions. The pagans no ſooner knew that the emperor had been informed of the cruelties they had committed, than they abandoned the temple, and diſperſed, ſome of them retiring privately to their own houſes, and others withdrawing from the town, and either concealing themſelves in the neighbouring cities, or flying to more diſtant countries. Among the latter was their leader *Olympus*, who conveyed himſelf in the night on board a veſſel which was ready to ſail for *Italy*. *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, two b grammarians, under whom *Socrates*, the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorian, had ſtudied at *Conſtantinople*, withdrew from *Egypt*, and took refuge amongſt the neighbouring barbarians. The former uſed to brag of his having killed, during that tumult, nine chriſtians with his own hand [x]. The temple, thus abandoned by the pagans, was delivered up to *Theophilus*, who, with the aſſiſtance of the people and ſoldiery, reduced it in a ſhort time to a heap of ruins, leaving nothing undemoliſhed but the foundations, which could not be removed on account of the extraordinary weight and ſize of the ſtones. The celebrated ſtatue of *Serapis*, the principal god of the *Egyptians*, was broken in pieces, and the limbs of that pretended divinity carried firſt in triumph by the chriſtians through the city, and then thrown into an huge c fire kindled for that purpoſe in the amphitheatre. As the *Egyptians* aſcribed the overflowing of the *Nile*, to which was owing the fertility of their country, to the benign influence of their god *Serapis*, they concluded, that now he was deſtroyed the river would no longer overflow, and conſequently that a general famine would enſue. But when they obſerved, that the *Nile*, on the contrary, ſwelled to a greater height than had been known in the memory of man, and thereby produced an immenſe plenty of all manner of proviſions, many of the pagans, renouncing the worſhip of the idols, adored the God of the chriſtians [y]. *Ruſinus* [z], *Socrates* [a], *Eunapius* [b], and *Sozomen* [c] write, that croſſes were found engraved on ſeveral of the ſtones of the temple, which occaſioned the converſion of great numbers of the *Egyptian* prieſts, d the croſs being in the ſacred language of that nation the ſymbol of life; and on the other hand, a tradition having for many ages obtained among them, that their religion, and the temple of *Serapis*, would ſubſiſt till the ſign of life appeared. Not only the ſtatue of *Serapis*, which was lodged in the temple, but all the other ſtatues of that pretended deity, were by the zealous chriſtians carefully ſought for, ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets, and conſumed in the flames; inſomuch, that in the great city of *Serapis*, as *Alexandria* was frequently ſtiled, not the leaſt footſtep was left of that idol, or of the worſhip which for ſo many ages had been paid him. In the room of the temple of *Serapis* was built a church, and a *martyrium*, ſays *Ruſinus* [d], meaning perhaps a burying-place for thoſe who had ſuffered martyrdom, during the late diſturbances. *Sophronius*, one of St. *Jerom*'s friends, wrote a par- e ticular and diſtinct account of the demolition of the temple of *Serapis* [e]; but his work has not reached our times. *Theophilus*, who was a prelate no leſs active than zealous, not ſatisfied with demoliſhing the temple of *Serapis*, encouraged the people, ſupported by the governor of the province, and the commander of the *Roman* troops, to pull down and level with the ground all the other temples, oratories, chapels, and places ſet apart for the worſhip of the idols throughout *Egypt*, cauſing everywhere the ſtatues of the gods to be either burnt or melted down. Of the innumerable ſtatues, with which that ſuperſtitious province was filled, he is ſaid to have ſpared but one, viz. that of an ape, in order to expoſe the pagan religion to ridicule [f]. *Theodoſius* not only approved of what *Theophilus* had done, but commended f his zeal, and returned him public thanks for the pains he had taken in clearing that province from the abominations to which it had been ſo long addicted [g]. Soon after he enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, the ſubjects of the empire to offer any kind of ſacrifice to idols; and declaring the eſtates confiſcated of ſuch as ſhould burn incenſe before them [h].

Theodoſius *orders the famous temple of* Serapis, *and all the temples in* Alexandria, *to be pulled down.*

The ſtatue of Serapis *broken in pieces.*

All the temples throughout Egypt *demoliſhed.*

THE

[x] Socr. l. vii. c. 15. p. 724. Ruf. l. ii. c. 22. p. 187. Soz. p. 726. [y] Ruf. l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. Socr. l. v. c. 16. p. 274. [z] Ruf. ibid. [a] Socr. ibid. [b] Eunap. c. 4. p. 60—64. [c] Soz. l. vii. c. 15. p. 725. [d] Ruf. l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. [e] Hier. vir. illuſtr. c. 133. p. 303. [f] Socr. p. 275. [g] Ruf. p. 189. [h] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 10. p. 271.

THE following year 390. when *Valentinian* was conſul the fourth time with *Neoterius*, *Theodoſius* continued at *Milan*, as appears from the code, till the fifth of *July*; was at *Verona* from the twenty-third of *Auguſt* to the eighth of *September*, and again at *Milan* on the twenty-ſixth of *November*, and the twenty-third of *December*. At *Verona* he publiſhed a law, dated the third of *September*, commanding thoſe who profeſſed a monaſtic life, to withdraw from the cities, and retire to the deſerts, purſuant to their inſtitution. But this law he revoked by another dated the ſeventeenth of *April* 392 [i]. By a law, which was publiſhed at *Rome* on the fourteenth of *May*, he commanded thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of unnatural luſt to be burnt alive in the ſight of the whole people [k]. This year, an obeliſk, twenty-four cubits in height, was raiſed in the circus at *Conſtantinople*, and a column before the church of St. *Sophia*, on which was a ſtatue of *Theodoſius* in ſilver, weighing ſeven thouſand four hundred ounces [l]. As for *Valentinian*, he ſeems to have continued all this year at *Treves*, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The next conſuls were *Tatianus* and *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*. *Theodoſius* continued this year at *Milan* to the twenty-ſecond of *March*, was at *Concordia* on the ninth of *May*, at *Vicentia* on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, and at *Aquileia* from the ſixteenth of *June* to the fourteenth of *July* [m]. By a law dated the ninth of *May*, he declared thoſe who ſhould renounce the chriſtian religion, after having been baptized, not only incapable of giving or receiving the leaſt thing by will, but of being, as infamous perſons, witneſſes to any private or public deed; adding, that he would have confined them to the deſerts, had he not believed it a greater puniſhment for them to live among men, without being looked upon as men [n]. By another law, dated the ninth of the ſame month, he commanded the heretics to be every-where driven out of the cities [o]. Some writers confine this law to the *Manichees*, while others extend it to heretics of all denominations. *Theodoſius* was, as we have obſerved above, at *Aquileia* on the fourteenth of *July*; but ſoon after he ſet out from thence for *Conſtantinople*, leaving the intire management of affairs in the weſt to *Valentinian*, now in the twentieth year of his age. On his arrival at *Theſſalonica*, he found the province of *Macedon* in great confuſion; for the barbarians, who, at the inſtigation of *Maximus*, had revolted, and concealed themſelves among the marſhes and woods, after the defeat of that uſurper, taking advantage of the emperor's abſence, began to ſally out of their faſtneſſes in the night, and ſeizing on whatever came in their way, they retired with their booty before day. As it was a more difficult taſk to find them out than to conquer them, the emperor took that province upon himſelf; and without diſcovering his deſign to any one, made choice of five perſons, in whom he could confide, to attend him, ordering each of them to take three ſpare horſes, that they might ſhift as often as there was occaſion. Thus attended and diſguiſed, he ranged about the country, receiving from the peaſants ſuch refreſhments as their cottages could afford him. At length he came to a ſmall inn, kept by a woman ſtricken in years, who received him with extraordinary civility, which induced him to ſtay there that night. In the ſame inn lodged a perſon, who declining to converſe with the reſt, and ſeeming deſirous to conceal himſelf, gave the emperor no ſmall jealouſy. Having therefore, after he was retired to his chamber, called for the miſtreſs of the houſe, and aſked her who that perſon was, ſhe anſwered, that who he was ſhe knew not; but that ever ſince the news of the emperor's return out of the weſt, he had lodged at her houſe, going out in the morning, and continuing abroad all day, but returning at night to his lodging, for which he honeſtly paid her. Upon this information, the emperor ordered him to be ſeized and examined; but he refuſing to declare who he was, the emperor at laſt diſcovered himſelf, ordered the man to be put to the rack, and by that means forced him to own the truth, *viz.* that he was employed as a ſpy by the barbarians, who lay concealed among the woods and bogs, to give them intelligence from time to time of the motions of the emperor's army, and to inform them what places lay moſt convenient for their incurſions. Hereupon the emperor cauſed his head to be ſtruck off; and returning early the next morning to the army, led his ſoldiers to the place where he had learnt from the ſpy the barbarians were lodged; and falling upon them unexpectedly,

A law againſt unnatural luſt.

One againſt apoſtates.

Theodoſius *returns to the eaſt.*

The barbarians, concealing themſelves amongſt the woods and marſhes, infeſt the province of Macedon.

How diſcovered by Theodoſius.

[i] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 96. & leg. 2. p. 97, 98. [k] Idem. l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 4. p. 30.
[l] MARCELL. chron. [m] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. [n] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 4. & v. p. 207, 208.
[o] Idem, tit. 5. leg. 20. p. 137.

a pectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. *Timaſius*, who together with *Promotus* commanded on this occaſion under *Theodoſius*, imagining moſt of the barbarians to be already cut off, adviſed the emperor to allow his ſoldiers ſome time to refreſh themſelves after ſo warm and fatiguing a ſervice, that they might with more vigour purſue the reſt, who could not make their eſcape. The emperor, following his advice, founded a retreat; but while his men were refreſhing themſelves without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, the barbarians, falling upon them when they were quite unprepared, and moſt of them overcome with wine, or aſleep, made a dreadful havock of them, and would have either killed, or taken the emperor himſelf, had he not been ſeaſonably reſcued by *Promotus*, at the danger of his own life. However, *Theo-*
b *doſius*, having rallied his diſperſed forces the next day, attacked the barbarians anew with ſuch ſucceſs, that few of them eſcaped the general ſlaughter. Thus *Zoſimus* [p], on whoſe ſingle authority the whole truth of this account reſts; for no other writer takes the leaſt notice of this expedition. The victory over the barbarians was, according to *Zoſimus*, who ſtudies to leſſen on all occaſions the glory of *Theodoſius*, chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of *Promotus*; but that brave general, who had ſerved the emperor with great fidelity, was this very year killed in an ambu-
c ſcade by the barbarians in *Thrace*. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Ruſinus*, the emperor's chief favourite, having treated *Promotus* in a very haughty and inſolent manner, the general, not able to brook ſuch treatment, ſtruck him; which affront *Ruſinus* revenged, by betraying him into the hands of the barbarians, with whom he maintained for that purpoſe a private correſpondence [q]. But *Claudian*, who mentions the death of *Promotus*, and wrote two books filled with invectives againſt *Ruſinus*, takes no notice of this black piece of treachery. *Zoſimus* adds, that *Ruſinus* having complained of *Promotus* to the emperor, the prince, who repoſed an entire confidence in him, returned him this anſwer; *If the other miniſters continue thus to envy you your good fortune, they ſhall ſoon have the mortification to ſee you emperor* [r]. *Claudian* writes, that *Stilicho* revenged the death of his friend *Promotus* on the *Baſtarnæ*, by whoſe hands he fell; and that after having defeated them with great ſlaughter, he ſhut
d them up in a narrow valley, with the *Goths*, *Hunns*, and other barbarians, who had long infeſted *Thrace*, and would have cut them all off to a man, had not the emperor choſen rather to conclude a peace with them, following therein, ſays that poet, the evil counſels of the traitor *Ruſinus* [s]. *Theodoſius*, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, made it his chief ſtudy to ſuppreſs idolatry and *Arianiſm*, ordering ſuch temples as were ſtill ſtanding to be pulled down, and the *Arians* to be every-where driven out of the cities, leſt they ſhould infect their fellow-citizens with their peſtilent doctrine [t].

THE next conſuls were *Arcadius*, the ſecond time, and *Ruſinus*. *Theodoſius* had, as we have obſerved above, during his three years ſtay in the weſt, uſed all poſſible means to extirpate idolatry; but, upon his return to the eaſt, the pagans began to
e conceive new hopes, and ſuch of the ſenators of *Rome*, as continued ſtill attached to the ſuperſtition of their anceſtors, ſent a deputation to *Valentinian*, at the head of which was the celebrated *Symmachus*, intreating him to reſtore to their prieſts and temples, the privileges which they had enjoyed till the reign of *Gratian*. *Valentinian*, who was then in *Gaul*, received the deputies in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon, either by them, or by the many pagan miniſters who were in his court, to grant them their requeſt [u]. Not long after, the barbarians threatening to paſs the *Alps* towards *Rhætia*, and invade *Italy*, the emperor reſolved to quit *Gaul*, and haſten to *Milan*, in order to make head againſt them. As he was deſirous of being baptized before he engaged in a war, he diſpatched from *Vienne*, where he then
f was, an expreſs to St. *Ambroſe* biſhop of *Milan*, for whom he had an extraordinary eſteem and veneration, inviting him into *Gaul*, to adminiſter to him that ſacrament. The prelate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, ſet out without delay; but before he reached *Vienne*, he received the melancholy news of the death of that unfortunate prince, inhumanly murdered, as moſt authors agree, by *Arbogaſtes*. He was a *Frank* by nation, and owed his preferment to *Gratian*. After that prince's death, the ſoldiery, by whom he was highly eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, for his experience in military affairs, his liberality and diſintereſtedneſs, raiſed him, without the conſent either of *Valentinian*, who was then a child, or of his mother *Juſtina*, to the poſt

The emperor in great danger.

He gains a complete victory over the barbarians.

Promotus *killed in an ambuſcade.*

Theodoſius *endeavours to ſuppreſs idolatry and* Arianiſm *in the eaſt.*

Valentinian *refuſes to reſtore to the temples their antient privileges.*

[p] Zos. l. iv. p. 770—773. [q] Idem, p. 773. [r] Idem ibid. [s] CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 125, 126. in Ruf. l. i. c. 17. [t] RUF. l. ii. c. 19. p. 185. [u] AMBR. ſerm. de diverſ. p. 114. SYMM. l. iii. ep. 63. p. 130. OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.

Arbogaſtes pretends to controul the young prince.

poſt of general; in which command he acquitted himſelf with great fidelity and moderation, while *Theodoſius* continued in the weſt; but, upon the departure of that prince for *Conſtantinople*, he began to act more like a ſovereign than a miniſter or officer, arrogating to himſelf the power of controuling the young prince, and governing the court with an abſolute ſway. Such of the officers in the army as ſeemed attached to *Valentinian*, he diſcharged, and put *Franks*, in whom he could confide, in their room, diſpoſing at the ſame time of all the civil employments, without the emperor's conſent or knowledge, and beſtowing them upon perſons of his own faction. *Valentinian*, no longer able to brook ſuch a ſhameful ſervitude, reſolved to diſcharge *Arbogaſtes*; and accordingly ſeeing him one day at court, he threw him a paper, containing an abrogation of his command. But *Arbogaſtes*, having peruſed it, tore it in b
pieces with great contempt, and threw it on the ground, telling the emperor with the utmoſt arrogance, that as he had not received his authority of him, it was not in his power to diveſt him of it. After this, *Arbogaſtes*, well appriſed that *Valentinian* would not ſuffer ſuch an outrage to paſs unrevenged, reſolved to be before-hand with him, and accordingly diſpatched him a few days after [w]. Authors diſagree as to the manner of his death: *Zoſimus* writes, that while *Valentinian*, attended by a ſmall guard, was diverting himſelf in the neighbourhood of *Vienne*, *Arbogaſtes*, aſſaulting him unexpectedly, ſtabbed him with his ſword [x]. According to *Philoſtorgius*, he was ſtrangled, while he was taking his diverſion on the banks of the *Rhone*, by aſſaſſines, whom *Arbogaſtes* had hired for that purpoſe. The ſame author adds, that, c
after they had ſtrangled him, they tied his own handkerchief about his neck, and hung him upon a tree, that the world might be induced to believe, he had laid violent hands on himſelf; for his guards were at ſome diſtance, and out of ſight [y]. St. *Jerom* [z], *Oroſius* [a], *Rufinus* [b], *Epiphanius* [c], *Socrates* [d], and *Sozomen* [e], agree, that he was ſtrangled; but the two latter writers ſuppoſe this to have happened in the palace, and the eunuchs of the court, gained over by *Arbogaſtes*, to have been the authors of his death. *Idatius* and *Tiro Proſper* only write, that he was murdered by the treachery of *Arbogaſtes*. The report which *Arbogaſtes*, and thoſe of his faction, ſpread abroad, *viz.* that the prince had laid violent hands on himſelf, was credited by many, and among the reſt by *Proſper*, who relates it in his chronicle as an event d
not to be queſtioned; but we can hardly believe, that St. *Ambroſe* would have extolled, as he does, his piety and religious ſentiments, had he ended his life by the enormous crime of ſelf-murder. He died in 392. on the fifteenth of *May*, that year the eve of *Pentecoſt*, after having lived only twenty years and ſome months, and borne the title of emperor ſixteen years and about ſix months, tho' he cannot be ſaid to have reigned till the death of *Gratian*, who died eight years and nine months before him [f]. St. *Ambroſe* tells us, that when he ſaw himſelf unexpectedly attacked by the aſſaſſins, the only words he uttered were, *Alas! my poor ſiſters* [g]! The funeral ceremonies were performed the next day, the ſixteenth of *May*, with great ſolemnity; and his body was ſent to *Milan*, and interred there near that of his brother *Gratian*, on e
which occaſion St. *Ambroſe* pronounced an oration in praiſe of the deceaſed prince [h], who, according to him, and moſt other writers, would have equalled, if not eclipſed, the glory of the beſt emperors, had he been ſuffered to live longer, being of a lively genius, valiant, ſober, liberal, ſincere in his friendſhip, intirely unbiaſſed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in the diſpoſing of employments partial to merit alone [i]. *Zoſimus*, tho' highly prejudiced againſt all chriſtian princes, owns, that his death was a public loſs [k]. He had perſecuted the catholics in his mother's life-time, or rather, ſhe had perſecuted them in his name; but, after her death, he proved a moſt zealous patron of the orthodox faith, diſcountenancing the *Arian* and other ſectaries, as much as had favoured them before he was capable of diſtinguiſhing f
truth from falſhood [l]. His two ſiſters, *Juſta* and *Grata*, continued at *Milan*, and there embraced, after his death, the ſtate of virginity. His ſiſter *Galla*, who was married to *Theodoſius*, died two years after in child-bed.

His character.

After the death of *Valentinian*, *Arbogaſtes* might have eaſily ſeized on the ſovereignty; but not caring to appear guilty of ſuch a treacherous and inhuman murder, he

He is diſcharged; but refuſes to reſign his poſt, and cauſes Valentinian *to be murdered. Various opinions concerning the manner of his death.*

[w] Oros. p. 220. Zos. p. 776. Socr. p. 93. Soz. ibid. [x] Zos. ibid. [y] Philostorg. l. xi. c. 1. p. 145. [z] Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. [a] Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [b] Ruf. l. ii. c. 31. p. 191. [c] Epiph. de menſ. & pond. 20. p. 177. [d] Socr. l. v. c. 25. p. 294. [e] Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 739. [f] Epiph. p. 177. Philost. p. 144. [g] Amer. ibid. p. 112. [h] Idem ibid. p. 113—115. [i] Idem ibid. Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p. 250. [k] Zos. l. iv. p. 776. [l] Ambr. ſerm. de diverſ. p. 107.

a he chose to confer it on one *Eugenius*, and to reign in his name [m]. *Eugenius* had formerly taught grammar, and afterwards rhetoric, and was generally esteemed on account of his eloquence. *Ricomer*, at the request of *Symmachus*, had taken him under his protection, and upon his returning into the east with *Theodosius*, recommended him to *Arbogastes*, by whose interest he was raised to the post of secretary [n]. *Zosimus* tells us, that *Arbogastes*, reposing an intire confidence in *Eugenius*, and judging him capable of the most daring resolutions, imparted to him the design he had formed of murdering *Valentinian*, and raising him to the empire in his room; that *Eugenius* rejected at first the proposal with horror; but was in the end prevailed upon to fall in with the measures of his patron; whereupon he was, by his interest, after the death b of the young prince, proclaimed emperor, as a person well qualified for that high station [o]. He soon made himself master of all the western provinces, says *Socrates* [p]; which must be understood of *West Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; but not of *Africa*, which, after the death of *Valentinian*, submitted to *Theodosius*, as appears from two laws of that prince, the one dated from *Constantinople* the thirtieth of *December* 393. and addressed to *Gildo* count of *Africa*; and the other dated from the same place the twenty-seventh of *March*, and addressed to *Silvanus* duke of the province *Tripolitana* [q]. It is likewise manifest from *Claudian*, that *Gildo* acknowledged *Theodosius*, and not *Eugenius* [r]. The new usurper, tho' a christian, was greatly favoured by the pagans, who were well apprised, that he only bore the title of emperor, while c the whole power was lodged in *Arbogastes*, who pretended a great attachment to their religion. The aruspices, who began to appear anew, assured him, that he was destined to the empire of the whole world; that he would soon gain a complete victory over *Theodosius*, who was as much hated, as he was beloved, by the gods; and that his power and authority would have no other bounds, but those of the *Roman* empire [s]. Tho' *Eugenius* seemed to favour the pagans, yet, in the very beginning of his reign he wrote to St. *Ambrose*, who did not answer his letter, till he was pressed by some of his friends to recommend them to the new prince, and then he treated him in his letters with all the respect due to an emperor [t]. While these things passed in the west, some disturbances happened in the court of *Theodosius* at *Constantinople*: d *Rufinus*, not satisfied with the consular dignity, to which he was raised this year, notwithstanding the report of his having been the author of the death of *Promotus*, killed by the barbarians, began to aspire at the prefecture of the east, which was held by *Tatianus*, whom he caused to be accused of oppression in his government. *Zosimus* will have him to have been altogether innocent, and only hated by *Rufinus*, on account of his integrity. *Proculus*, the son of *Tatianus*, and prefect of *Constantinople*, was accused of the same crime, *Rufinus* hating him, says *Zosimus*, for the sake of his father. *Theodosius* appointed several judges to try them; but as *Rufinus* was at the head of that commission, and the other judges dreaded his resentment, they were both declared guilty: the father was deposed, and confined to *Lycia*, his native e country; and the son sentenced to death; which *Theodosius* no sooner knew, than he sent him his pardon: but the messenger, gained over by *Rufinus*, took care not to acquaint the proper officers with the emperor's order, till the execution was over [u]. Thus *Zosimus*. But *Libanius* charges both *Tatianus*, and his son *Proculus*, with cruelty and oppression [w]; and the laws enacted on this occasion by *Theodosius*, give us room to believe, that the charge brought against *Tatianus*, was not altogether groundless, as *Zosimus* styles it; for by one law he took off a tax which had been levied by *Tatianus*, without his knowledge; by another he commanded the estates and effects of such persons as had been proscribed by him, to be restored to them or their children; and by a third addressed to *Rufinus*, he declared those guilty of death, who, for the f future, should be convicted of having plundered the people committed to their care; whereas, by former laws, they were only to pay four times the value of what they had taken [x]. As for *Proculus*, he must have been guilty of greater crimes than his father, since he was punished with more severity. But however just was the punishment inflicted on *Tatianus*, his countrymen the *Lycians*, who had no share in his crimes, ought not to have had any in his disgrace and misfortunes; nevertheless

Eugenius *is set up by* Arbogastes *in his room.*

He seizes on all the western provinces.

Tatianus *and his son* Proculus *accused at the instigation of* Rufinus.

Tatianus *banished, and his son executed.*

Theodosius,

[m] Philost. l. xi. c. 2. p. 145. Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. Claud. conf. Hon. 3, 4. p. 35, 41. [n] Soc. l. v. c. 25. p. 293. Zos. p. 775. Philost. p. 146. Symm. l. iii. ep. 60, 61. p. 129. [o] Zos. p. 775. [p] Socr. p. 294. [q] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 128. [r] Claud. bell. Gild. p. 76. & consul. Hon. 6. p. 77. [s] Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740. [t] Amb. ep. 15. p. 210. [u] Zos. l. iv. p. 774. [w] Lib. orat. xvi. p. 423. [x] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 28. leg. 1. p. 219, 220.

Theodoſius, at the inſtigation of *Rufinus*, a declared enemy to the *Lycians*, enacted a law, declaring their whole nation infamous, depriving them of the employments they held at that time, and rendering them for ever incapable of any preferment [y]. This unjuſt law was afterwards revoked by *Arcadius*, who reſtored the *Lycians* to their former condition, aſcribing the baſe treatment they had met with, not to their demerit, but to the hatred of an execrable man, meaning *Rufinus* [z]. As *Tatianus* is highly commended by *Zoſimus*, and perſecuted with great cruelty the catholics, while he was governor of *Egypt* under *Valens* in 367. ſome writers from thence conclude him to have been a pagan. He had been *comes largitionum* to *Valens* in 374. three times prefect of the eaſt, and twice conſul. He is ſuppoſed to have died ſoon after his diſgrace. When he was depoſed, *Rufinus* was appointed prefect of the eaſt in his room [a]. The affair of *Tatianus* and *Proculus* was not yet ended, when news of the death of *Valentinian*, and the uſurpation of *Eugenius*, was brought to *Conſtantinople*. A few days after, embaſſadors arrived from the uſurper, who, without ſo much as mentioning the name of *Arbogaſtes*, demanded an audience in the name of *Eugenius*; and being admitted to the emperor's preſence, propoſed an alliance between him and their maſter. *Theodoſius* received them in a very obliging manner, amuſed them, ſays *Zoſimus*, with fair words, and diſmiſſed them loaded with rich preſents [b]. At the head of this embaſſy was one *Rufinus*, an *Athenian*, who was attended by ſeveral biſhops ſent by *Eugenius* to divert the emperor from engaging in a civil war. As *Theodoſius* charged *Arbogaſtes* with the murder of *Valentinian*, the biſhops did all that lay in their power to clear him from that falſe, as they ſtyled it, and groundleſs aſperſion [c]. *Rufinus* [d], *Theodoret* [e], and *Sozomen* [f], tell us, that, upon the departure of the embaſſadors, *Theodoſius* diſpatched the eunuch *Eutropius*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of *Arcadius*, to conſult a holy hermit, by name *John*, by nation an *Egyptian*, whom the emperor looked upon as an oracle. *Eutropius* was injoined to bring him, if poſſible, to court; but, if he could not prevail upon him to quit his ſolitude, to aſk him, whether he approved of the emperor's attacking *Eugenius* firſt? or, if he ſhould wait till the uſurper attacked him? The hermit declined going to court, but adviſed the emperor to begin the war without delay, aſſuring him, that he would overcome the tyrant, but not without bloodſhed; that he would die in *Italy*, after his victory, and in dying leave his ſon emperor of the weſt. Thus the above-mentioned writers. *Theodoſius*, upon the return of the meſſenger, began his military preparations; but as he confided more in the aſſiſtance of Heaven, than the number of his troops, or the bravery of his generals, he viſited in the firſt place all the churches of his capital, attended by ſeveral biſhops, and a great croud of people, imploring with them the favour and protection of the Almighty, who diſpoſes of kingdoms as he thinks fit, and beſtows victory on whom he pleaſes [g]. The military preparations, to which *Theodoſius* applied himſelf with indefatigable pains, did not divert him from publiſhing ſeveral laws this year, among the reſt one condemning ſuch heretics as ſhould confer or receive holy orders, to pay, by way of fine, ten pounds weight of gold, and declaring the places where they ſhould perform any religious ceremony, confiſcated [h]. By another law of this year, dated the eighteenth of *July*, he commands thoſe who ſhould raiſe diſturbances in the church, or impugn the orthodox faith, to be baniſhed, and confined to ſome deſert, if they had been guilty of the ſame fault before [i]. The law of the eighteenth of *October* of this year, commands ſuch criminals as ſhould have purloined the public money, and taken ſanctuary in churches, to be dragged from thence, and puniſhed, or the biſhops who protected them, to pay what they owed [k]. From this law it appears, that the cuſtom of taking ſanctuary in churches had already prevailed. Before this time, St. *Auſtin*, being ſolicited either to deliver up a debtor, by name *Faſcius*, who had fled to his church as to an aſylum, or to ſatisfy his creditors, choſe the latter [l]. By a law dated the eighth of *November*, the emperor revived all the ancient laws againſt paganiſm, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, every ceremony of the pagan religion [m].

a Rufinus *made prefect of the eaſt.*

b Eugenius *ſends deputies to* Theodoſius.

c *Who prepares for war.*

d *His piety.*

e *His laws againſt heretics.*

THE

[y] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 9. p. 278, 279. [z] Idem, tit. 3. p. 279. [a] AMBR. ep. 50. p. 309. [b] Zos. p. 776. [c] RUF. p. 191. [d] Idem, p. 192. [e] THEODOR. l. v. c. 24. p. 738. [f] Soz. p. 740. [g] RUF. l. ii. c. 33. p. 191. [h] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 21. p. 138. [i] Idem ibid. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 101. [k] Idem, l. ix. tit. 45. leg. 1. p. 358. [l] AUG. ep. 268. p. 901. [m] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 12. p. 273.

THE following year *Theodoſius* was conſul the third time, with *Abundantius*, who
a was, as appears from a law of the preceding year, general both of the horſe and foot [n]. In his room *Eugenius* was acknowledged conſul in the weſt, as we learn from an antient epitaph of this year, in which that uſurper is ſtyled the collegue of *Theodoſius* in the conſulſhip [o]. This year *Theodoſius* publiſhed many excellent laws, and among the reſt one abrogating an antient law, which puniſhed thoſe with death, who uttered ſeditious words againſt the prince. If ſuch words, ſays *Theodoſius* in his law of this year, proceed from levity, they are to be deſpiſed; if from folly, to be pitied; if from malice, they are to be forgiven [p]. In the beginning, or, as ſome will have it, in the end of this year, that is, on the fifteenth of *January*, or twentieth of *Novem-*
b *ber*, the emperor declared his ſecond ſon *Honorius*, *Auguſtus*. The ceremony was performed with great ſolemnity in the palace of *Hebdomon* near *Conſtantinople* [q]. The poet *Claudian* introduces on this occaſion *Theodoſius* inſtructing the young prince in the art of governing [r]. This year was ended at *Conſtantinople* a ſquare, which bore the name of *Theodoſius*; and the following year a wreathed column erected in it, on which were engraved the victories of that prince over the *Goths* and other barbarians. On the top of the column was an equeſtrian ſtatue of *Theodoſius*, which was thrown down by an earthquake in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*; but the colum was ſtill ſtanding in the thirteenth century, and is frequently mentioned in hiſtory [s]. *Theodoſius* paſſed this whole year at *Conſtantinople*, making the neceſſary preparations for the dangerous war which he was reſolved to undertake. As for *Eugenius*, he had gained
c the preceding year conſiderable advantages over the *Franks*, being induced to make war upon them by *Arbogaſtes*, who bore an old grudge to *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two princes of that nation. This war was managed by *Arbogaſtes*, who paſſing the *Rhine* near *Cologne* in the depth of winter, laid waſte the countries of the *Bructerians* and *Chamavians*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, *Marcomir* ſhewing himſelf only at a diſtance on the hills, with ſome parties of the *Anſivarii* and *Chatti* [t]. Hence it appears, that theſe antient nations of *Germany* were at this time compriſed under the name of *Franks*. *Eugenius* himſelf approached the *Rhine*, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; and having, upon the return of *Arbogaſtes*, renewed
d the antient alliance between the *Romans* and *Franks*, he left *Gaul*, and repaired to *Italy*; which he had ſcarce entered, when he was met by a deputation from the *Roman* ſenate, intreating him to reſtore to the temples the revenues, of which they had been deprived by *Gratian*, and to re-eſtabliſh the celebrated altar of *Victory*. *Eugenius* received them in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon to comply with their requeſt. The ſenate ſoon after ſent a ſecond deputation to ſolicit the ſame favour; which was denied them a ſecond time. But when by a third embaſſy they renewed their requeſt, *Eugenius* yielded at length to their importunity, reſtoring the pagan religion and temples to their former luſtre, and ſuffering the antient ceremonies and ſacrifices to be renewed in the ſenate of the metropolis of his
e empire [u]. The following year 394. *Arcadius* being conſul the third time, and *Honorius* the ſecond, *Theodoſius* was ſtill at *Conſtantinople* on the fifteenth of *May* [w]; but he left that metropolis ſoon after; for he was on the thirtieth of the ſame month, at *Heraclea*; and on the fifteenth of *June* at *Adrianople* [x]. He bent his march through *Dacia*, and the other provinces between *Thrace* and the *Julian Alps*, which ſeparate *Italy* from *Noricum*, with a deſign to force the paſſes of thoſe mountains, and break into *Italy*, before the army of *Eugenius* was in a condition to oppoſe him. Upon his arrival at the *Alps*, he found the paſſes guarded by *Flavianus* prefect of *Italy*, at the head of a conſiderable body of *Roman* troops, who, after a ſhort reſiſtance, betook themſelves to flight. *Flavianus* was killed at the firſt onſet. *Theodoſius*,
f having thus opened himſelf a paſſage over the *Alps*, was met, as he came down from thoſe mountains, by *Eugenius*, at the head of a very numerous army, drawn up in battle-array on the banks of the river *Frigidum*; which *Sanſon* and others take to be the river *Vipao* or *Wiback* in the county of *Gorice*, about thirty-ſix miles from *Aquileia*. The army of *Theodoſius* was no leſs numerous than that of the enemy, being reinforced by ſeveral bodies of *Armenians*, *Iberians*, *Arabians*, *Goths*, and other barbarians,

He revokes the law of treaſon.

Honorius *declared* Auguſtus.

Eugenius *gains conſiderable advantages over the* Franks.

Eugenius *favours the pagan ceremonies.*

Theodoſius *forces the paſſes of the* Alps.

[n] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 126. [o] Vide REIN. p. 1021. [p] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 4. leg. 3: p. 42. [q] PHILOST. l. xi. c. 2. p. 146. Sos. l. vii. c. 24. p. 741. CLAUD. conſ. Hon. 3. p. 35, 36: [r] CLAUD. ibid. p. 45—50. [s] Chron. Alex. p. 708. CANGE Conſtant. antiq. l. i. p. 76—80. [t] GREG. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 61, 62. [u] AMBR. vit. p. 85. ep. 15. p. 210. [w] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 129. [x] Idem ibid.

tians, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*. The *Roman* troops were commanded by *Timaſius* and *Stilicho*, who had married the emperor's niece; and the foreign auxiliaries by *Gainas*, *Saul*, *Bacurius*, and *Alaric* the *Goth*, whoſe name is famous in hiſtory. Of *Gainas*, who was of the ſame nation, and *Saul*, who was likewiſe a barbarian, we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. *Bacurius* was a native of *Armenia* [a], or, as *Rufinus* will have it, of *Iberia* [b]; nay, he is ſtyled by that writer king of *Iberia*. Among the *Romans* he was *comes domeſticorum*, that is, captain of the guards, and univerſally eſteemed, not only for his courage and experience in war, but for the mildneſs of his temper, his affability and good-nature to all, even to his enemies [c]. *Rufinus*, the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorian, who lived in great intimacy with him while he was duke of *Paleſtine*, calls him a man of great integrity, a pious and zealous chriſtian, a worthy companion of *Theodoſius*, a man endowed with every good quality of the mind, and by few equalled in the perfections of his body [d]. Under theſe leaders, the army of *Theodoſius* advanced into the plain; but the emperor, unwilling to expoſe the *Romans*, ordered the foreign auxiliaries to begin the action, which they did with great vigour and reſolution; but were ſoon put in diſorder by the regular and well diſciplined troops of *Eugenius*, headed by *Arbogaſtes*, who ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner. *Bacurius* however, having rallied the barbarians, led them back to the charge; and being ſupported by *Timaſius* and *Stilicho*, renewed the combat, which laſted till night coming on, both armies retired to their reſpective camps. *Bacurius* on this occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the other commanders, killed great numbers of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end ſurrounded on all ſides, he was cut in pieces, after having defended himſelf for a long time with incredible bravery. Of the *Goths* and other auxiliaries above ten thouſand were killed; but of the *Romans*, who ſupported them, only a ſmall number. *Eugenius*, concluding he had gained the day, and that the army of *Theodoſius* was utterly defeated, gave his men leave to retire to their tents, and refreſh themſelves, that they might be the better able to purſue the enemy next morning. In the mean time *Theodoſius* was adviſed by his generals not to hazard a ſecond engagement, but to retire in the night, repaſs the *Alps*, and put off the deciſion of the war till another campaign; againſt which time he might with great eaſe recruit his army, and renew the war with freſh vigour. But the emperor, without giving ear to their remonſtrances, having aſſembled his troops by break of day, led them in perſon againſt the enemy; and entering their camp when leaſt expected, put great numbers of them to the ſword, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight [e]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians aſcribe the victory gained by *Theodoſius*, not to any ſurprize, but to the prayers of the emperor, and to the miraculous aſſiſtance of St. *John* the evangeliſt, and the apoſtle St. *Philip*, who appearing to him in the night, encouraged him to renew the fight early next morning, and aſſured him of victory. The ſame writers add, that *Theodoſius* no ſooner attacked *Eugenius*'s numerous forces, than a violent ſtorm ariſing, and blowing full in the enemy's faces, turned their arrows and javelins back upon themſelves, and raiſed ſuch clouds of duſt, as quite deprived them of their ſight; ſo that having two enemies to encounter at once, they were quickly overcome. Of this ſtorm mention is made by *Theodoret* [f], *Oroſius* [g], *Sozomen* [h], St. *Ambroſe* [i], *Rufinus* [k], St. *Auſtin* [l], and the poet *Claudian* [m], who deſcribes it with great elegance in ſome verſes which he wrote eighteen months after [n]; but, to flatter *Honorius*, will have it to have been owing to his deſtiny. *Arbogaſtes* behaved on this occaſion with great intrepidity; but, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, his men, quite diſheartened, and concluding, from the extraordinary violence of the ſtorm, that Heaven fought againſt them, either betook themſelves to flight, or, throwing down their arms, ſubmitted to *Theodoſius*, who readily received them into favour; but at the ſame time commanded them to apprehend, and deliver up to him, the uſurper. They no ſooner received this order, than they flew to the riſing ground where *Eugenius* had poſted himſelf to behold the battle, and was ſtill waiting the event of it. When he obſerved them coming in great haſte towards him, he concluded they brought him news of the victory. As they approached, he aſked them, whether they

[a] Zos. p. 777. [b] Ruf. l. i. c. 10. p. 166. [c] Zos. ibid. [d] Ruf. l. ii. c. 33. p. 192. [e] Zos. p. 778. [f] Theodor. l. v. c. 24. p. 739. [g] Oros. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. [h] Soz. l. vii. c. 24. p. 742. [i] Ambr. ſerm. de diverſ. p. 117. & in pſal. xxxvi. p. 692. [k] Ruf. l. ii. c. 33. p. 190. [l] Aug. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 26. p. 642. [m] Claud. conſ. Hon. 3. p. 36. [n] Idem ibid.

a they had, purſuant to his orders, ſecured *Theodoſius*. They anſwered, that they deſpiſed the commands of a tyrant and uſurper, whom they were come to ſeize, and deliver up to their lawful ſovereign; and loading him that inſtant with irons, dragged him, ſtripped of all the enſigns of majeſty, to the emperor, who reproached him with the murder of *Valentinian*, with the calamities he had brought upon the empire by his unjuſt uſurpation, and with putting his confidence in *Hercules*, in defiance of the only true God; for on his chief ſtandard he had diſplayed the image of that fabulous deity. *Eugenius* begged earneſtly for his life; but while he lay proſtrate at the emperor's feet, his own ſoldiers ſtruck off his head, and carrying it about on the point of a ſpear, ſhewed it to thoſe who, remaining in his camp, had not yet ſub-
b mitted to *Theodoſius*. At that ſight they were all thunder-ſtruck; but being at the ſame time informed, that *Theodoſius* was ready to receive them into favour, they threw down their arms and ſubmitted [o]. *Arbogaſtes*, the chief author of the death of *Valentinian*, and the evils attending it, deſpairing of pardon, fled to the mountains; but being appriſed that diligent ſearch was made after him, he laid violent hands on himſelf [p]. The children of *Eugenius* and *Arbogaſtes*, who had attended their parents in this war, having great reaſon to expect the ſame treatment, took ſanctuary in different churches; but the pious emperor, not ſatisfied with pardoning them, laid hold of that opportunity to convert them from paganiſm, which they profeſſed, to the chriſtian religion, appointing proper perſons to inſtruct them, and
c convince them of their errors; which they had no ſooner renounced, than he took them under his protection, put them in poſſeſſion of their paternal eſtates, and raiſed them to conſiderable employments [q]. Great numbers of the partizans of *Eugenius* having fled for refuge to the great church of *Milan*, St. *Ambroſe* repaired to *Aquileia*, where the emperor then was, to ſolicit their pardon; which was immediately granted, and a general amneſty proclaimed [r]; nay, the emperor is ſaid to have been ſo concerned for the blood that was ſhed in the battle, as to abſtain for ſome time from the holy euchariſt [s]. He probably followed therein the directions of St. *Ambroſe*, at leaſt his conduct was agreeable to the ſentiments of that prelate, who, in ſpeaking of judges, ſays, That tho' he does not deny them, as many have done, the holy
d euchariſt, after they have ſentenced criminals to death, yet he approves of their abſtaining for ſome time of their own accord from the holy myſteries [t]. The emperor, immediately after his victory over *Eugenius*, ſent for his ſon *Honorius*, whom he had left at *Conſtantinople*, under the care of *Rufinus*, who was thereby veſted with almoſt an unlimited power. Before the arrival of the young prince, *Theodoſius* had removed from *Aquileia* to *Milan*, where he received him and *Serena*, who came with him, in the great church, and committed them both to the care of St. *Ambroſe* [u]. *Serena* was daughter to *Honorius*, the emperor's brother. A few days after he declared his ſon *Honorius* emperor of the weſt, aſſigning him for his ſhare, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, *Africa*, and *Weſt Illyricum*, and appointing *Stilicho* his firſt general and prime miniſter [w].
e With this declaration he ſent *Stilicho* to *Rome*; on which occaſion *Serena*, whom *Theodoſius* had married to that general, and who accompanied her huſband to *Rome*, ſhewed a great deſire, ſays *Zoſimus*, to ſee the ſtatue of *Cybele*; but ſhe was no ſooner admitted into the temple, than ſhe ſnatched from the goddeſs a necklace of ineſtimable value, ſaying it became better the niece of an emperor, than a ſenſeleſs ſtatue. An old veſtal, who was preſent, tranſported with a blind zeal, could not forbear uttering dreadful imprecations againſt *Serena*, her huſband, and her children; but *Serena* cauſed her to be driven out of the temple, and puniſhed for her arrogance. At the ſame time her huſband *Stilicho* commanded the thick plate of gold, with which the gates of *Jupiter Capitolinus* were covered, to be taken off, and conveyed to his
f lodging. Under the plate were found engraved on the wood theſe words: *This is reſerved for an unhappy king*. Thus *Zoſimus* [x], who ridiculouſly aſcribes to theſe two actions, the misfortunes which afterwards befel *Stilicho* and *Serena*. The *Roman* ſenate ſent deputies to congratulate *Theodoſius* on his late victory, and to beg the conſulſhip of the enſuing year for the two brothers *Olybrius* and *Probinus*. The emperor granted them their requeſt, exhorting them at the ſame time with great zeal to renounce

Eugenius *taken, delivered up to* Theodoſius, *and put to death by his own men.*

Arbogaſtes *lays violent hands on himſelf.*

Honorius *declared emperor of the weſt.*

[o] Ambr. vit. p. 86. Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 41. Ruf. p. 192. Theodor. p. 740. Socr. l. 5. c. 25. p. 294. Chron. Alex. p. 710. [p] Claud. ibid. p. 41. & conſ. Hon. 3. p. 39. Socr. p. 295. Oros. p. 220, 221. [q] Ambr. ep. 16. p. 211. Oros. ibid. [r] Ambr. vit. p. 86. [s] Ruf. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192. Socr. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Soz. l. vii. c. 29. p. 753. [t] Ambr. ep. 51. p. 309, 310. [u] Socr. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Ruf. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192. [w] Zos. l iv. p. 773. [x] Ros. p. 779.

renounce the errors in which they had been brought up, and yield to the force of a
that truth, which now generally prevailed. *Zosimus*, who seldom agrees with other
writers, supposes *Theodosius* to have gone in person to *Rome*, to have summoned to
the imperial palace all the senators, who still continued attached to the ancient cere-
monies of the *Romans*, and to have exhorted them to get the better of the preju-
dice of their education, and renouncing the superstitious worship of the gods, to
embrace the christian religion, which alone could deliver them from their sins. But
not one, continues that writer, could be prevailed upon to abandon the religion
and ceremonies with which *Rome* had been founded, and had subsisted near twelve
hundred years. Hereupon the emperor declared, that as the exchequer had been
drained by the late war, he could spare no money for the ceremonies of their reli- b
gion; which he therefore declared unlawful, and utterly suppressed [y]. He had before
enacted several laws for the suppression of idolatry; but *Eugenius* had revoked them,
and restored to the temples their privileges and revenues. This year is remarkable
for dreadful earthquakes, which were felt almost every day in most provinces of
the empire, from the beginning of *September* to the end of *November*; for excessive
and incessant rains, which laid whole countries under water; and such a darkness as
had not happened in the memory of man [z]: all which the writers of those times seem
to have looked upon as prognostics of the great loss the *Roman* empire was to sus-
tain in the approaching death of the great *Theodosius*.

The next consuls were the two brothers *Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius* and *Anicius* c
Probinus, the sons of *Petronius Probus* and *Anicia Proba*, on whose consulate *Claudian*
wrote a poem [a]. *Theodosius*, having restored the west to its former tranquillity, was
preparing to return to *Constantinople*, when he was seized with a dropsy, occasioned
by the great fatigues he had undergone in the late war [b]. As soon as he perceived
himself to be in danger, he made his will, by which he divided the empire, bequeath-
Theodosius *divides the empire between his two children.* ing the east to his eldest son *Arcadius*, and the west to *Honorius*. He likewise con-
firmed the pardon which he had granted to all those who had borne arms against
him, and remitted a tribute, which had proved very burthensome to the people,
charging his sons and successors to see his will duly executed as to these two points [q].
Socrates and *Sozomen* write, that finding himself in great measure eased of his pain, d
he assisted at a chariot-race; but his distemper returning with great violence, he
appointed one of his sons to preside at the sports in his room; and withdrawing to
his chamber, died the following night [r]. He was heard a few minutes before he
expired to utter the name of St. *Ambrose* [s]. He died at *Milan* on the seventeenth
Theodosius *dies.* of *January* of this year 395, two days before he had ended the sixteenth year of his
reign, being then at most in the fiftieth year of his age [t]. St. *Ambrose* pronounced
his funeral oration, in which he supposes him to enjoy the rewards promised in the
gospel to a religious and virtuous life [u]. His body was embalmed, and conveyed
from *Milan* to *Constantinople*, where it was interred by *Arcadius* with extraordinary
pomp and magnificence on the ninth of *November* of the present year [w]. A tomb of c
porphyry was to be seen many ages after, supposed to be that of *Theodosius*. It
stood in the mausoleum of *Constantine the Great*, near the church of the apostles [x].
As for the character of *Theodosius*, all authors, whether pagan or christian, *Zosimus*
alone excepted, agree that he was endowed in an eminent degree with every
virtue becoming a prince, without the allay of one single vice. Not to mention
His character. the ecclesiastic historians, and the two great luminaries of the church, St. *Ambrose*
and St. *Austin*, who may perhaps be thought prejudiced in his favour, as he was
a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, *Themistius*, *Symmachus*, *Pacatus*, and
Victor the younger, though greatly attached to the ancient religion of the *Romans*,
which *Theodosius* discountenanced above all his predecessors, and made it his chief f
study utterly to suppress, propose him as the pattern of an excellent prince, the
eminent virtues that shone in him overcoming the prejudice, which his zeal for the
christian religion, and aversion to the superstitious ceremonies of the pagans, raised
against him among those, who, in spite of his utmost endeavours, continued obsti-
nate in their errors [y]. The testimony of those writers, who had no less reason to
be

[y] Idem, l. v. p. 814. [z] Mar. chron. Amb. serm. de diverf. iii. p. 116. [a] Claud. de conf. Olyb. & Prob. p. 1—8. [b] Socr. l. v. c. 26. p. 295. Soz. l. vii. c. 28. p. 752. [q] Amb. ibid. p. 117. [r] Socr. l. v. c. 26. Soz. l. vii. c. 29. p. 752. [s] Amb. ibid. p. 122. [t] Socr. p. 295. Chr. Alex. p. 710. [u] Amb. ser. de diverf. iii. p. 117—121. [w] Zos. l. iv. p. 779. Amb. ibid. p. 125. Socr. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. [x] Cange urb. Conft. antiq. l. iv. p. 109. [y] Vide Sym. l. iii. ep. 81. p. 137. ep. 13. p. 65. Vict. epit. 546, 547.

a be prejudiced againſt *Theodoſius* than *Zoſimus*, and who lived in thoſe times, muſt be of far greater weight with every impartial reader, than the invectives of that hiſtorian, who lived a hundred years after. *Theodoſius* was, as we have hinted above out of *Aurelius Victor*, naturally choleric, and apt in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion, to iſſue ſuch orders as ſavoured of cruelty. But as he was ſoon appeaſed, we have but one inſtance of their being put in execution before he had time to revoke them; namely, the famous maſſacre of the inhabitants of *Theſſalonica*, who had murdered in an inſurrection *Botericus*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Illyricum*, becauſe he refuſed to ſet at liberty a chariot-driver, who had been impriſoned for offering violence to a woman of ſome diſtinction. When this came to the b emperor's ears, he ordered all thoſe who had been any-ways concerned in the murder or riot, to be put to death; but at the interceſſion of St. *Ambroſe*, and other biſhops aſſembled in a ſynod at *Milan*, where the emperor then was, he revoked his orders, and pardoned them. Some time after, his miniſters repreſenting to him, that the *Theſſalonians* had been encouraged to this ſedition by the too great indulgence he had ſhewn to the inhabitants of *Antioch*; and that if he ſuffered the murder of his lieutenant to go thus unpuniſhed, his officers for the future would be in continual danger of their lives, and he himſelf diſturbed and alarmed with daily inſurrections; his wrath was kindled anew to ſuch a degree, that, forgetful of the promiſe he had made to St. *Ambroſe*, he immediately ordered a body of troops to march to c *Theſſalonica*, and revenge on the inhabitants the death of his lieutenant. The ſoldiers, entering the city, purſuant to their orders, ſurrounded the people, while they were aſſembled to behold the *Circenſian* games; and falling upon them ſword in hand, without regard to ſex, age, or condition, without diſtinction of guilty or innocent, cruelly maſſacred in the ſpace of three hours above ſeven thouſand perſons, many of whom were ſtrangers come to *Theſſalonica* on occaſion of the ſports. When news of this maſſacre was brought to *Milan*, St. *Ambroſe* wrote to the emperor, who had left that city ſome time before, upbraiding him with his cruelty, repreſenting to him the enormity of his crime, and exhorting him to atone for it by a ſincere ſubmiſſion and repentance. This the emperor took in good part; and d returning a few days after to *Milan*, repaired, according to his cuſtom, to the great church, to perform his devotions there. But St. *Ambroſe*, meeting him at the door, denied him entrance, telling him, that he was cut off from the communion of the faithful, and unworthy to appear amongſt them, till he had expiated ſo public a crime by as public a repentance. To this the emperor readily ſubmitted; and returning to the palace with tears in his eyes, performed with great humility all the duties of an open penance, as injoined by the canons of the church, and the cuſtom of thoſe times. He continued in that ſtate for the ſpace of eight months, that is, from the latter end of *April* to *Chriſtmas*, when, to make ſome amends for his crime, and to prevent both himſelf and his ſucceſſors from being guilty of the like cruelty for the e future, he enacted a law, or rather enforced the obſervance of an antient law, by which all criminals were to have a reſpite of thirty days allowed them between the pronouncing of the ſentence of death and their execution [z]. It is ſurpriſing, that *Zoſimus*, who omits no opportunity of railing at *Theodoſius*, and often cenſures even the moſt commendable actions of that prince, ſhould take no notice of the abovementioned maſſacre. The reader will find in the eccleſiaſtic writers other inſtances of the emperor's intire ſubmiſſion to the ordinances of the church, of his piety, ſelf-denial, and other chriſtian virtues, in which he far excelled all the princes who had reigned before him. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall ſpeak in note (M).

The maſſacre of Theſſalonica.

An inſtance of his ſubmiſſion to the diſcipline of the church.

[z] Theodor. l. iii. c. 17. Soz. l. iii. c. 24. Niceph. l. xii. c. 40. Amb. ep. xxviii. Aug. de civ. Dei. l. v. c. 26, &c.

(M) Among the writers, who flouriſhed under *Theodoſius*, the celebrated orator *Symmachus* deſerves both on account of his birth and eloquence, to be mentioned in the firſt place. He was the ſon of *L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus*, prefect of *Rome* in 364 (1). He is ſtyled at the head of his letters, by *Macrobius* (2), and in an ancient inſcription, *Q. Aurelius Symmachus* (3). He had at leaſt three brothers, who were all dead before the year 389 (4). Of theſe *Celſinus Ticianus*, whom in all his letters he ſtyles brother (5), ſeems to have been one. He diſtinguiſhes *Flavianus*, who was prefect of *Italy*, and joined *Eugenius*, in whoſe cauſe he loſt his life, with the ſame title (6); but moſt writers are of opi-

(1) *Sym. l.* ii. *c.* 44. *p.* 81. *Cod. Theod. chron. p.* 69.
(2) *Macrob. l.* i. *c.* 5. *p.* 176, 177.
(3) *Rein. p.* 399.
(4) *Sym. l.* iii. *ep.* 6. *p.* 104.
(5) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 40, 56, 68. *p.* 30, 38.
(6) *Idem, l.* ii. *ep.* 44. *p.* 81. & *ep.* 83. *p.* 97.

opinion, that he was no ways allied to him. *Symmachus* married *Rusticiana*, the daughter of *Orfites*, who was for many years prefect of *Rome* under *Constantius*, and had by her one son, named *Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus* (7). *Orfites*, his father-in-law, was accused in 364, and convicted of having embezzled the public money; for which crime his estate was confiscated, and he banished; but he was recalled in 366, when part of his estate was restored to him, but nevertheless he died very poor about the year 370, leaving two daughters behind him, *viz. Rusticiana*, and another, who was married to a person of distinction in *Hetruria* (8). Though *Symmachus* had no fortune with his wife, yet he was reckoned among the wealthy senators (9). He was high pontiff of the pagans, quæstor, prætor, corrector or governor of *Lucania* and *Brutium* in 365, and 368, proconsul of *Africa* in 370, and 373, prefect of *Rome* in 384, and consul in 391 (10). He is styled in an ancient inscription count of the third order (11). He was a most zealous patron of idolatry, and on that account banished by *Theodosius*, but soon after recalled, as we have observed already. He brought up his son with extraordinary care, and seems to have taken upon himself to instruct him (12). Being invited by *Theodosius*, with whom he lived in great intimacy, to come to *Milan*, and assist at the solemnity of his consulship in 399, he excused himself, alledging, that he could not leave his son (13). His son was made by his interest, first quæstor, and afterwards prætor (14), quæstor about the year 392, and prætor in 397. The latter dignity cost him two thousand pounds weight of gold (15), and he would have spent on that occasion a far greater sum, had he not been restrained by *Stilicho*, who at that time ruled under *Honorius* (16). Young *Symmachus* was proconsul of *Africa* in 415. and prefect of *Rome* in 419 (17). In the date of a law of the year 424. he is marked consul (18; but most writers take that to be a mistake. He married, after the year 394. the grand-daughter of *Flavianus*, and had by her a son before the death of his father (19). He wrote some epigrams on illustrious men, and several letters, which are to be found among those of his father, who submitted his own compositions to the censure and judgment of his son (20). *Symmachus*, the father, was esteemed the most eloquent orator of his time; but his speeches not meeting with the applause he expected, he applied himself intirely to the writing of letters (21). His speeches have been long since lost; but his letters have reached our times, and are divided into ten books. They were carefully preserved by his amanuensis, and one of his friends, named *Elpidius*, and published after his death by his son (22). *Prudentius*, who wrote against him, while he was still living, on occasion of his endeavouring to persuade the emperor to restore the altar of *victory*, extols his eloquence, and compares it to a golden spade made use of to dig up ordure (23). *Macrobius* compares his elegant and florid style, as he terms it, to that of *Pliny* the younger, and equals him in that respect to the best writers of antiquity (24). *Apollinaris Sidonius* and *Cassiodorus* admire his eloquence, and the purity of his style (25). Both these writers quote some passages out of him, which are not to be found in any of his works that have reached our times (26) *Socrates* (27), *Photius* (28), and *Jornandes* (29), mention him with great encomiums. And truly the turn and brevity of his letters is not without some elegance; but the same thoughts, tho', generally speaking, common and obvious, are often repeated; and his style savours much of the barbarity of the age in which he lived. *Jornandes* quotes the fifth book of the history of *Symmachus*; but as it does not appear, that either *Symmachus* the orator, or his son, ever wrote any history, most authors take the historian quoted by *Jornandes* to be different from both (30).

The *Latin* poet *Rufus Festus Avienus* is supposed to have flourished under *Theodosius*, because he inscribed a work to *Probus*, a consular man, whom most writers take to be the celebrated *Probus*, who died not long before the year 395 (31). St. *Jerom*, in his comments on the epistle to *Titus*, writes, that the phenomena of *Aratus* had been lately translated by *Avienus* (32; which work, together with his translation of *Dionysius*'s description of the world, and a third poem by the same author on the sea-coasts, has reached our times. To the same *Avienus* or *Avianus* are generally ascribed the fables of *Æsop* in *Latin* verse, and the whole history of *Livy* in Iambics; but the latter laborious performance which is mentioned by *Servius*, has been long since lost (33). Some other poetical pieces done by the same author are still extant. He writes with more taste and elegance than could be expected from one of the age he lived in; but his fables are not to compare to those of *Phædrus* (34). *Rufus Festus*, who was proconsul of *Achaia* under *Valens*, is thought to have been his son (35). *Victor* the historian, who closes his history with a kind of panegyric on *Theodosius*, is thought to have lived in his time, and to have wrote soon after the death of that prince (36). The name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor* is common to him with another historian, who flourished in the reign of the emperor *Valens*; but from him he is distinguished by the surname of *junior* or *the younger*: in several manuscripts he is styled *Victorius* or *Victorinus*, and under both these names he is quoted by *Paulus Diaconus* (37). He wrote the *Roman* history; but what has reached our times is but an abridgment of his work, and thence called *Victor's epitome* (38). *Gregory* of *Tours* quotes several things concerning the *Franks* out of an historian named *Sulpicius Alexander* (39), whom *Gothofredus* commends as an excellent writer, and supposes to be the same *Alexander* to whom *Symmachus* wrote several letters; from which it appears, that he was governor of a province, and was raised by *Valentinian* II about the year 387. to the post of tribune and secretary (40). Some writers are of opinion, that the *Latin* poet *Manilius*, who wrote on astrology, flourished under *Theodosius*, or his son *Honorius*;

(7) *Sidon. l.* ii. *ep.* 10. *p.* 54. *Sym. l.* ix. *ep.* 121. *p.* 386. *l.* x. *ep.* 47. *p.* 441, 442. (8) *Cod. Theod. tit.* 6. *p.* 376. *Sym. l.* x. *ep.* 47. *p.* 441, 442. (9) *Phot. c.* 80. *p.* 197. *Sym. l.* v. *ep.* 5. *p.* 187. & *ep.* 66. *p.* 214. *Ammian. p.* 377. *Macrob. p* 745. (10) *Sym. l.* ix. *ep* 41. *p.* 31. *Cod. Theod. tit.* 6. *p.* 386. (11) *Rein. p.* 399. (12) *Sym. l* vii. *ep.* 30. *p.* 273. (13) *Idem, l.* viii. *ep.* 68. *p.* 335. (14) *Idem, l.* v. *ep.* 44. *p.* 202. & *l.* iv. *ep.* 12 *p.* 147. (15) *Idem, l.* iv. *ep.* 8. *p.* 146. (16) *Idem ibid.* (17) *Cod. Theod tit.* 6. *p* 386. (18) *Idem, tit.* 1 *p* 386. (19) *Sym. l.* iv *ep* 14 *p.* 149. (20) *Idem, l.* vii. *ep.* 21 *p.* 70. & *appendix. ad ep. Symmachi, p* 298, 301. (21) *Idem, l.* iv. *ep.* 29. *p.* 159. & *l* viii. *ep.* 68. *p.* 335. (22) *Idem, l.* iii. *p.* 101. & *l.* v *ep.* 83, 84. *p.* 220. (23) *Prud. in Sym. l.* i. *p.* 223. & *l.* 2, *p.* 225. (24) *Macr. l.* v *c.* 1. *p.* 364. (25) *Sid. l.* i. *ep* 1. *p.* 11. & *car.* 9. *p.* 351. *l.* viii. *ep.* 10. *p.* 231. *Cassiod. l.* xi. *ep.* 1. *p.* 175. (26) *Sid.* & *Cassiod. ibid.* (27) *Socr. l.* v *c* 14. *p.* 273. (28) *Phot. c.* 80. *p.* 197. (29) *Jorn. rer. Goth. c.* 15. *p.* 636. (30) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat p.* 724. (31) *Idem, l.* ii. *c.* 9. *p.* 202. (32) *Hier. in Tit.* i. *p.* 248. (33) *Voss. poet. Lat. p.* 56. (34) *Vide Baillet. tom* vi. *p.* 475, 476. (35) *Vide Spon p.* 100. (36) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* ii. *c* 12. *p.* 221. (37) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 12. *p.* 221. (38) *Vict. epit. p.* 531. (39) *Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l.* ii. *c.* 9. *p.* 58, *&c.* (40) *Cod. Theod. tit.* 5. *p.* 409. *Sym. l.* i. *ep.* 101. *p.* 58. & *l.* ix. *ep.* 25. *p.* 347.

rius; but from ſeveral paſſages in that poem, eſpecially from the laſt verſes of the firſt book, *Extremas modo per gentes*, &c. moſt critics conclude him to have lived in the time of *Auguſtus*, and to have writen ſoon after the defeat of *Varus* (41). The *notitia*, or ſtate of the provinces of the empire, publiſhed by *Surita* with the *itinerary of Antoninus*, is ſuppoſed to have been written in the time of *Theodoſius*; for mention is made there of the provinces of *Arcadia* in *Egypt*, and *Honorius* in *Pontus* ſo ſtyled from that prince's two ſons, and no notice is taken of ſeveral other provinces formed by *Arcadius* after the death of his father (42). The five books of *Flavius Vegetius Renatus* on the military art, are addreſſed to the emperor, by whoſe order the author undertook that work (43). But that prince is ſometimes named *Valentinian*, and ſometimes *Theodoſius* (44). All we know for certain is, that he wrote after the death of *Gratian*, and not long after the ravages committed by the *Goths* in that prince's reign, which he aſcribes to his having ſuffered the infantry to lay aſide their cuiraſſes and helmets (45). *Vegetius* is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *comes* or *count*, and even with the epithet of *illuſtrious*. He is commonly blamed for confounding the cuſtoms and regulations of the ancients with thoſe of his time.

The Philoſopher *Themiſtius* flouriſhed under *Theodoſius*, and was no leſs eſteemed by the *Greeks* than *Symmachus* by the *Latins*. He was ſprung from a noble family, and one of his anceſtors, a philoſopher by profeſſion, had been diſtinguiſhed with ſeveral honours by *Diocleſian* (46); perhaps his father *Eugenius*, who was no leſs famous for the profeſſion of philoſophy, than for his eloquence and learning (47). Amongſt the letters of the emperor *Julian*, there is one to a philoſopher by name *Eugenius* (48); whom ſome take to have been the father of *Themiſtius*; if ſo, he muſt have been too young in *Diocleſian*'s time to be raiſed to any public employment. From his elogium, written by his ſon ſoon after his death, it appears, that he preferred *Ariſtotle* to all other philoſophers, and that in his old age he uſed to unbend his mind from the ſtudy of philoſophy with cultivating his garden (49). *Themiſtius* was of the ſame age with the emperor *Conſtantinus* (50), born in 317. He was a native of *Paphlagonia*, and not of *Conſtantinople*, tho' he ſpent almoſt his whole life in that city (51). He ſtudied rhetoric at a place on the moſt diſtant borders of *Pontus* and *Colchis*, near *Phaſis*, a city of *Colchis*, on a river of the ſame name, his father having recommended him to a celebrated profeſſor, who taught in that country (52), and under whom he made ſuch progreſs, that he was ſurnamed *Euphradus* or the *fine ſpeaker* (53). *Gregory Nazianzen* ſtyles him the king of eloquence and adds, that he excelled in every thing, but moſt of all in the art of ſpeaking (54). When he was yet very young, he wrote comments on *Ariſtotle* for his own private uſe; but nevertheleſs they were publiſhed and met with great applauſe (55). His comments on *Ariſtotle*, and his notes on *Plato*, were ſtill extant in the time of *Photius*, who ſtyles them an uſeful work (59). The author of the book on the catagories or predicaments, falſly aſcribed to St. *Auſtin*, owns, that, in compiling that work, he had often recourſe to *Themiſtius*, a great and wiſe philoſopher of his time (57). Some fragments of the comments of *Themiſtius* on *Ariſtotle* are ſtill extant (58); and *Stobæus* quotes a paſſage out of that work concerning the immortality of the ſoul. When he had ended his ſtudies, he went to *Conſtantinople*, and reſided there for the ſpace of at leaſt forty years (60). He firſt taught philoſophy, *viz* that of *Pythagorus*, of *Plato*, and of *Ariſtotle*; but made moſt account of the latter (61). He had an incredible number of diſciples, and a philoſopher of *Sicyon* in *Peloponneſus*, who had ſtudied under *Iamblichus*, ſent him all his at once (62). He taught *gratis*; nay, he aſſiſted his diſciples with money ſo far as his ſmall eſtate would allow him; and thence he rejected the name of ſophiſt, pretending it ought to be given only to mercenary teachers (63). After he had taught ſome time at *Conſtantinople*, he went firſt to the court of *Conſtantius*, before whom he pronounced his firſt oration at *Sincyra* in 347. having been introduced to that prince by *Saturnius* who was conſul in 383 (64). Not long after, that is, before the year 350. he ſaw *Conſtans* in the weſt (65). In the year 355. *Conſtantius* created him ſenator of *Conſtantinople*, and wrote a letter in his commendation to the ſenate of that city (66). Two years after, that prince cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to his honour (67). *Julian* wrote frequently to him in the time of his diſgrace; and being created *Cæſar*, anſwered by a long letter that which *Themiſtius* had wrote to him from *Conſtantinople*, encouraging him to anſwer the mighty expectations the world entertained of him (68). Upon the acceſſion of *Jovian* to the empire, *Themiſtius* was ſent to the new prince by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*, to congratulate him in their name; on which occaſion he pronounced, or deſigned to pronounce, the oration which has reached our times (69), with ſeveral diſcourſes pronounced by him before *Valens*, who would hear him at leaſt once every year (70). He was with that prince in 369. when he concluded a peace with the *Goths*, to which the philoſopher pretends to have greatly contributed (71). He attended *Valens* into the eaſt, and in the *Perſian* war in 372 (72). *Socrates* and *Sozomen* write, that he reconciled in ſome degree that prince to the catholics by a ſpeech, which he pronounced before him, ſhewing, he ought not to be ſurpriſed at the different opinions of men in points of religion, but on the contrary allow them great liberty (73). In the year 376. he was ſent by *Valens* to *Gratian*, then in *Gaul*. As on his return he paſſed through *Rome*, the inhabitants of that metropolis earneſtly preſſed him to continue there and teach philoſophy, but could not by any offers prevail upon him to accept that office; ſo that after a ſhort ſtay in their city, he returned to *Conſtantinople* (74). *Theodoſius* raiſed him in 384. to the dignity of prefect of *Conſtantinople*, and once had ſome thoughts of committing to his care the education of his ſon *Arcadius* (75). He wrote ſeveral diſcourſes in praiſe of that prince before the year 385. but as none of his orations are thought

(41) *Spanh. l.* vii. *p.* 643. *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 36 *Manil. p* 160, 161. (42) *Vide Noris epoch. p.* 298, 302. (43) *Veg. l.* i. *p.* 13. & *l.* ii. *p.* 30. (44) *Idem, p.* 13. (45) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 20. *p.* 24. (46) *Orat. Conſtantii Aug. de Themiſt. p.* 22. & *Themiſt. or.* v. *p.* 63. (47) *Or. Conſ. p.* 23. (48) *Julian ep.* xviii. *p.* 135. (49) *Themiſt. or.* xx. *p.* 234. (50) *Idem. or.* i. *p.* 375. *Idem. or.* ii. *p.* 28. (52) *Idem, or.* xxiii. *p.* 292. & *or.* xvii. *p.* 214. *or.* xxvii. *p.* 332. 333. (53) *Greg. Naz. ep.* cxl. *p.* 866. (64) *Idem, ep* cxxxix. *p.* 865. (55) *Idem, or.* xxvii *p.* 333. *or.* xxiii. *p.* 294, 295. (56) *Phot. c.* 73. *p.* 164. (57) *Aug. de categ. c.* 2. *p.* 23. & *c.* 22. *p.* 34. (58) *Phot. c.* 74. *p.* 161. (59) *Euſeb. p.* 241. (60) *Idem, or.* xvii. *p.* 214. (61) *Idem, or.* xxiii. *p.* 298. & *or. Conſt. p.* 22. (62) *Idem, or.* xxiii. *p.* 295. (63) *Idem ibid. p.* 294. (64) *Idem, or.* xiii. *p.* 165. & *or.* xxxi. *p.* 352. (65) *Idem, or.* xiii. *p.* 165. *or.* xxxi. *p.* 354. *or. Conſt. p.* 18. (66) *Or. Conſt. ibid.* (67) *Themiſt. or.* iv. *p.* 54. (68) *Julian ad Themiſt. p.* 479. (67) *Themiſt. or.* v. *p.* 69. (73) *Idem, or.* xi. *p.* 129. (71) *Idem ibid. p.* 133. & *or.* xiii. *p.* 166. (72) *Idem ibid.* (73) *Socr. l.* iv. *c.* 32. *p.* 250. *Soz. l.* vi *c.* 36. *p.* 696. (74) *Themiſt. or.* xxiii. *p.* 298. & *or.* xxxi. *p.* 354. (75) *Idem, or.* xvii. *p.* 215.

thought to be poſterior to that year, he is ſuppoſed to have died ſoon after. All the emperors who reigned in his time, ſhewed him great reſpect, and diſtinguiſhed him above all the other philoſophers. Of his orations thirty three have reached our times, compriſing one in the *Latin* tongue, which ſeveral critics ſuppoſe not to be his. In *Photius*'s time they were in all thirty-ſix, and among them one addreſſed to *Valentinian* II. which ſince his time has been loſt (76). *Photius* commends his ſtyle as grave, and at the ſame time florid and elegant (77). He declares himſelf in many places an enemy to flattery; but nevertheleſs commends all the emperors alike, and beſtows as great encomiums upon *Valens*, as upon *Theodoſius*. A poet, by name *Palladius*, charges him with ambitiouſly aſpiring at the dignity of prefect, notwithſtanding his pretended contempt of grandeur and honours (78). When *Palladius* lived we know not. *Themiſtius*'s thirteenth oration is altogether unworthy of a man of his character. Some writers will have him to have been an heretic, confounding him with one *Eutychianus*, who lived in the ſixth century; but it is evident from his writings, that he profeſſed paganiſm, tho' he was not perhaps ſuch a fanatic as *Libanius* or *Eunapius*. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who admired his eloquence, wrote two letters to him recommending ſeveral perſons to his protection (79).

Eunapius, who wrote the lives of the ſophiſts of the fourth century, was a native of *Sardes*, the metropolis of *Lydia*; but ſtudied at *Athens* for the ſpace of five years, under *Procreſes*, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere,, profeſſor of eloquence in that city. He returned afterwards to *Lydia*, and there taught rhetoric. He applied himſelf likewiſe to the ſtudy of phyſic, and to that of magic, under *Chryſanthus*, who had married his couſin. He was initiated in the myſteries of *Eleuſina*, and blindly attached to all the ceremonies of the pagan ſuperſtition (80). By *Chryſanthus* he was induced to write the lives of the ſophiſts; which work he begins with the life of *Plotinus*, who flouriſhed in the middle of the third century. From *Plotinus* he proceeds to the lives of *Porphyrius*, of *Iamblicus*, and his diſciples, who were all addicted to the ſtudy of magic, as evidently appears from the account he gives us of them (81). He mentions the ravages committed in *Greece* by *Alaric* in 395 and 396. whence it is plain, that he did not put the laſt hand to his work till the latter end of the fourth century. He wrote the hiſtory of the emperors, which conſiſted of fourteen books and extended from the beginning of the reign of *Claudius*, the ſucceſſor of *Gallienus*, where the hiſtory of *Dexippus* ended, to the death of *Eudoxia*, the wife of *Arcadius*; that is, from the year 268. to 404 (82), His life of the emperor *Julian* was rather a panegyric, than a hiſtory (83). Some fragments of this hiſtory are ſtill to be found in *Suidas* (84), and in the abſtracts of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* on embaſſies. *Voſſus* writes, that the entire hiſtory of *Eunapius* is lodged in the public library of *Venice* (85). The hiſtory of *Zoſimus* is but an abridgment of that of *Eunapius* (86). They were both declared enemies to all chriſtian princes, eſpecially to *Conſtantine the Great*, tho' *Eunapius* retrenched, in the ſecond edition of his work, moſt of the invectives againſt the chriſtians, which he had inſerted in the firſt (87). In his lives of the ſophiſts, he betrays the ſame prejudice againſt the chriſtian religion, and in ſeveral places inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt the monks. *Photius* commends his ſtyle as elegant, conciſe, and expreſſive; but finds fault with his endleſs metaphors, which better ſuit an orator than an hiſtorian (88). In the lives of the ſophiſts, his ſtyle is often obſcure, and not eaſily underſtood, which has led ſeveral able writers into groſs miſtakes (89). He frequently diſagrees with the hiſtorians of his own time; nay with thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of the events they relate. The two philoſophers, *Pappus* and *Theo*, flouriſhed at *Alexandria*, in the reign of *Theodoſius*, the former wrote a general deſcription of the earth, a treatiſe on the rivers of *Lydia*, and ſome other books on different ſubjects (90). *Theo*, or *Theon*, belonged to the muſeum, ſays *Suidas* (21); that is, to the ſociety of learned men who compoſed the academy of *Alexandria*. He wrote a book on the overflowing of the *Nile*, and others on mathematics, arithmetic, aſtrology, on *Ptolemy*'s canon and on other ſubjects (92). *Dodwel* publiſhed a fragment of *Theo* of *Alexandria* on *Ptolemy*'s cannon, with a book of *faſti*, which he ſuppoſes to have been done by the ſame writer (93).

(76) *Phot. c.* 76. *p.* 164 (77) *Idem ibid.* (78) *Anthолog. l.* ii. *c.* 52. *p.* 188. *Voſſ. poet. Græc.* *p.* 93. (79) *Greg. Naz. ep.* 139, 140. *p.* 865. (80) *Eunap. c.* 8. *p.* 82. 102, 103. *Phot. c.* 77. *p.* 169. *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 17. *p.* 296—299. (81) *Eunap. c.* 21. *p.* 144. (82) *Phot. ibid. Eunap. p.* 75. (83) *Phot. ibid* (84) *Suid. p.* 1099, 2237. (85) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 18. *p.* 252. (86) *Phot. c.* 98. *p.* 272. (87). *Phot. ibid. Suid. p.* 1515. (88) *Phot. p.* 169, 172. (89) *Vide Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 17. *p.* 298. (90) *Suid. p.* 424. & *p.* 1307. (91) *Idem ibid.* (92) *Idem ibid*, & *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 2. *p.* 219 (93) *Append. ad Cypr. diſſ. p.* 1, 10, 98, 106.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Theodoſius the Great, *to the taking of* Rome *the firſt time by the* Goths.

THEODOSIUS divided, as we have obſerved above, the empire at his death between his two ſons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; but as they were too young to govern of themſelves, *Arcadius* being but eighteen years old, and *Honorius* not yet eleven, he committed the former to the care of *Rufinus*, and the latter to that of *Stilicho*,

Rufinus *prime miniſter to* Arcadius.

a *Stilicho* [a]. *Rufinus* was a native of *Eauſe* in *Gaſcony* [b], and not of *Euſa* in *Boſporus*, as ſome have imagined, miſled by the authority of *Tiro Proſper* [c]. He appeared firſt at court in the reign of *Theodoſius*, who, being taken with his uncommon addreſs, and extraordinary qualities, raiſed him, about the year 390. to the poſt of *magiſter officiorum*, to the conſular dignity in 392. and the ſame year to that of perfect of the eaſt, leaving him at *Conſtantinople* veſted with almoſt an abſolute and unlimited power, when he ſet out for the weſt in 394. to make war on *Eugenius* [d]. *Rufinus* was well- *His character.* ſhaped in his perſon, tall, of a graceful mien, and ſprightly genius [e]. He profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and was baptized in 394. on occaſion of the ſolemn conſecration of a church, which he had built, together with a palace, near *Chalcedon* [f]. He

b could never have gained the eſteem and confidence of *Theodoſius*, without the appearance, at leaſt, of piety, joined to his uncommon talents. St. *Ambroſe* ranked him among his friends, and was glad to ſee him preferred [g]. He lived in great intimacy with *Symmachus*, if the laſt letters of that writer's third book are, as they are commonly thought, addreſſed to him. In thoſe letters *Symmachus* commends his lively genius, his eloquence, and the delicacy of his raillery [h]. He likewiſe extols his virtue, his ſincerity, and diſinteſtedneſs, and the penetration of *Theodoſius* in chuſing ſo worthy a miniſter [i]. But the ſame writer blames him more after his death, than he had flattered him in his life-time [k]. *Claudian* charges him with avarice, ambition, cruelty, perfidiouſneſs, and all the crimes and evil qualities, of which human nature is capable [l]. *Suidas* and *Zoſimus* ſpeak of him as a great diſſembler, and one who

c trampled under foot all laws, both human and divine, when they ſtood in the way of his unbounded ambition and inſatiable avarice [m]. St *Jerom* likewiſe charges him with avarice [n]; *Oroſius* [o], *Philoſtorgius* [p], and *Marcellinus* in his chronicle [q], with having ſtirred up the barbarians againſt the empire, in order to raiſe himſelf, in that confuſion of affairs, to the ſovereignty. St. *Ambroſe* reproaches him in *Theodoret* as the author of the maſſacre of the inhabitants of *Theſſalonica* [r]. *Zoſimus* aſcribes to his treachery the death of *Promotus*, killed by the barbarians in 391. and the downfal and misfortunes of *Tatianus* and his ſon *Proculus*, in 392 [s]. But other writers queſtion the innocence both of the father and ſon, as we have already obſerved. *Sti-* Stilicho *firſt*

d *licho*, who ruled with no leſs abſolute ſway in the weſt under *Honorius*, than *Rufinus* *miniſter to* Ho- did in the eaſt under *Arcadius*, was originally a *Vandal*, whence he is ſtyled by St. *Jerom* norius. a demi-barbarian [t]. *Claudian*, who was no leſs biaſſed in his favour, than prejudiced againſt his rival *Rufinus*, mentions none of his anceſtors, beſides his father, who had a conſiderable command in the army under *Valens* [u]. *Stilicho* himſelf bore arms from *His character.* his childhood, and roſe by degrees to the poſt of *magiſter utriuſque militiæ*, that is, of general both of the horſe and foot [w]. He commanded the *Roman* troops, according to *Zoſimus*, for the ſpace of twenty-three years; that is, from 385. to 408. and attended *Theodoſius* in all his wars [x]. That prince muſt have entertained a great opinion of him, ſince he preferred him to all thoſe who courted his niece *Serena*, whom

e he had adopted after the death of her father *Honorius*. By her *Stilicho* had a ſon, named *Eucherius*, born at *Rome* in 389. while *Theodoſius* was in that city, and two daughters, *Maria* and *Thermantia*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of our hiſtory. *Theodoſius* would not have honoured *Stilicho* with his alliance, had he not profeſſed the chriſtian religion; but as he is more commended by the pagan than chriſtian writers, and his ſon *Eucherius* openly declared himſelf againſt chriſtianity, we cannot, upon the bare teſtimony of *Baronius*, believe him to have been, not only a zealous, but a pious, chriſtian. *Zoſimus* writes, that, during the twenty-three years he commanded the *Roman* armies, he never ſold any military employments, or deprived the ſoldiers, as others hath done to enrich themſelves, of

f the leaſt ſhare of their pay. The ſame writer extols his moderation, in not preferring his ſon *Eucherius* to any conſiderable employments, tho' he had a juſt title to the

firſt

[a] Oros. l. vii. p. 221. Ambr. ſerm. de diverſ. p. 117. Zos. p. 780. [b] Claud. in Ruf. l. i. p. 12, 13. [c] De Marca hiſtoire de Bearn, p. 24. [d] Zos. l. vi. c. 773. Cod. Theod tit. 6. p. 382. Amb. ep. 50. p. 309. [e] Philost. l. xi. c. 3. p. 528. Soz. l. viii. c. 17. p. 780. [f] Pallad. hiſt. Lauſ. c. 12. p. 915. [g] Amb. ep 50. p. 309. [h] Symm. l. iii. ep. 83, 88. p. 137. [i] Idem. ibid. [k] Idem, l. vi. ep. 15. p. 233. [l] Claud. in Ruf. l. i. & ii. [m] Suid. p. 691, 692. Zos. l. v. p. 780. [n] Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. [o] Oros. p. 221. [p] Philost. p. 528. [q] Mar. chron. p. 79. [r] Theodor. l. v. c. 17. p. 728. [s] Zos. l. iv. p. 773. [t] Hier. ep. xi. p. 93. Val. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 104. Oros. l. vii. c. 38. p. 222. [u] Claud. de laud. Stilic. l. ii. p. 124. [w] Prosp. l. iii. c. 38. p. 150. Grut. p. 112. [x] Zos. l. iv. p. 777.

firſt in that ſtate [y]. But other writers [z] charge him even with a deſign of raiſing his ſon to the empire, and depoſing his lawful ſovereign *Honorius*, his ward and his ſon-in-law; for that prince married ſucceſſively both *Stilicho*'s daughters. *Zoſimus* endeavours to clear him from this charge; but at the ſame time owns him to have been in the higheſt degree corrupt and partial in the adminiſtration of juſtice; to have countenanced thoſe who plundered the provinces, provided they ſhared with him the ſpoils; and to have in a ſhort time acquired, by the moſt unlawful means, immenſe riches [a]. We read the ſame thing in *Suidas* [b], who ſeems to have copied it from *Eunapius*. To reaſſume now the thread of our hiſtory: Upon the death of *Theodoſius*, *Arcadius*, to whom the eaſtern provinces had been allotted, repaired immediately to *Conſtantinople*, while *Honorius* continued at *Milan*, to awe with his preſence the barbarians inhabiting the countries bordering on *Rhætia*, who were ſaid to be in arms, and ready to break into the empire. As *Honorius* was but a child, and *Arcadius* a youth, without either parts or experience, both provinces bore the bare name of emperors, the whole power being lodged in *Rufinus* and *Stilicho*, of whom the former ruled with an abſolute ſway in the eaſt, and the other in the weſt. Theſe two miniſters agreed, ſays *Zoſimus*, in plundering the provinces, and impoveriſhing whole nations, to enrich themſelves; but at the ſame time, jealous of each other's grandeur, neither of them thought himſelf ſafe, while his rival continued in power [c]. *Stilicho* pretended, that *Theodoſius* in dying had committed to his care both princes, and the management of the affairs of both empires: hence looking upon the power which *Rufinus* enjoyed in the eaſt as a mere uſurpation, he was conſtantly meditating with himſelf in what manner he might compaſs his ruin, and engroſs the whole authority to himſelf [d]. On the other hand, *Rufinus*, not ſatisfied to rule with an abſolute ſway under *Arcadius*, began to aſpire at the ſovereignty; and thinking the readieſt way to attain it, was to marry his daughter to the young prince, who, he imagined, would not look upon it as any diſparagement to aſſume his father-in-law for his colleague, he cauſed overtures concerning this match to be made to him with the utmoſt ſecrecy; which, however, ſoon became the public talk, and heightened the averſion which the people had already conceived againſt him, on account of his arrogance, avarice, and arbitrary proceedings [e]. While this affair was on foot, *Eucherius*, the emperor's uncle, thinking himſelf ill-uſed by *Lucianus*, count of the eaſt, complained of him to *Arcadius*, who caſt the whole blame upon *Rufinus*, by whoſe intereſt he had been raiſed to that poſt. *Lucianus* was the ſon of *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul* in the latter end of the reign of *Conſtantius*; and having purchaſed the favour of *Rufinus*, by preſenting him with rich poſſeſſions, had been recommended by him to the emperor, who thereupon made him count of the eaſt, in which office he is ſaid to have acquitted himſelf with the greateſt juſtice, moderation, and integrity; inſomuch, that he refuſed even to comply with a requeſt of the emperor's uncle, which appeared to him inconſiſtent with equity. This being miſrepreſented to *Arcadius*, *Rufinus*, inſtead of protecting one who had purchaſed his favour at ſo great a price, left *Conſtantinople*, without imparting his deſign to any one; and haſtening to *Antioch* with a ſmall retinue, entred that city in the dead of the night, cauſed *Lucianus* to be apprehended, and when he was brought before his tribunal, commanded him, tho' no one appeared againſt him, to be beaten with leaden balls faſtened to cords, till he expired. This barbarous proceeding highly provoked the inhabitants of *Antioch*, and *Rufinus*, to appeaſe them, ordered a magnificent portico to be built, which was deemed the moſt ſtately edifice in all *Syria* [i]. From *Antioch Rufinus* returned in great haſte to *Conſtantinople*, pleaſing himſelf with the thoughts of his future affinity with the emperor; but, upon his arrival, he found *Arcadius* immoveably determined to marry *Eudoxia*, who had been propoſed to him by the eunuch *Eutropius*; and accordingly the nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-ſeventh of *April* of this year 395. to the great diſappointment of *Rufinus* [g]. *Eudoxia* was a *Frank* by nation, the daughter of the famous count and general *Bauto*, who had been conſul in 385. and not of the emperor *Gratian*, or of the famous general *Promotus*, as ſome have advanced without ſufficient grounds [h]. As ſhe was a woman of great addreſs, of a haughty and imperious temper, ſhe ſoon gained an abſolute ſway over the weak prince her huſband.

Both miniſters agree in plundering the people.

Rufinus *aſpires at the ſovereignty.*

A remarkable inſtance of Rufinus's *cruelty and arbitrary proceedings.*

Arcadius *marries* Eudoxia.

Her character.

[y] Idem, l. v. p. 110, 111. [z] Philost. p. 461, 465. [a] Zos p. 780—789. [b] Suid. p. 690, 691. [c] Zos. l. v. p. 780. [d] Idem ibid. p. 782. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20. & conſ. Hon. 3. p. 38. [e] Zos. p. 780. [f] Idem, l. v. p. 780, 781. [g] Idem, p. 781, 782. Chron. Alex. p. 710. [h] Vide Val. rer. Franc. l. ii. p. 65. Philost. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529.

a husband [i]. Some writers have queſtioned her modeſty [k]; but from that charge ſhe is cleared by others, tho' all agree in accuſing her of an inſatiable avarice, which often prompted her to moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice. However, ſhe had ſome outward appearance of piety, favoured the catholics, ſhewed great reſpect to the prelates and clergy; and having prevailed upon the emperor in 401. to demoliſh the temple of *Marnas*, and other temples at *Gaza*, ſhe built in that city a moſt ſtately and magnificent church, which from her was called *Eudoxiana*. Hence St. *Chryſoſtom* publicly commended her as the *mother of the church*, the *patroneſs of the ſaints*, the *ſupport of the poor*, &c [l]. But the cruel perſecution ſhe afterwards raiſed againſt her panegyriſt, has rendered her name infamous in the hiſtory of the church. But to return to *Rufinus*:

b That miniſter found himſelf diſappointed as to the marriage of his daughter, and his alliance with the imperial family; and at the ſame time dreaded the credit of the eunuch *Eutropius*, but more the arms of *Stilicho*, who pretended to have been by *Theodoſius* appointed guardian to both his children, and was preparing to march into the eaſt, to diſpoſſeſs his rival of the authority he had uſurped. In order therefore to defeat the deſigns of *Stilicho*, and to have an opportunity of getting rid of *Eutropius*, and even of ſeizing the ſovereign power, he reſolved to ſet all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmoſt confuſion [m]. With this view he privately ſtirred up his emiſſaries the *Hunns*, who penetrated as far as *Antioch*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and committing every-where unheard of cruelties [n]. At the

c ſame time he encouraged the famous *Alaric* to put himſelf at the head of his countrymen the *Goths*, and drawing together as many barbarians of other nations as were willing to follow his ſtandard, to break into *Greece*, aſſuring him, that he ſhould meet with no oppoſition. *Alaric* at that time commanded a body of *Goths* in the *Roman* ſervice; but being diſſatisfied, that he had been rewarded with no better preferment, ſince he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the late war with *Eugenius*, he readily cloſed with the propoſal of *Rufinus*; and being by him ſupplied with large ſums, he aſſembled an incredible multitude of barbarians of different nations; and putting himſelf at their head, he ravaged all *Thrace*, *Pannonia*, *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*. As he drew near the famous ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, *Gerontius*, who guarded them, and was

d privy to the wicked deſigns of his patron *Rufinus*, immediately withdrew, and opened a free paſſage for the barbarians into *Greece*, where they raged with incredible fury, putting thoſe to the ſword who offered to oppoſe them, and ſending into their reſpective countries all the women and children that fell into their hands, together with the whole wealth of that opulent province. As *Antiochus*, at that time proconſul of *Achaia*, and another of *Rufinus*'s creatures, did not offer to make head againſt them, they over-ran the whole country, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing ſuch ravages and devaſtations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after. The whole country between *Dalmatia*, the *Adriatic* gulf, and the *Euxine* ſea, was laid waſte, and turned into a deſart, the inhabitants concealing themſelves

e in dens and caves, through fear of being either inhumanly murdered, or carried into captivity. The city of *Conſtantinople* itſelf was in a manner beſieged, parties of the barbarians advancing with great boldneſs to the very gates of that metropolis. *Rufinus*, attired after the *Gothic* manner, went out, as he ſaid, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of eſteem; which confirmed the ſuſpicion moſt people entertained of his treachery [o].

Stilicho *claims the ſame power in the eaſt as in the weſt.*

Rufinus *ſtirs up the* Hunns *and* Goths *to invade the empire.*

Dreadful ravages committed by the Goths, *under the conduct of* Alaric.

While theſe things paſſed in the eaſt, *Stilicho* was buſied on the bank of the *Rhine*, in renewing the antient alliances of the *Roman* people with the *Franks*, and other *German* nations. This he accompliſhed, ſays *Claudian* [p], in leſs than fourteen days; which Mr. *Valois* maintains to be abſolutely impoſſible [q]. That writer ſpeaks

f much at length of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two princes or chiefs of the *Franks* in thoſe days [r], as does likewiſe *Gregory* of *Tours* [s]. *Claudian*, who diſtinguiſhes them with the title of kings, and informs us, that they were brothers, ſays, that they endeavoured to raiſe new diſturbances after the peace concluded with *Stilicho*; but that one of them, after having been kept ſome time in priſon, was baniſhed into *Tuſcany*; that the other, attempting to revenge the affront offered to his brother, was killed by his own people; and that *Honorius* appointed other kings over the *Franks* in their room.

Stilicho *renews the antient alliances with the* German *nations.*

[i] Cedren. p. 334. [k] Zos. l. v. p. 795. [l] Chrys. tom. 4. p. 853. [m] Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20. [n] Socr. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300. Soz. l. viii. c. 1. p. 753. [o] Zos. p. 783. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 21. Philost. p. 154. [p] Claud. de laud. Stil. p. 128. [q] Val. ibid. p. 94. [r] Idem, p. 86—90. [s] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 59—61.

room [t]. This ſeems to have happened, according to *Claudian*, before the revolt of *Gildo*; that is, before the end of the year 397. *Valeſius* writes, that *Marcomir* outlived *Sunno*; and conſequently that it was he who was baniſhed into *Tuſcany*. He is thought to have been the father of *Faramond*, ſuppoſed to have been the firſt king of *France* [u]. *Stilicho*, having thus renewed the antient treaties with the *Franks* and *Germans*, reſolved to march to the ſuccour of *Greece*; in which undertaking he embarqued the more readily, as he hoped to have an opportunity of ruining *Rufinus*, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands. Leaving therefore *Gaul* about the latter end of the ſpring, he ſet forward with all the weſtern troops, and thoſe likewiſe of the eaſt, that had been left in the weſt after the defeat of *Eugenius*. He marched, according to *Claudian*, over the *Alps*, no doubt, the *Julian Alps*, and conſequently through *Dalmatia*. The barbarians, hearing of his arrival in thoſe parts, reſolved to make a ſtand in *Theſſaly*, and with this view aſſembled into one body all their troops, that were in ſeveral parties diſperſed about the country. *Stilicho* was already within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy's army, and his men ſhewed a great forwardneſs to engage them, when *Rufinus*, concluding, that, if the barbarians were overcome and repreſſed, the ſtorm would fall upon his own head, prevailed upon *Arcadius* to ſend for the oriental troops. Accordingly an officer was diſpatched to *Stilicho*, with a peremptory order from the emperor to ſend them forthwith, and return with the reſt into the weſt. *Stilicho* was greatly ſurpriſed at this order, which, he thought, ſnatched out of his hands a certain victory, and expoſed the empire to imminent danger. However, not daring to diſobey, he not only ſent the troops, but half the treaſure which *Theodoſius* had left [w]. In diſmiſſing the forces, he appointed one *Gainas*, by nation a *Goth*, and his intimate friend, to conduct them to *Conſtantinople*, after having imparted to him his deſign of diſpatching *Rufinus*, and, no doubt, encouraged him to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to put it in execution. Under his conduct the army arrived in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople* on the twenty-ſeventh of *November*; and the emperor, according to cuſtom, went out in perſon to meet them, attended by *Rufinus*, who, as he had gained over ſome of the chief officers to proclaim him emperor on this occaſion, had already prepared the purple, the diadem, and the donative for the ſoldiery. The army received the emperor with all the reſpect due to the ſon of *Theodoſius the Great*; but at the ſame time, upon a ſignal given by *Gainas*, they fell upon *Rufinus*, and cut him in pieces, while he was preſſing *Arcadius* to declare him his collegue [x]. This happened, according to *Claudian*, at the palace of *Hebdomon* [y], where the emperors of the eaſt were uſually crowned. After his death, they cut off his head, and putting a ſtone in his mouth to keep it open, they carried it on the point of a ſpear to *Conſtantinople*, where it was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy [z]. They likewiſe cut off his right hand, and carrying it about the ſtreets of *Conſtantinople*, aſked alms for the inſatiable *Rufinus*, reduced to beggary. By this invention they collected conſiderable ſums, every one being glad to reward with ſome ſmall acknowledgment thoſe who had contributed to the death of a perſon they ſo much abhorred [a]. His eſtate and all his effects were confiſcated; and the decree iſſued on that occaſion was ſent to *Rome*, where the people expreſſed the greateſt joy at the death and deſerved end of that inſatiable robber, to uſe the expreſſion of *Symmachus*, who had plundered the world [b]. His wife and daughter, fearing they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the fury of the people, took ſanctuary in a church, whence they were ſuffered to retire to *Jeruſalem*, where they ſpent the reſt of their days [c]. *Palladius* beſtows great encomiums on *Salvia* or *Silvia*, the ſiſter of *Rufinus*, who had embraced the ſtate of virginity [d]. From a law dated the fifth of *Auguſt* of the enſuing year 396. it appears, that his wife's fortune was reſtored to her [e]. Neither *Stilicho* nor the empire gained any thing by the death of *Rufinus*, he being ſucceeded, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other deteſtable qualities, by the eunuch *Eutropius*, who had concurred with *Stilicho* in all his meaſures againſt their common rival. *Eutropius* was by birth an *Armenian*, by condition a ſlave,

a

b

Stilicho marches to the relief of Greece.

He is ordered by Arcadius *to return into the eaſt.*

c

d

Rufinus *murdered,*

And his eſtate confiſcated.

e

f

He is ſucceeded in his power and employments by Eutropius.

[t] Claud. ibid. p. 129. [u] Val. ibid. l. iii. p. 119. [w] Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 50, 51, & laud. Stil. l. i. p. 128, 129. & l. ii. p. 135. Ruf. l. ii. p. 22. Zos. p. 782, 783. [x] Socr. p. 300. Philos. p. 528. Chron. Alex. p. 710. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 29. Zos. p. 785. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Philos. p. 528. Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. Claud. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 31. Asterii orat. iv. p 76. [a] Hier. Philost. Zos. ibid. [b] Symm. l. vi. ep. 15. p. 232. [c] Zos. l. v. p. 785, 786. [d] Pallad. hiſt. Lauſ. c. 143. p. 1046. [e] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 42. leg. 15. p. 342.

a slave, and had been made an eunuch soon after his birth, eunuchs being then more in requeſt, and conſequently more advantageous to the ſeller, than common ſlaves. He had frequently changed maſters, having been often bought and ſold. When he was already ſtricken in years, a ſoldier, named *Ptolemy*, gave him as a preſent to his general *Arintheus*, who was famous under *Valens*: *Arintheus* preſented his daughter with him when ſhe was married, to comb her hair, and perform ſuch-like mean offices about her; which when he could no longer diſcharge on account of his age, ſhe gave him his liberty. Being now his own maſter, he found means to get into the court, where he was employed in the loweſt offices, till he was raiſed by the intereſt of *Abundantius*, who was conſul in 392. to a more creditable poſt [c]. *Theodo-*
b *ſius* ſent him in 392. as we read in *Sozomen*, to conſult the holy hermit *John* in the wilderneſs of *Thebais* [f]. That prince ſeems to have repoſed ſome confidence in him. After the marriage of *Arcadius* with *Eudoxia*, he was made, no doubt at her recommendation, great chamberlain, and upon the death of *Rufinus*, veſted with the ſame power and authority which that miniſter had enjoyed [g]. *Rufinus* ſeemed to ſurvive in this wicked eunuch, who was, according to *Eunapius*, a declared enemy to virtue, and every virtuous man [h]. That writer, after having drawn his portrait in the blackeſt colours, concludes, that he has not painted him ſuch as he really was, there being no crime with which he might not deſervedly charge him [i]. He ſurpaſſed
c in avarice *Rufinus* himſelf, expoſing to public ſale the chief employments, and entertaining an incredible number of informers to accuſe ſuch perſons as were poſſeſſed of eſtates; by that means he conveyed the whole wealth of the empire into his own coffers [k]: the priſons, and places of baniſhment, were all filled with unhappy exiles, ſtripped of their wealth, the only crime for which they had been condemned [l]. As for *Arcadius*, who was a prince of very ſlender parts, he ſuffered himſelf to be entirely governed by this wicked miniſter, not daring in a manner to inquire into his conduct, or give ear to thoſe who had the boldneſs to complain of his arbitrary proceedings. However, by ſeveral laws of this year, he confirmed thoſe that had been enacted by his father againſt heretics [m]; and by one addreſſed to *Marcellus*,
d then *magiſter officiorum*, he commanded that officer to inquire with great care whether any employments at court were held by heretics, and not only to diſmiſs, but to baniſh ſuch as he ſhould diſcover in the palace, with thoſe who had recommended them [n]. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Milan*, or in the neighbourhood of that city, as appears from the dates of his laws.

His extraction, employments, and character.

The next conſuls were, *Arcadius* the fourth time, and *Honorius* the third. This year *Stilicho*, who was returned to *Italy* with the weſtern troops, ſet out anew with a deſign to ſuccour *Greece*, reduced to a moſt deplorable condition by *Alaric*, and the barbarians under his command. He embarqued on the *Adriatic* ſea; and landing without oppoſition in *Peloponneſus*, cut off great numbers of the enemy in various
e ſucceſsful encounters; and in the end obliged them to retire to a mountain in *Arcadia*, named *Pholoe*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Piſa*. There he ſhut them up on all ſides, cut off their communication with the neighbouring country, and even turned the courſe of the river that ſupplied them with water [o]. But when he had them thus in his power, he ſuffered them to eſcape, to retire out of *Peloponneſus*, and to pillage *Epirus* in their retreat [p]. *Oroſius* ſuppoſes him to have connived at their eſcape, and therefore thinks him no leſs guilty than *Rufinus*, who firſt ſtirred them up againſt the empire [q]. *Zoſimus* writes, that they owed their ſafety to the negligence and miſconduct of *Stilicho* [r]. But *Claudian* tells us, that *Eutropius*, looking upon *Stilicho* as a more dangerous enemy than *Alaric*, perſuaded *Arcadius* to conclude
f a peace with the latter, to take him and the barbarians, who had ravaged the beſt provinces of the empire, under his protection, and to order *Stilicho* to withdraw his troops forthwith out of *Greece*, which belonged to *Arcadius*. Thus was *Stilicho* robbed the ſecond time by a jealous rival of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians [s]. Soon after, *Alaric* was by *Arcadius*, or rather by his governor *Eutropius*, appointed commander of the troops in *Eaſt-Illyricum*, which

Stilicho *returns to the relief of* Greece.

But ſuffers Alaric *to eſcape.*

[c] Claud. in Eutrop. l. i. p. 49, 95—97. [f] Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740. [g] Zos. p. 781. Philost. l. xi. c. 4. p. 528. Suid. p. 1099. [h] Eunap. p. 183. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Claud. ibid. p. 97, 98. [l] Zos. p. 786. Suid. p. 1099. [m] Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 9. leg. 8. p. 133. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 25. p. 142, 144. [n] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 29. p. 148. [o] Zos. l. 5. p. 784. Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 51. [p] Zos. ibid. [q] Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. [r] Zos. p. 784. [s] Claud. bell. Goth. p. 170. & in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 113.

which compriſed *Greece*, as we read in *Claudian* [t] (N). As for *Stilicho*, though he a
immediately retired with his troops out of *Greece*, purſuant to the orders of *Arca-*
dius, yet that prince, in obedience to the commands of *Eutropius*, as *Zoſimus* ex-
preſſes it, cauſed him to be declared a public enemy by a ſolemn decree of the ſenate
of *Conſtantinople* [u], ordering at the ſame time all the lands and palaces he had in
the eaſt to be ſeized and confiſcated [w]. *Claudian* adds, that *Stilicho* diſcovered an
aſſaſſin, who had been hired to murder him, and ſeveral letters diſperſed among his
troops, in order to debauch them, and ſtir them up againſt him [x]. *Eutropius*, not
ſatisfied with having thus defeated all the meaſures of *Stilicho*, aſpiring at the ſame
poſt in the court of *Arcadius* which he held in that of *Honorius*, reſolved to remove
all thoſe out of the way, in whom *Arcadius* ſeemed to repoſe any confidence. He b
began with *Abundantius*, by whoſe means he had been firſt raiſed at court, and who
on that account deſerved, according to *Claudian* [y], tho' not at his hands, the treat-
ment he met with. *Abundantius* had ſerved in the army with great reputation in
the time of *Gratian*, and had been raiſed by *Theodoſius* to the poſt of general both
of the horſe and foot, to the prætorſhip, and in 393. to the conſular dignity [z]. But
Eutropius, jealous of the authority and credit which his experience, and known inte-
grity, procured him at court, and panting after the immenſe wealth with which his
eminent ſervices had been rewarded, prevailed on the weak prince with his crafty
and malicious inſinuations, to baniſh him to *Pityus*, a city of *Boſporus*, to the north
of the *Euxine* ſea, and beyond *Colchis*; where he led a miſerable life, ſtripped of all c
his effects, till the death of *Eutropius*, when he was removed from thence, and
confined to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, in which city he died [a]. The credit which *Timaſius*
had at court, and with the army, gave the wicked miniſter, who could bear no
competitor, more jealouſy than that of *Abundantius*. He had been long one of
the chief commanders of the army, had ſerved *Valens* and *Theodoſius* in all their
wars with great honour and integrity, and been rewarded by the latter in 389.
with the conſular dignity [b]. *Eutropius*, reſolving to procure by ſome means or other
the ruin of ſo powerful a rival, had recourſe to one *Bargus*, who lived in great
intimacy with *Timaſius*. *Bargus* was a perſon of a mean deſcent, and had been
obliged for ſome notorious crime to fly from *Laodicea* in *Syria*, his native city, and d
retire to *Sardes* in *Lydia*. There *Timaſius* accidentally met him; and being pleaſed
with his facetious converſation, without inquiring farther into his character, admitted
him to his confidence, gave him the command of a cohort, and took him with
him to *Conſtantinople*; at which the magiſtrates were highly diſpleaſed, becauſe he
had been formerly baniſhed that city [c]. To this man, as a proper inſtrument for
his villainous purpoſe, *Eutropius* applied, and eaſily prevailed upon him to betray
his friend and benefactor, by accuſing him of treaſon, and producing againſt him
a counterfeit writing, upon which he was without delay brought to his trial. *Eutro-*
pius perſuaded the emperor to judge him in perſon; but perceiving the people were
highly provoked to ſee a perſon of *Timaſius*'s dignity and character arraigned upon e
the depoſition of ſuch an infamous and mercenary wretch as *Bargus*, he adviſed the
prince, whom he managed as he pleaſed, to withdraw, and ſubſtitute *Saturninus*
and *Procopius* in his room. Of theſe the former had diſcharged the chief employ-
ments in the ſtate, and the conſulſhip in 383. but is ſaid to have diſhonoured his
old age by a general and mean compliance with the will of the ruling miniſter [d].
Procopius was ſon-in-law to the emperor *Valens*, of a rough and ſavage temper, but
not eaſily prevailed upon to ſwerve from what he thought juſt and equitable, as
appeared in this caſe; for he boldly maintained, that ſuch an infamous wretch as
Bargus ought not to be admitted as evidence againſt a perſon of *Timaſius*'s rank,
againſt

Stilicho, *at the inſtigation of* Eutropius, *declared a public enemy.*

Eutropius *cauſes* Abundantius *to be baniſhed.*

His treacherous practices againſt Timaſius.

[t] Idem in Eutrop. ibid. [u] Zos. p. 788. [w] CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130. [x] Idem ibid.
[y] Idem in Eutrop. l. i p. 57. [z] CLAUD. ibid. Zos. l. 5. p. 788. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 347.
[a] CLAUD. Zos. ibid. HIER. ep. iii. p. 26. AST. or. iv. p. 76. [b] Zos. p. 786, 787. AST. p. 76.
Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 766. [c] Zos. p. 786. 787. [d] Idem ibid.

(N) His words are,

——————*At nunc qui fœdera rumpit,*
Ditatur; qui ſervat, eget. Vaſtator Achivæ
Gentis, & Epirum *nuper populatus inultam,*
Præſidet Illyrico. *Jam quos obſedit, amicus*
Ingreditur muros, illis reſponſa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natoſque peremit:
Sic hoſtes punire ſolent, hæc præmia ſolvunt
Excidiis——————(89).

(89) *Claud. in Eutrop. p.* 113.

a againſt his friend and benefactor. But *Saturnius* prevailing, the unhappy *Timaſius* was ſtripped of all his wealth, and baniſhed to *Oaſis*, a barren and inhoſpitable place in *Libya*, from which there was no poſſible means of eſcape, it being ſurrounded by a vaſt deſert, full of ſand, which moved to and fro with the wind, ſuffered no track or footſtep of any former traveller to be ſeen. Of this place, to which criminals began to be confined about this time, *Zoſimus* gives us, on occaſion of the exile of *Timaſius*, a moſt frightful deſcription [e]. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that a report was ſpread, that *Syagrius*, the ſon of *Timaſius*, accuſed as privy to the crime of his father, having eſcaped from thoſe who had been ſent to ſeize him, reſcued his father, with the aſſiſtance of ſome robbers, out of the hands of the ſol- Timaſius *baniſhed.*

b diers, who were conducting him to the place of his exile; and that neither the father nor the ſon were ever after heard of [f]. Others write, that *Timaſius* was found dead in the ſand that ſurrounded *Oaſis*, having perhaps attempted to make his eſcape [g]. St. *Jerom*, writing in this year 396. ſays, that *Timaſius* lived then an exile at *Aſſus* a city of *Aſia* [h]. But as *Sozomen*, *Zoſimus*, and *Aſterius* agree, that he was confined to *Oaſis*, ſome, inſtead of *Aſſus*, read, in the text of St. *Jerom*, *Oaſis*; while others, to reconcile that writer with the other three, pretend, that he was firſt baniſhed to *Aſſus*, and afterwards, by *Eutropius*'s orders, conveyed to *Oaſis*. *Bargus* did not long enjoy the price of his treachery and wickedneſs; for *Eutropius*, who was a man of too great diſcernment to truſt a traitor, and well knew, that one who had betrayed his friend and benefactor, would not prove faithful to him, reſolved

c to get rid of him as ſoon as poſſible; and accordingly having ſent him upon ſome advantagious commiſſion out of *Conſtantinople*, during his abſence, he induced his wife, who was then at variance with her huſband, to preſent to the emperor ſome treaſonable papers, which ſhe pretended to have found in his cuſtody. Hereupon *Bargus* was upon his return arraigned, ſentenced to death, and executed. Thus was the crime of that treacherous wretch puniſhed, as it deſerved, by the very perſon who had induced him to commit it [k]. *Pentadia*, the wife of *Timaſius*, was deaconeſs of the church of *Conſtantinople* in 404. when St. *Chryſoſtom* was baniſhed that city: he wrote, while in his exile, ſeveral letters to her, in one of which he in- *His accuſer* Bargus *put to death.*

d quires after her family and relations, and calls her houſe a houſe of bleſſing [l]. It was according to *Sozomen*, in order to apprehend *Pentadia*, and ſome others who had taken ſanctuary in the church, that *Eutropius* perſuaded the emperor to enact a law, forbidding any one to fly to the churches for refuge; and commanding thoſe who ſhould, to be dragged from the altars, and puniſhed the more ſeverely [m]. This law raiſed a general odium againſt *Eutropius* [n]: *Socrates* pretends, that it drew down from heaven all the misfortunes that afterwards befel him [o]: *Sozomen* and *Chryſoſtom* exclaim loudly againſt it [p], and obſerve, that in a few years after *Eutropius* himſelf was forced to fly to that aſylum from which he had excluded others, owning, ſays *Chryſoſtom*, more by his actions than his words, the injuſtice of his law [q]. It was

e revoked immediately after the diſgrace and downfal of *Eutropius*, and eraſed out of all the public regiſters [r]. Churches are ſtill held as aſylums in *Italy*, and the two kingdoms of *Spain* and *Portugal*; which, not to mention other crimes, is the true cauſe of many murders committed in thoſe countries. This year, dreadful earth- *Great earthquakes*, &c. *in the eaſt.*

quakes were felt in moſt provinces of the eaſt, and the ſky appearing all in a flame over the city of *Conſtantinople*, terrified the inhabitants and the emperor himſelf to ſuch a degree, that abandoning the city, they retired to the fields. It was revealed, as St. *Auſtin* writes to a pious perſon, that the city of *Conſtantinople* was on a certain day to be conſumed by fire ſent from heaven: when the day came, the above-mentioned phænomenon appeared over the city, but vaniſhed ſome time after, leaving

f it unhurt, the inhabitants, who had given credit to the prediction, having by a ſincere and timely repentance prevented the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt them. Thus St. *Auſtin*, in a ſermon which he preached a few years after [s]. From the ſeveral laws of this year, moſt of which tend to the utter ſuppreſſion of idolatry, and the curbing of heretics, it appears, that *Arcadius* continued the whole time at *Conſtantinople*, or in the neighbourhood of that city The law of the twenty-ſecond of *March* is dated from *Regium*, which is ſuppoſed to have been an imperial

[e] Zos. ibid. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Ast. or. iv. p. 76. Soz l. viii c. 7. p. 766. [h] Hier. ep. iii. p. 26. [i] Soz. Zos. Ast. ibid. [k] Zos. p. 787. [l] Chrys. ep. xiv, xciv, civ, clxxxv. Vit. l. iv. c. 3. p. 257. [m] Zos. p. 766. [n] Chrys. in Eutrop. tom. iv. p. 484. [o] Socr. p. 204. [p] Soz. Chrys. ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Soz. ibid. [s] Aug. de urb. Rom. excid. c. 6. p. 332.

perial palace about fifteen miles from the metropolis. Nothing happened this year in the weſt worthy of notice, except the converſion of *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomans*, to the chriſtian religion. At the requeſt of St. *Ambroſe*, who wrote ſeveral letters to her, inſtructing her in the holy myſteries, ſhe is ſaid by *Paulinus Diaconus* to have introduced the king her huſband to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*[t]: it is certain, that amongſt the barbarous nations that in the preſent reign broke into the empire, no mention is made of the *Marcomans*. Some miſunderſtanding aroſe this year between St. *Ambroſe* and *Stilicho*, the latter having cauſed a criminal by name *Creſconius*, to be apprehended in a church, to which he had fled for refuge: but *Stilicho* in the end acknowledged his fault, and atoned for it[u]. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Milan*, as is evident from the dates of his laws.

Fritigil, *queen of the* Marcomans, *converted to the chriſtian religion.*

THE next conſuls were *Cæſarius* and *Atticus*; the former had ſucceeded *Rufinus* in the prefecture of the eaſt, *Eutropius* being, as an eunuch, excluded from that office; and the latter had been governor of *Weſt Illyricum* under *Valentinian* II. in 384. *Cæſarius* ſeems to have entered upon his conſulſhip at *Conſtantinople*, and *Atticus* at *Rome*[w]. This year 397. *Arcadius*, leaving *Conſtantinople* in the month of *July*, went to *Ancyres*, and ſtaid there till the latter end of *September*, when he returned to the metropolis, with as much pomp and ſhew as if he had conquered the *Perſians*, ſays *Claudian*, who ſuppoſes him to have conſtantly paſſed the ſummer at *Ancyra*, *Eutropius* diverting him by that progreſs from applying his mind to affairs of ſtate[x]. *Stilicho* ſtill claimed the adminiſtration of affairs in the eaſt, and was preparing to march anew into the dominions of *Arcadius*, in order to make good his claim by force of arms, and revenge on *Eutropius* the injurious decree iſſued againſt him by the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*. But that wicked and crafty miniſter, not ſcrupling, for the ſupport of his own power, to kindle a war between the two brothers, privately perſuaded *Gildo*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Africa*, to revolt from *Honorius*, and ſubmit to *Arcadius*, hoping by that means to divert *Stilicho* from purſuing his intended expedition into the eaſt[y]. *Gildo* was brother to the famous *Firmus*, who made war upon the *Romans* in 373. but was overcome by count *Theodoſius*, the father of the emperor of that name. In that war *Gildo* ſided with the *Romans*, and was afterwards, that is about the year 387. by *Valentinian* II. or rather by *Theodoſius*, who governed in his name, appointed count of *Africa*, and commander of all the troops of that province. *Theodoſius*, that he might have, as it were, ſome pledge of his fidelity, in conferring that dignity upon him, married *Salvina*, the daughter of *Gildo*, to *Nebridius*, nephew by the mother to the empreſs *Flaccilla*[z]. St. *Jerom*, in a letter which he wrote to *Salvina* about the year 400. ſtyles her a virtuous and truly chriſtian widow; and at the ſame time commends the piety of her mother, and her father's ſiſter, who had embraced the ſtate of virginity[a]. As for *Gildo* himſelf, he was, if not by religion, as *Marcellinus* will have it, at leaſt in his manners, a pagan. *Claudian* charges him with avarice, cruelty, luxury, and all manner of lewdneſs, the more ſhameful and ſcandalous, as he was already ſtricken in years[b]. St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks of him as one famous for wickedneſs and debauchery[c]; and in one of his ſermons ſtyles him, tho' without naming him, a wicked wretch[d]. When *Eugenius* uſurped the empire of the weſt, *Gildo* acknowledged *Theodoſius*; but when that prince marched againſt the uſurper in 394. he declined ſending him any ſuccours, as other governors of provinces had done in obedience to the emperor's orders, expecting the iſſue of the war, as was ſuppoſed, in order to join the party that ſhould prevail; inſomuch, that *Theodoſius* would have treated him as an open enemy, according to *Claudian*, had he not been prevented by death[e]. *Eutropius* having induced him to revolt from *Honorius*, as we have related above, he obliged moſt of the cities of *Africa* and *Carthage* itſelf to acknowledge *Arcadius*, placing ſuch governors in them as he knew were attached to his own intereſt, with a deſign of ſeizing, when an opportunity offered, the provinces for himſelf, as he had but a very mean opinion of both princes[f]. When news of his revolt was brought to *Honorius*, he acquainted the ſenate of *Rome* with it, who immediately declared *Gildo* a public enemy,

Eutropius *perſuades* Gildo *to revolt from* Honorius.

Gildo's *character.*

Arcadius *is acknowledged in moſt cities of* Africa.

[t] PAUL. DIAC. vit. Amb. c. 36. p. 10 [u] Idem. c. 434. p. 9. [w] SYM. l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273. Cod. Theod. chronol. p 136. PROSP. p. 470. ICAT. in faſt. [x] CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110. [y] Zos. p. 781. [z] AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 399. Zos. l. v. p. 788. HIER. ep. xi. p. 94. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 128. CLAUD. bell. Gild. p. 70—78. [a] HIER. ep. ix. p. 73.—76. [b] CLAUD bell Gild. p. 74, 84. [c] AUG. ep. lxiv. p. 285. [d] Idem in Jo. hom. v. p. 20. [e] CLAUD. ibid. p. 76. [f] Idem ibid. & de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130. OROS. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221.

a enemy, and diſpatched a ſolemn embaſſy to *Arcadius*, intreating him to reſtore *Africa* to its lawful ſovereign [g]. *Symmachus* at the ſame time wrote to *Arcadius*, probably by order and in the name of the ſenate, exhorting him not to quarrel, but to live in friendſhip and amity, with his brother [h]. In the mean time, a famine began to rage in *Rome*, *Gildo* not ſuffering any corn to be conveyed thither from *Africa*. Two fleets were therefore equipped with great expedition, the one to be employed againſt *Gildo*, and the other in bringing corn and other proviſions to *Rome* from *Gaul* and *Spain* [i]. The former ſailed this year, and, with a ſeaſonable ſupply, quieted the populace, ready to riſe; but the latter could not be equipped till the following year. During theſe warlike preparations, died the celebrated biſhop of *Milan* St. *Ambroſe*, *St.* Ambroſe
b by no one more regretted than by *Stilicho*, who, looking upon the death of that *dies.*
prelate as the greateſt misfortune that could befal *Italy*, had, upon the firſt news of his illneſs, cauſed public prayers to be offered for him in all the churches of *Milan* [k]. *Honorius* continued this whole year at *Milan*. Some of his laws are indeed dated from *Rome*; but that is generally thought to be a miſtake [l]. By one of theſe ſet up in the *Some laws* ſquare of *Trajan* on the ninth of *March*, he forbids the *Romans* to follow in their *enacted this* dreſs foreign faſhions [m]; for it is to be obſerved, that the *Romans*, by converſing *year.* familiarly with the *Goths*, grew, by degrees, fond of their faſhions, and began to adopt them; which was looked upon as a fatal prelude to what happened ſoon after.
c A blind ſubmiſſion to the modes and faſhions of a foreign nation, has but too often been the forerunner of a more dreadful ſlavery: may it not prove ſuch in our days! By another law, he confirms all the privileges and exemptions, which his predeceſſors, moved by a due reſpect for religion, had granted to the churches, to the eccleſiaſtics, and particularly to the biſhop of *Rome* [n]. In the eaſt, *Arcadius*, by a law dated the firſt of *April*, commanded all the *Apollinarian* teachers to be baniſhed *Conſtantinople*, and the houſes where they had held their private aſſemblies to be confiſcated [o]. That of the ſeventeenth of *June* forbids any one to inſult the *Jews*, or their patriarch, whom he had honoured the preceding year with the title of *illuſtrious*, which was given to the firſt officers of the empire [p]. The law dated the firſt of
d *July*, exempts the miniſters of their religion from the ſame burdens, from which the biſhops, prieſts, and deacons were exempted [q]. By a law dated the eighth of *November*, *Arcadius* commanded all domeſtics, whether free-born or ſlaves, to be ſentenced to death, who ſhould inform againſt their maſters, except in caſes of treaſon [r]. This year, on the ſeventeenth of *June*, the empreſs *Eudoxia* was delivered of a daughter, Flaccilla *born.*
named *Flaccilla* from the emperor's mother, and diſtinguiſhed with the title of *nobiliſſima*, or *moſt noble* [s].

THE following year 398. when *Honorius* was conſul the fourth time, with *Eutychianus*, who entered upon that dignity at *Conſtantinople*, *Stilicho* purſued with the utmoſt vigor his warlike preparations againſt *Gildo*; but was greatly at a loſs how
e to manage that expedition with ſucceſs, and whom to truſt with the command of the troops. But from this perplexity he was ſoon delivered by the ſeaſonable arrival in *Italy* of *Maſcezel*, brother to *Gildo*, who gave him a true account of the ſtate of affairs in *Africa*, and ſuggeſted to him the moſt proper means for ſuppreſſing the rebellion. *Maſcezel* was not only a chriſtian, but a perſon of extraordinary piety; and therefore could not by any means be prevailed upon to join his brother in the rebellion, who thereupon reſolved to murder him; but he, by a timely flight, defeated his wicked deſign [t]. *Gildo*, however, vented his rage on the two ſons *Maſcezel* had left behind him, cauſing them both to be put to death, and leaving their mangled bodies to be devoured by the wild beaſts. *Stilicho*, not doubting but, to
f revenge the death of his children, and the attempt upon his own life, he would carry on the war with vigor, and ſerve the republic with unſhaken fidelity, committed to him the whole management of the intended expedition againſt his brother [u]. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Maſcezel* was attended by a very numerous army [w]; but *Oroſius* [x] Maſcezel, *brother to* Gildo, *ſent againſt* and the chronicle of *Alexandria* [y] aſſure us, that it was but five thouſand ſtrong. *him.*

Their

[g] CLAUD. de laud. Stil. p. 131. SYM. l. iv. ep. 4. p. 143. [h] SYM. ibid. p. 144. [i] Idem, p. 143. CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 131. l. iii. p. 148. in Eutrop. p. 103. bell. Gild. p. 70. [k] Ambr. vit. c. 34. p. 10. c. 45. p. 12. [l] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 136, 137. [m] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 16. leg. 22. p. 215. [n] Idem ibid. p. 133. [o] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 33. p. 151. [p] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 12. p. 227. [q] Idem, leg. 13. p. 228. [r] Idem, l. ix. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 52. [s] Mar. & Alex. chron. p. 712. [t] AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 400. OROS. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221. CLAUD. bell. Gild. c. 79. p. 788. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Zos. p. 788. [x] OROS. p. 221. [y] Chron. Alex. p. 713.

Their authority is confirmed by *Claudian*, who ſays, that *Stilicho* made ſmall prepa- a
rations for this firſt expedition, but had in readineſs another fleet, and a more
renowned general, to be employed, in caſe any misfortune ſhould befal the firſt [y].
That poet names the ſeveral corps, or, as we may now call them, regiments, of
which *Maſcezel*'s army was compoſed [z]. It embarqued at *Piſa*, and putting to ſea,
tho' a ſtorm, if we may depend upon a poet [a], was then apprehended, ſteered along
the eaſt coaſt of *Sardinia*, and landed ſafe in *Africa*. *Maſcezel*, without loſs of time,
Gildo *entirely defeated.* led his troops againſt *Gildo*; and falling upon him before he could draw up his army,
gained, after a bloody and obſtinate fight, a complete victory. Thus *Zoſimus* [b].
But *Oroſius* [c], *Marcellinus* [d], and *Paulus Diaconus* [e], aſcribe this ſucceſs to the mira- b
culous aſſiſtance of St. *Ambroſe*, who, appearing to *Maſcezel*, aſſured him, that in
three days time he ſhould gain a complete victory in the very place where he was
then encamped. Hereupon he continued, ſay they, in the ſame poſt; and the third
day, after having ſpent the preceding night in praying, and ſinging hymns with ſome
holy hermits, whom he had brought with him from the iſland *Capraria*, now *Capraia*,
he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the numerous forces of the enemy; but not
in the leaſt daunted, he marched againſt them with his ſmall army in battle-array.
His piety prompted him to try firſt, whether he could by fair means bring them back
to their duty; but one of the ſtandard-bearers anſwering him with great arrogance,
he drew his ſword, and wounded him in the arm; which obliged him to lower the
enſign. The other ſtandard-bearers, imagining he had ſubmited, ſtrove who ſhould c
be the firſt in following his example, and lowering their enſigns, threw themſelves
at the feet of *Maſcezel*. Some of the barbarians, however, encouraged by *Gildo*,
attempted to make a ſtand; but were ſoon put to the rout. Thus were ſeventy
thouſand men, ſays *Oroſius*, defeated by five thouſand, without any ſtratagem or
treachery, nay, and almoſt without bloodſhed. This miraculous ſucceſs, continues
that writer, would hardly be credited, were there nor many perſons ſtill living, who
were eye-witneſſes of it [f]. *Paulinus* aſſures us, that he had this account from *Maſce-*
zel's own mouth, after his return to *Milan* [g]. However, we will not take upon us
to prefer it to that of *Zoſimus*. *Gildo* made his eſcape, and reaching the ſea, went on
board the firſt veſſel he found; but being by a contrary wind driven into the harbour d
Gildo *is taken; but lays violent hands on himſelf.* of *Tabraca* near *Hippo* in *Africa*, he was there apprehended, expoſed to the inſults of
the populace, and then thrown into priſon, where he ſtrangled himſelf, to avoid a
more cruel and ignominious death [h]. Upon the defeat and death of *Gildo*, all *Africa*
ſubmitted anew to *Honorius*. *Claudian*, who omits no opportunity of flattering his
great hero *Stilicho*, aſcribes the whole ſucceſs of this expedition to the prudence and
vigilance of that miniſter. He wrote a poem on the war with *Gildo*; but that piece
is imperfect, ſince the poet leaves the *Roman* fleet on the coaſt of *Sardinia* in their
way to *Africa*. The leading men of *Gildo*'s faction were ſent to *Rome*, to be tried
there; and ſome of them were publicly executed. *Optatus*, biſhop of the *Donatiſts*
at *Tamugadi* in *Numidia*, one of *Gildo*'s moſt zealous partizans, died in priſon. As e
ſeveral innocent perſons were, as it frequently happens on ſuch occaſions, accuſed,
and dragged in priſon, *Honorius*, by a law addreſſed to *Victor* proconſul of *Africa*,
put a ſtop to ſuch unjuſt proſecutions, ordering falſe informers and witneſſes to be
puniſhed, according to the rigor of the ſeveral laws enacted againſt them [i]. *Gildo*'s
His eſtate confiſcated. eſtate fell to the exchequer, and proved ſo large, that a particular treaſurer was
appointed to manage it, with the title of *comes Gildoniaci patrimonii*, or count of
Gildo's patrimony [k]. *Africa* being thus reſtored to its former tranquillity, *Maſcezel*
returned to *Italy*, and was received at *Milan* by *Stilicho*, in appearance with the
greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and eſteem; but the glory he had acquired by
putting ſo ſpeedy an end to a war, which the miniſter had ſo much apprehended, f
giving him no ſmall jealouſy, he reſolved to diſpatch without delay this new rival.
Accordingly, as he was one day paſſing a bridge in the neighbourhood of *Milan*,
Maſcezel, who attended him, with many other perſons of diſtinction, was, by his
Maſcezel *put to death by* Stilicho's *orders.* private orders, puſhed into the river, and drowned [l]. *Oroſius* writes, that *Maſcezel*,
elated with his ſucceſs, had fallen from his former piety, and even dragged from the
altars

[y] Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 131, 132. [z] Idem, bell. Gil. p. 80. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Zos. ibid. [c] Oros. p. 221. [d] Mar. in chron. [e] Amb. vit. c. 15. p. 13. [f] Oros. p. 221, 222. Oros. Paulin. ibid. [g] Amb. vit. c. 51. [h] Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 132. Zos. p. 788. Mar. chron. [i] Cod. Theod. tit. 3. p. 288. Claud. ibid. p. 148. [k] Idem, tit. 2. p. 349, 352. & tit. 3. p. 347. [l] Zos. l. v. p. 788, 789.

a altars ſeveral criminals, who had fled to them for refuge; which that writer looks upon as an enormous crime, and the true cauſe of his unfortunate end [m]. About the time of the defeat of *Gildo*, *Honorius* married at *Milan*, *Maria* the daughter of *Stilicho* by *Serena*, couſin-german to that prince [n]. He was then but thirteen, and *Maria* not yet marriageable [o]; whence ſome authors pretend, that the marriage was never conſummated, ſince *Maria* died very young long before the year 408 [p]. *Claudian* wrote ſeveral poems on this marriage [q], which, according to him, was firſt propoſed, nay, and commanded, by *Theodoſius* [r]. But his predictions concerning the kings who were to proceed from it [s], ſhew he was a poet, and not a prophet. By the defeat of *Gildo*, an intire harmony was re-eſtabliſhed between the two brothers, as that

b poet tells us [t]; but the ſame miſunderſtanding continued between the two miniſters, who nevertheleſs agreed in plundering the unhappy people, and conveying into their private coffers the whole wealth of the two empires [u]. *Entropius* perſuaded *Arcadius* to name him, tho' an eunuch, for the conſulſhip of the enſuing year; but *Stilicho* would not ſuffer him to be acknowledged in the weſt [w]. *Claudian* writes, that when news of the conſulate of *Eutropius* was brought to the court of *Honorius*, that prince was buſied with *Stilicho* in receiving the ſubmiſſions of the *Alemans*, *Suevians*, and *Sicambrians*; in giving kings to ſome; and commanding others to raiſe levies for recruiting his armies [x]. Whether this may be founded on truth, or ought to be looked upon only as a poetical fiction, we will not take upon us to determine. The

c ſame poet, in enumerating the great things *Stilicho* had performed by himſelf or others before his conſulſhip, that is, before the year 400. ſays, that he ſuccoured *Britain*, attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely by the *Scots*, who, arming all *Ierne* or *Ireland* againſt it, had covered the ſea with their fleets; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the *Picts*; and that he had ſecured the *Britiſh* coaſt againſt the deſcents of the *Saxons*, which the inhabitants apprehending before were conſtantly on their guard; through fear of a ſurprize [y]. He adds elſewhere [z], that the *Saxons* being overcome, the ſea was quiet; that the *Picts* having loſt their ſtrength, *Britain* was delivered from her fears. The learned *Uſher* aſcribes to *Stilicho* the eſtabliſhing of a legion in *Britain*, to defend it againſt the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and

d the *Saxons* [a]. This legion is mentioned by *Claudian* [b]. About the ſame time, a proper officer was appointed to guard the coaſt againſt the attempts of the *Saxons*, with the title of *comes limitis Saxonici*, or count of the *Saxon* coaſt, that is, of the coaſt over-againſt the country of the *Saxons* [c]. In the eaſt, the cities of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon* were ſhaken with violent earthquakes; ſeveral buildings were conſumed with lightning; and the ſea, breaking in upon the land, laid whole countries under water. *Claudian* mentions ſeveral other prodigies, which were all the forerunners, ſays that poet, of a prodigy never before heard of, *viz.* an eunuch conſul [d]; for the following year 390. *Eutropius* prevailed upon *Arcadius* to create him a patrician, to honour him with the title of *father to the emperor*, and to raiſe him to the conſular dignity. He

e was the firſt and the laſt eunuch that ever held, or rather diſgraced, the faſces. His image, with the enſigns of his dignity, was carried, as it were in triumph, through all the cities of the eaſt; but *Stilicho* refuſing to acknowledge him in the weſt, *Manlius*, *Theodorus* alone is named conſul in ſome *faſti*, and in the laws of *Honorius*. Some writers, miſtaking his two names for the names of two different perſons, mark *Manlius* or *Mallius*, and *Theodorus*, as conſuls of this year [e]. *Manlius Theodorus* is famous from the praiſes beſtowed upon him by *Claudian*, in a poem which he wrote on his conſulſhip [f]; and by St. *Auſtin*, who, having known him at *Milan* in 384. inſcribed to him in 386. his book *de beata vita*, *of a happy life*, which he publiſhed ſoon after his converſion [g]. *Claudian* does not commend him on account of his family, but for his learning, his eloquence, and his virtue [h]. After he had pleaded ſome time at the bar, he governed, firſt, part of *Libya*, in quality of proconſul of *Africa*, and afterwards *Macedon*; whence he was called to court, and created quæſtor, whoſe province it was to draw up the laws that were enacted by the emperor. To this dignity he was

Honorius *marries* Maria, *the daughter of* Stilicho.

Eutropius *conſul.*

Stilicho *provides for the ſafety of* Britain *againſt the* Scots, Picts, *and* Saxons.

Earthquakes and other calamities in the eaſt.

Manlius Theodorus *conſul in the weſt.*

[m] Oros. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221. [n] Claud. conſ. Hon. 4. p. 55. [o] Zos. p. 804. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Claud. p. 56—69. [r] Idem, p. 57. [s] Idem, p. 63. [t] Idem, bell. Gild. p. 76. [u] Zos. l. v. p. 789. [w] Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 111. [x] Idem de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140. [y] Idem ibid. l. ii. p. 139. [z] Idem in Eutrop. l. i. p. 102, 103. [a] Uss. eccleſ. Britan. antiq. p. 595. [b] Claud. bell. Get. p. 167. & epith. in Pallad. & Celer. nupt. p. 200. [c] Uss. ibid. p. 336. [d] Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 108, 109. [e] Idat. Prosp. Cassiodor. faſt. [f] Claud. in Man. Theod. conſ. p. 84—90. [g] Aug. de beat. vit. p. 212. [h] Claud. ibid. p. 84.

was raiſed by *Gratian* in 380 [i]. Upon the death of that prince, he withdrew from a
public affairs, and led a retired life, till he was recalled to court by *Honorius*, or
rather by *Stilicho*, who appointed him prefect of *Gaul* in 395. and prefect of *Italy* in
397 [k]. *Symmachus* beſtows great encomiums upon him [l]; and St. *Auſtin*, who in-
forms us that he was a chriſtian, extols his modeſty, his learning, his eloquence, and
generoſity [m]. *Claudian*, in the poem he wrote on his conſulſhip, admires his integri-
ty, moderation, affability, and other virtues [n]; but elſewhere [o], diveſting himſelf
of the character of a panegyriſt, he owns, that *Italy* would have reaped greater advan-
tages from the prefecture of *Theodorus*, had he ſlept leſs.

DURING the conſulſhip of *Theodorus* in the weſt and *Eutropius* in the eaſt, died
Varanes, or *Vararanes* IV. king of *Perſia*, who, during the eleven years of his reign, b
had lived in friendſhip with the *Romans*. He was killed, we know not upon what
provocation, by his own ſubjects, and ſucceeded by his brother *Iſdegerdes*, or, as *Abul-*
faragius ſtyles him, *Yaſdejird* [p]. *Eutychius*, who calls him *Al Aitham*, ſuppoſes him
to have been the ſon of his predeceſſor [q]. He reigned twenty-one years, ever main-
taining a friendly correſpondence with the *Romans*; but was, according to *Eutychius*,
a prince of great ſeverity, or rather cruelty; whence he was ſurnamed *Al Aitham*, or
Athim, that is, *the bad* [r]. *Procopius* gives him a quite different character, deſcribing
him as a generous-ſpirited prince [s]. He is famous in the hiſtory of the church, on c
account of the perſecution which he raiſed about the end of his reign againſt the chri-
ſtians in his dominions. The moſt remarkable event that happened in the eaſt during
the conſulſhip of *Eutropius*, was the downfal of that famous and powerful miniſter,
which *Zoſimus* aſcribes chiefly to *Gainas*. He had commanded the *Goths*, and other
barbarians, under *Theodoſius*; and, after the defeat of *Eugenius*, reconducted the
eaſtern army to *Arcadius*, on which occaſion he cauſed *Rufinus* to be cut in pieces, in
the manner we have related above. For this eminent piece of ſervice he did not
think himſelf ſufficiently rewarded by *Eutropius*, who, as he uſed to brag, was
indebted to him for all his grandeur. From a common ſoldier he had been raiſed by
Theodoſius to the chief command of all the *Goths*, and other barbarians, in the *Roman* d
ſervice, and by *Eutropius*, after the death of *Rufinus*, to the poſt of general of the
Roman horſe and foot; but yet not ſatisfied, and ſcorning to depend upon a ſlave
and an eunuch, he reſolved, by ſome means or other, to diſpatch him, hoping, if
he were once removed, to ſucceed him in his power and authority [t]. While he was
pleaſing himſelf with theſe thoughts, count *Tarbigild*, or *Tribigild*, who was by nation
a *Goth*, and commanded a numerous body of his countrymen at *Nicolo* in *Phrygia*,
came to court; and, after a ſhort ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, was preparing to return to his
quarters, highly diſſatisfied with the haughty behaviour and arbitrary conduct of
the prime miniſter, when *Gainas*, to whom he was allied, according to *Socrates* [u],
reſolving to improve his diſcontent to the ruin of *Eutropius*, imparted to him the e
deſign he had formed againſt *Eutropius*, and encouraged him to revolt, aſſured him,
that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, aſſiſt and ſupport him under-hand. *Tri-*
bigild, who was a man of great intrepidity and reſolution, and ready to embarque in
any deſperate undertaking, immediately cloſed with the propoſal; and returning to
Nicola, took arms early in the ſpring, pillaged that and ſeveral other cities in *Phry-*
gia, and putting all to the ſword who fell into his hands, without diſtinction of ſex,
age, or condition, he threw the whole province of *Aſia* into the utmoſt confuſion, the
inhabitants, ſtruck with terror and diſmay, abandoning their habitations, and flying
for refuge to the moſt diſtant provinces. When news of theſe diſorders was brought
to court, *Eutropius* endeavoured firſt to gain *Tribigild* with large preſents, and greater f
promiſes; but finding he could not, by fair means, bring him back to his duty, he
diſpatched a body of troops againſt him, under the conduct of one *Leo*, a perſon
greatly attached to his intereſt, but in every reſpect unfit for that command. *Leo*,
having paſſed the ſtreights of the *Helleſpont*, continued in that neighbourhood, not
daring to encounter the enemy. *Gainas*, who pretended to be highly provoked
againſt *Tribigild*, on account of his revolt, was enjoined to guard *Thrace* and the
ſea-coaſt, in order to prevent an irruption on that ſide; but he, keeping the whole
time

Varanes *king of* Perſia *murdered*, *and ſucceeded by* Iſdegerdes.

Gainas *diſſatisfied with* Eutropius.

He induces Tribigild *to revolt.*

Trigibild *pillages ſeveral provinces.*

[i] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 388. [k] CLAUD. ibid. p. 87, 88. Cod. Theod. ibid. & l. xi. tit. 6. leg. 21. p. 33. [l] SYM. l. v. ep. p. 10. 189. ep. 4, 8. p. 11, 15. [m] AUG. ibid. [n] CLAUD. ibid. p. 89, 90. [o] Idem, epig. xxix. p. 261. [p] ABULFAR. p. 91. EUTYCH. tom. 1. p. 548. AGATH. de imper. Juſt. p. 137. [q] EUTYCH. ibid. [r] Idem, tom. 2. p. 79. [s] PROCOP. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 2. p. 8. [t] Zos. l. v. p. 789. Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 760, 761. SOCR. l. vi. c. 6. p. 306. [u] SOCR. ibid.

a time a private correſpondence with the rebels, inſtead of defending *Thrace*, adviſed *Tribigild* to march his forces without delay to the ſea-ſide, and, croſſing the *Helleſpont*, to enter that province. Had his advice been followed, the rebels would have made themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople* without oppoſition; but *Tribigild*, bending his march towards *Piſidia*, was met there by one *Valentine*, a citizen of *Selga*, at the head of a ſmall body of ſlaves and peaſants. *Tribigild* deſpiſed them at firſt; but as they were well acquainted with that mountainous country, and had, by their frequent diſputes with the robbers in thoſe parts, learnt to make ſudden onſets, and lay ambuſhes, they cut off great numbers of his men, and at length ſhut him up on all ſides, in ſuch manner, that no room being left for him to eſcape, he muſt ine-
b vitably have periſhed, had he not, by a large ſum, prevailed upon one *Florentius*, who guarded a narrow paſs called *Coghlea*, to withdraw, and ſuffer him to retire. However, his men, by the ambuſcades, frequent ſkirmiſhes, and ſudden onſets of the *Piſidians*, were now reduced to three hundred. With theſe he marched into the plain, where he was again ſhut up between the two rivers *Melane* and *Eurymedon*. In this extremity, he found means to acquaint *Gainas* with the deſperate poſture of his affairs, who thereupon, under colour of reinforcing *Leo*'s army, detached a ſtrong body of barbarians, with private orders to join *Tribigild*; which they did accordingly. With their aſſiſtance *Tribigild* opened himſelf a paſſage out of *Piſidia*, and falling unexpectedly upon *Leo*, cut moſt of his men in pieces. *Leo* himſelf, attempt-
c ing to make his eſcape, periſhed among the marſhes [w]. From *Piſidia*, *Tribigild* returned into *Phrygia*, where *Gainas*, who had advanced into that province, as if he deſigned to attack him, ſuffered him to rage with greater fury than ever, magnifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, his conduct, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and ſuggeſting, that the only means to ſave the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that *Eutropius*, the author of all the preſent calamities, ſhould be delivered up into his hands. At the ſame time, news was brought to court of the death of *Varanes* king of *Perſia*, and a report ſpread, that his ſucceſſor was preparing to invade *Syria*. Upon this falſe alarm, and the accounts that were by *Gainas* daily tranſmitted to *Conſtantinople*
d of the progreſs made by *Tribigild*, ſome were for recurring to *Stilicho*, and others for ſatisfying the rebels, by ſacrificing the miniſter to the welfare of the ſtate [x]. *Arcadius*, who was under the greateſt perpexity, choſe the latter; and ſending for *Eutropius*, cauſed him to be ſtripped of the conſular enſigns, and diſcharged him [y]. Thus *Zoſimus*. But *Socrates*, *Philoſtorgius*, *Sozomen*, and *Chryſoſtom*, relate the downfal of *Eutropius*, without mentioning either *Gainas* or *Trigibild*. *Socrates* only ſays, that he had offended *Arcadius* [z]; *Sozomen*, that he had affronted the empreſs [a]; and *Chryſoſtom*, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, that he had injured the emperor [b]. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that *Eutropius* having inſolently threatened to drive the empreſs out of the palace, ſhe went, with her two little daughters, *Flaccilla* and *Pulcheria*, in her
e arms, to throw herſelf at the emperor's feet, and demand ſatisfaction. *Arcadius*, moved with the tears of his wife and children, remembered at length, that he was emperor; and ſending for *Eutropius*, diſcharged him, and commanded him that inſtant to quit the palace; which he did accordingly, without being attended by a ſingle perſon, tho' he had been hitherto conſtantly ſurrounded with crouds of pretended friends and adorers [c]. *Claudian* ſeems to favour the opinion of *Zoſimus*; for in his ſecond book againſt *Eutropius*, he deſcribes at length the war of *Tribigild*, which would have been quite foreign to his purpoſe, had it not had any connection with the downfal of *Eutropius*, which he mentions in his preface to that book. However, the poet, after having expatiated on that war, only deſcribes the conſterna-
f tion it occaſioned at *Conſtantinople*, and introduces the eaſt recurring to his hero *Stilicho* [d]. Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, a third book. *Eutropius*, thus diſgraced, and apprehending his life to be in danger, took ſanctuary in a church. But the people exclaiming againſt him in the theatre, and *Gainas* with the ſoldiery, preſſing the emperor to reſtore the ſtate to its former tranquillity, by either putting to death or baniſhing the abhorred miniſter, a band of ſoldiers was ſent to drag him from his aſylum, ſome of thoſe who had appeared till that time moſt zealouſly attached

Is reduced to great diſtreſs.

But eſcapes, and defeats Leo, *ſent againſt him.*

Gainas *lays the whole blame on* Eutropius.

Who is diſgraced and depoſed.

He takes ſanctuary in a church.

[w] Zos. l. v. p. 789. Philost. p. 531. Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110, 116, 119. [x] Zos. p. 793. Claud. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 119, 120. [y] Zos. ibid. [z] Socr. l. vi. c. 5. p. 304. [a] Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 767. [b] Chrys. in Eutrop. tom. 4. p. 486. [c] Philost. l. xi. c. 6. 529. [d] Claud. ibid. p. 120—122.

attached to him, taking upon them that province [c]. But *Chryſoſtom*, then biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, preſenting himſelf before them, and reſolutely declaring, that he would not ſuffer them to profane the church, they ſeized him, and carried him to the emperor, who was by him prevailed upon to grant that protection to *Eutropius*, from which many guilty of ſmaller crimes had, by his means, been excluded [f]. The next day, incredible multitudes of people flocked to the church, to have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing *Eutropius*, whom they all hated, diveſted of his power, and, by a juſt retaliation, brought to that deplorable condition, to which he had reduced many of their friends and relations. On this occaſion *Chryſoſtom* made a ſpeech to the aſſembled multitude, on the vanity of all human grandeur, endeavouring at the ſame time to awake in the hearts of his auditors ſentiments of compaſſion for the unhappy criminal. When he ſaw them begin to relent, he ended his ſpeech, by exhorting them to go all in a body to the imperial palace, and, throwing themſelves at the prince's feet, to beg his life [g]. Whether they complied with this exhortation, we are no-where told. All we know is, that a few days after, *Eutropius*, having privately left his aſylum, in order to make his eſcape, was taken, and baniſhed to the iſland of *Cyprus* [h]. *Zoſimus* writes, that when he was baniſhed, he was aſſured, that his life ſhould not be taken from him [i]; and *Claudian*, who wrote at the time they were conducting him to *Cyprus*, ſays, that though he had cauſed an eunuch to be beheaded, yet he ſhould not undergo the ſame puniſhment [k]. The law has reached our times, by which *Arcadius* confiſcated his eſtate, ſtripped him of the dignity of great chamberlain, degraded him from the rank of patrician, and ordered his name to be eraſed where-ever he was ſtyled conſul, his ſtatues to be pulled down, and his images to be removed. By the ſame law *Aurelian*, the *præfectus prætorio*, is injoined to cauſe him to be conducted under a guard to the iſland of *Cyprus*, and to be there narrowly watched, leſt he ſhould raiſe new diſturbances [l]. This law is dated the ſeventeenth of *January* of the preſent year; which muſt certainly be a miſtake, ſince all hiſtorians agree, that he was baniſhed after the revolt of *Tribigild*, who took arms in the ſpring. *Chryſoſtom* gives us room to believe, that ſeveral other perſons were baniſhed with *Eutropius* [m]; and truly a favourite ſeldom falls alone. However, his ſiſter, tho' very rich, was ſuffered to continue at *Conſtantinople* [n]. *Gainas*, not yet ſatisfied, cauſed ſeveral charges to be brought againſt him; upon which he was conducted from the iſland of *Cyprus* to a place called *Pantychium*, between *Chalcedon* and *Nicomedia*, where he was tried by the prefect *Aurelian* and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, who, upon his being convicted of having in his conſulſhip made uſe of ornaments peculiar to the imperial dignity, condemned him, and he was beheaded on the laſt day of the preſent year [o]. *Zoſimus*, who pretends he had been promiſed his life upon oath, ſays, that, to cover that perjury, they gave out, that the oath was only with reſpect to *Conſtantinople*, and cauſed him to be beheaded at *Chalcedon* [p].

Where he is protected by St. Chryſoſtom.

He is taken in endeavouring to make his eſcape, and baniſhed.

He is accuſed anew, tried, and executed.

Many temples pulled down.

This year is remarkable in the hiſtory of the church, for the many temples that were demoliſhed both in the eaſt and weſt, and the ſevere laws that were enacted by the two princes againſt all manner of idolatrous worſhip; which may be ſaid to have given the laſt blow to the pagan ſuperſtition. The temples, ſays *Tiro Proſper* in his chronicle, were this year demoliſhed throughout the *Roman* world [q]. By a law dated the thirteenth of *July*, *Arcadius* commanded all the temples throughout his dominions to be pulled down, not only in the cities, but likewiſe in the country [r]; and by another dated the firſt of *November*, the materials were to be employed in repairing the bridges, highways, aqueducts, and the walls of the cities [s]. By other laws, all manner of ſuperſtitious worſhip was forbidden, both in public and private, under the ſevereſt penalties, and the prieſts and miniſters of the idols deprived of all the privileges granted them by former princes [t]. In the weſt *Honorius* enacted a law, dated the twenty-ninth of *January* of this year 399. forbidding heatheniſh ſacrifices on pain of death, and commanding the temples to be every-where pulled down, and the ſtatues of the idols to be broken in pieces, that no footſteps might remain of the ancient ſuperſtition [u]. Notwithſtanding this law, ſeveral temples were ſpared

[c] Chrys. tom. 3. p. 671, 676. [f] Idem, tom. 4. p. 486. [g] Socr. p. 304. Soz. p. 767. Chrys. tom. 4. p. 482—487. [h] Chrys. in pſal. xliv. hom. 2. p. 667. Zos. l. v. p. 797. [i] Zos. p. 793, 794. [k] Claud. ibid. p. 107. [l] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 11. leg. 17. p. 312. [m] Chrys. ibid. & p. 671. [n] Claud. ibid. p. 107. [o] Zos. p. 739. Philostorg. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529. Socr. l. vi. c. 5. p. 305. Ast. orat. iii. p. 76, 77. [p] Zos. p. 794. [q] Prosp. in chron. [r] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 16. p. 283. [s] Idem, l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 16. p. 310. [t] Idem, tit. 10. leg. 13. p. 277. & leg. 14. p. 278. [u] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 280.

a ſpared at the requeſt of the biſhops, who begged them, and conſecrated them to the worſhip of the true God. Among theſe was the famous temple of the goddeſs *Cæleſtis*, the chief deity of *Carthage*, one of the moſt ſtately edifices in the whole empire; for it is ſaid, with the buildings belonging to it, to have taken up the ſpace of two miles, the whole being incloſed by a wall of an extraordinary height and beauty. This temple was with great pomp and ſolemnity conſecrated on *Eaſter-day* by *Aurelius*, biſhop of *Carthage*, attended by ſeveral other biſhops, and an incredible multitude of chriſtians, who had flocked from all parts to aſſiſt at that ceremony [w]. Beſides the deſtruction of ſeveral temples recorded by the eccleſiaſtic writers, nothing happened this year in the weſt, which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſ-

b mitting to poſterity. *Honorius* was, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ninth of *January* at *Ravenna*, from the ſixteenth of *February* to the fourth of *June* at *Milan*, at *Brixio* or *Breſcia* on the ſixth of *June*, at *Verona* in *July*, in *Auguſt* at *Padua*, and at *Altini* in *September*; whence he returned to *Milan*, and there paſſed the winter [x].

The temple of Cœleſtis *at* Carthage *turned into a church.*

THE next conſuls were *Stilicho* and *Aurelianus*; the latter entered upon this new dignity at *Conſtantinople*, and the former at *Milan*, with the greateſt pomp that had ever been ſeen in that city [y]. In the eaſt no advantage accrued to the public from the death of *Eutropius*, the empreſs *Eudoxia*, a bold, enterpriſing, and avaricious woman, as *Zoſimus* ſtyles her, having, upon the downfal of that miniſter, gained

c an abſolute aſcendant over her huſband. She was conſtantly beſet by women, eunuchs, and informers, who prompted her to ſuch crying acts of violence and injuſtice, that every good man wiſhed for death, to avoid ſeeing ſuch enormous diſorders [z]. In the mean time, *Gainas*, having concluded a pretended peace with the rebels, began to march back to *Conſtantinople*, followed by *Tribigild*, whom he joined at *Thyatira*, where they both agreed to march to *Sardis* in *Lydia*, and plunder that metropolis; but not being able to paſs the rivers that were ſwelled by the heavy rains, they parted once more; and bending their march to the ſea, *Tribigild* took his rout towards *Lampſacus* on the *Helleſpont*, and *Gainas* towards *Chalcedon*, allowing their ſoldiers to plunder all the countries through which they paſſed. Their approach cauſed a

d general conſternation at *Conſtantinople*; nay, the whole empire ſeemed to be in imminent danger. As *Arcadius* had no troops to make head againſt them, and prevent their entering *Thrace*, he was adviſed to ſend deputies to *Gainas*, and to ſave the empire from utter ruin, by granting him whatever he demanded. *Gainas*, with great inſolence, required three of the moſt eminent men in the ſtate, whom he thought capable of thwarting his ambitious deſigns, to be delivered up to him, in order to be put to death. Theſe were *Saturninus*, who had been conſul in 383, and employed for the ſpace of thirty years in public affairs; *Aurelianus*, this year's conſul, who had been prefect of *Conſtantinople* in 393. and the preceding year the *præfectus prætorio*; and *John*, ſecretary to the emperor, and in whom the prince repoſed great

e truſt [a]. The emperor complied, tho' much againſt his will, with this arrogant and tyrannical demand, thoſe three illuſtrious perſons requeſting him of their own accord to ſacrifice them to the public welfare [b]. With the emperor's conſent they left *Conſtantinople*, and preſented themſelves before *Gainas*, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, who immediately ordered them to be beheaded, but changed the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment, when the executioner had already lifted up his arm to diſcharge the fatal blow [c]. They were chiefly indebted to *Chryſoſtom* for their lives, which were granted them at his interceſſion [d]. They were all three ſent under a guard towards *Epirus*; but having, either by corrupting the *Goths* that guarded them, or by ſome other means, made their eſcape, they appeared,

f when leaſt expected, at the court of *Conſtantinople*, to the great joy of the emperor and the whole city [e]. *Zoſimus* is the only writer who mentions *John* among thoſe whom *Gainas* demanded; all other writers ſpeak only of *Aurelianus* and *Saturninus*. *Gainas*, not yet ſatisfied, demanded a conference with the emperor in perſon; and with this demand too the emperor was obliged to comply, paſſing for that purpoſe over to *Chalcedon*, in the neighbourhood of which city he had an interview with *Gainas*, in the church of St. *Euphemia*, where it was agreed, that both *Gainas* and *Tribigild*

Gainas *and* Tribigild *join their forces, and plunder ſeveral provinces.*

Arcadius *forced to comply with his unjuſt demands;*

And to confer with him in perſon.

[w] PROSP. chron. p. 149, 150. [x] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 140, 141, 147. [y] SYM. l. iv. ep. 31. p. 161. [z] Zos. p. 800, 832. [a] Zos. p. 793—795. Zoz l. viii. c. 4. p. 760. SOCR. l. vi. c. 6. p. 306. SYNES. ep. xxxi, xxxiv, xxxviii. p. 177—179. [b] SOCR. ibid. [c] Zos. l. v. p. 795. [d] SOCR. ibid. Soz. p. 761. CHRYS. tom. v. hom. 72. p. 825. [e] Zos. p. 799.

Tribigild ſhould lay down their arms, and return, if they pleaſed, to *Conſtantinople*; a and that the former, beſides the command of all the *Goths* in the *Roman* ſervice, ſhould have that of the *Roman* horſe and foot, with the conſular ornaments, and an authority almoſt unbounded [p]. We find nothing henceforth in hiſtory relating to *Tribigild*, except that he periſhed in *Thrace* ſoon after [q]. As for *Gainas*, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, he demanded a church in that city for the *Arians*, whoſe doctrine was held by him, and moſt of the *Goths* his countrymen. The timorous emperor, not daring to give him an abſolute denial, referred him to *Chryſoſtom*, biſhop of the city, who ſhewed him the edict of the emperor *Theodoſius*, forbidding all heretics and ſectaries to hold any aſſemblies in the city. *Gainas* replied, that the ſervices he had rendered the empire deſerved at leaſt one church, in which he b and thoſe of his perſuaſion might have the free exerciſe of their religion. To this the prelate replied boldly, that his rewards had already exceeded his deſerts; that from the mean condition of a common ſoldier, he had been raiſed to the high ſtation of commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces; and ought to be ſatisfied with the honours he enjoyed, without demanding what could not be granted without a notorious breach of the laws. *Gainas*, finding he had not to deal with an *Arcadius*, but a *Chryſoſtom*, thought it adviſeable to drop his demand [r]. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* mention a church in *Conſtantinople* belonging to the *Goths* [s]; but they muſt be underſtood not of the *Arian*, but the orthodox *Goths*, ſince *Marcellinus*, a zealous catholic, ſtyles it in his chronicle *our church*. However, the *Arians* were, it ſeems, at this time allowed to c aſſemble without the walls of the city [t]. About this time appeared over *Conſtantinople* a comet of unuſual magnitude, portending, as was ſaid, the great danger the city was in from the perfidiouſneſs of *Gainas*. For that barbarian, who commanded in chief the armies of *Arcadius*, having filled *Conſtantinople* with his *Goths*, and removed from thence all the *Roman* troops, formed a deſign of ſeizing firſt the wealth of the bankers, and then ſetting fire to the palace. But this wicked project being fruſtrated by a miracle, which the reader will find related at length by *Socrates* [u], *Sozomen* [w], and *Philoſtorgius* [x], he withdrew from the city on the tenth of *July*, as it were to take the air, ſays *Zoſimus* [y], or to perform his devotions, as we read in *Socrates* [z], in the church of St. *John Baptiſt*, ſeven miles from the city, pretending to d be poſſeſſed, ſay *Sozomen* [a] and *Socrates* [b], with an evil ſpirit. He left in the city the greater part of the *Goths*, with private orders to fall upon the inhabitants immediately after his departure, and to give him a ſignal, that he might return and join them with thoſe who attended him [c]. *Gainas* defeated his own deſign, according to *Zoſimus*, by returning to force the gate before the ſignal agreed on; which alarmed the city [d]. *Socrates* [e] and *Sozomen* [f] write, that the ſoldiers, who guarded the gates, obſerving thoſe, who went out with *Gainas*, loaded with arms, which they endeavoured to conceal, attempted to ſtop them. Hereupon the *Goths*, having killed ſeveral of the guards, opened themſelves a way ſword in hand; but the citizens, in the mean time, taking the alarm, flew to arms; and *Arcadius*, acquainted with what e had happened, declared *Gainas* a public enemy, and ordered all the *Goths* in the city to be put to the ſword. Upon this *Gainas* returned in great haſte; but not being able to force the gate, which he found barricaded, and defended by a numerous body of citizens, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire. *Philoſtorgius* ſuppoſes him to have been ſtill in the city, and to have retired in the night [g]. What happened the day following, we are no-where told; but the day after, the twelfth of *July*, the citizens fell upon the *Goths*, who were ſtill remaining in the city to the number of ſeven thouſand, and cut moſt of them in pieces; the reſt, overpowered with numbers, took ſanctuary in the church of their nation, which ſtood cloſe to the palace; but the citizens having obtained leave of the emperor to attack f them even in their aſylum, they firſt uncovered the roof; and after having for ſome time plied them warmly with ſhowers of darts and arrows, they ſet fire at laſt to the church, which was reduced to aſhes, with all who were in it [h]. This was looked upon, ſays *Zoſimus*, by every good chriſtian as an enormous crime [i]. *Gainas*, highly provoked

The intrepidity of St. Chryſoſtom.

Gainas *forms a deſign of ſeizing* Conſtantinople.

But fails in his attempt.

His men maſſacred.

[p] Idem, p. 794. SOCR. p. 306, 307. Soz. p. 761. THEODOR. l. v. c. 32. p. 744. [q] PHILOS. l. xi. c. 9. p. 551. [r] PHILOS. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. Soz. p. 761. THEODOR. p. 774, 775. [s] SOCR. p. 308. Soz. p. 762. [t] THEOD. l. v. c. 30. p. 743. Soz. p. 761. [u] SOCR. l. vi. c. 6. p. 307. [w] Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 762. [x] PHILOST. l. i. c. 8. p. 531. [y] Zos. l. v. p. 795. [z] SOCR. p. 307, 308. [a] Soz. p. 762. [b] SOCR. ibid. [c] Zos. p. 795. [d] Idem ibid. [e] SOCR. 307, [f] Soz. p. 762. [g] PHILOST. p. 531. [h] SOCR. p. 308. Chron. Al. p. 712. Soz. p. 762. Sos. p. 796. Marc. chron. [i] Zos. ibid.

provoked at the maſſacre of his friends and countrymen, pulled off the maſque; and making open war upon the ſtate, ravaged all *Thrace*; but not being able to make himſelf maſter of a ſingle city there, the inhabitants, who were accuſtomed to ſuch incurſions, having learned how to defend their walls, how to ſally out, and diſtreſs the enemy, he left that province, and marched into the *Cherſoneſus*, with a deſign to croſs the ſtreights of the *Helleſpont*, and enrich himſelf and his army with the ſpoil of *Aſia*. But *Fravitus*, who commanded in thoſe parts, having aſſembled in great haſte a conſiderable number of veſſels, attacked him in his paſſage; and being favoured by the wind, obliged him to return to the coaſt whence he had ſailed, with the loſs of many thouſands of his men, either killed or drowned [i]. *Fravitus* was himſelf a *Goth*, and a pagan, according to *Zoſimus* [k], but greatly attached to the *Roman* intereſt, having married a *Roman* of diſtinction in 380. and ever ſince that time ſerved the empire with great fidelity. He was one of the chiefs of thoſe *Goths*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, were allowed by *Theodoſius* to ſettle in *Thrace*. *Eunapius* writes, that ſoon after he killed with his own hand *Eriulphus*, another of their chiefs, becauſe he was for taking arms againſt *Theodoſius*; purſuant to an oath, by which they had all bound themſelves, before they left their own country in 376. to do the *Romans*, however kindly by them received, all the miſchief that lay in their power [l]. As he was a man of great courage, a ſtrict obſerver of military diſcipline, vigilant, and indefatigable, he had been employed on ſeveral occaſions, and acquitted himſelf in every command with great reputation: he had lately cleared the eaſt of the robbers, who had long infeſted it, roving up and down the country in great bodies [m]. However, he was ſuſpected of having ſuffered *Gainas* and the reſt of his countrymen to eſcape, when he might have eaſily cut them all off: but *Zoſimus* [n], and moſt hiſtorians, clear him from this charge, which ſeems the more groundleſs, as he was for his conduct on that occaſion rewarded the following year with the conſulſhip. From the *Cherſoneſus*, *Gainas* returned to *Thrace*, and was there, according to *Socrates* and *Sozomen* [o], cut in pieces, with all his men, by the *Romans*, who purſued him. *Zoſimus* writes, that after he had maſſacred all the *Romans* whom he found in his army, leſt they ſhould betray him, he paſſed the *Danube*, being deſirous to end his days in the ancient country of the *Goths*. But *Uldes* or *Uldin*, king of the *Hunns*, then maſters of thoſe countries, thinking it highly impolitic to receive into his dominions ſo renowned a commander with an army of his own nation, met him with all his forces on the frontiers, gave him battle, and, after a ſharp diſpute, put him and all his men to the ſword. His body being found, *Uldes* cauſed his head to be cut off, and ſent it to *Arcadius* [p], who received it at *Conſtantinople* on the third of *January* of the enſuing year 401 [q]. During theſe troubles, *Eudoxia*, who had been hitherto diſtinguiſhed only with the title of *Nobiliſſima*, received that of *Auguſta* on the ninth of *January*; on which occaſion ſhe cauſed her image to be carried through all the provinces of the empire, to receive the ſame honours that were paid to the images of the emperors. This no empreſs before her had preſumed to do; whence many complained of it as an innovation, and among the reſt *Honorius*, in a letter which he wrote to his brother [r]. But not many years after, the empreſſes claimed the ſame honours; nay, and aſſumed the ſame titles of *pious*, *happy*, *moſt pious*, *perpetual*, *victorious*, &c. that were given to the princes their huſbands. On the third of *April* of this year, *Eudoxia* was delivered of *Arcadia*, her third daughter [s]. In the beginning of this year, the city of *Conſtantinople* was ſhaken with violent earthquakes, which laſted three days; on which occaſion great numbers of pagans demanded and received the ſacrament of baptiſm [t].

He ravages Thrace.

Is defeated with great loſs by Fravitus.

His death.

Eudoxia *created* Auguſta.

Arcadia *born.*

During the above-mentioned diſturbances raiſed by *Gainas* in the eaſt, the weſtern provinces, eſpecially *Italy*, were alarmed by a ſudden irruption of the barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated *Alaric*, and *Radagaiſus* king of the *Hunns*. Of the former we have already made frequent mention; but as he is to act a chief part in the hiſtory of *Honorius*'s reign, we ſhall here acquaint our readers with what we have copied from the beſt writers concerning a man ſo famous in the records

[i] Zos. Socr. Soz. ibid. Philost. p. 531. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Eunap. p. 21. [m] Eunap. ibid. Zos. p. 769. Philos. p. 531. Socr. p. 309. [n] Zos. p. 798. [o] Socr. p. 309. Soz. p. 763. [p] Zos. p. 798, 799. [q] Socr. p. 309. Chron. Al. p. 12. Marc. chron. [r] Vide Val. rer. Franc. l. ii. p. 66. & ſpicileg. veter. ſcript. tom. x. p. 8. [s] Chron. Al. p. 712. [t] Syn. ep. lxi. p. 204. Chrys. in Act. hom. vii. xli. p. 69, 360.

The origin, birth and employments of Alaric.

records of thoſe times. *Alaric* was by nation a *Goth*, born in the iſland of *Peuce* at the mouth of the *Danube*, whence *Claudian* calls that river his *paternal god* [u]. He was not ſprung from the family of the *Amali*, the moſt illuſtrious of the *Gothiſh* nation, but from that of the *Balthi*, which held the ſecond rank; and to him, in particular, his countrymen had given the name of *Balt*, which in their language ſignified *bold* and enterpriſing [w]. Though *Claudian* introduces him ſpeaking in the language of a pagan [x], yet it is certain he was a chriſtian, but an *Arian*, the doctrine of that hereſiarch having prevailed among the *Goths* ever ſince the year 375 [y]. Long before the year 410. in which he took *Rome*, he uſed to brag, that he would one day extend his conqueſts to that great metropolis, purſuant to the prediction of an oracle [z]. This we learn of the poet *Claudian*, who little imagined then, that the prediction would ever be fulfilled. *Prudentius* likewiſe, who wrote ſome years before *Alaric* took *Rome*, tells us, that he was often heard to ſay, he ſhould one day ſet fire to that city [a]. He paſſed the *Danube* in 376. with his countrymen, driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*. *Claudian* ſays, that he often engaged the imperial troops, and once ſhut up the emperor *Theodoſius* in the windings of the *Hebrus* in *Thrace* [b]. However, in 382. he ſubmitted to him with the other *Goths*, and received lands in *Thrace*, where they were allowed to ſettle, upon condition of their ſerving, when wanted, in the *Roman* armies. Purſuant to this agreement, they attended *Theodoſius* in his laſt expedition againſt the uſurper *Eugenius* in 364. on which occaſion *Alaric* commanded a body of his countrymen [c]. He had no other rank in the beginning of the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; whence *Rufinus*, finding him diſſatisfied, eaſily prevailed upon him to revolt, and plunder *Greece* in 395. *Stilicho* gained ſeveral advantages over him in *Peloponneſus*; but ſuffered him to eſcape in 396. as we have related elſewhere. *Arcadius* entered into a treaty with him, and appointed him general of the *Roman* troops in *Eaſt-Illyricum*, which poſt he held when *Tribigild* revolted, that is, in 399. The *Goths*, who were ſubject to the empire, created him about the ſame time, if *Jornandes* is to be credited, their chief and general, with the title of king of the *Viſigoths* [d]. The ſame writer adds, that the *Goths*, deſpiſing both *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and diſcontented becauſe they had not ſent them the uſual preſents, began to mutiny, and reſolved to make war upon the empire, in order to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of ſo many wealthy provinces [e]. Whatever was the motive that prompted them to take arms, it is certain, that this year 400. the *Goths*, under the conduct of *Alaric*, and *Radagaiſus* king of the *Hunns*, entered *Italy* in a hoſtile manner on the ſide of *Pannonia*, leaving *Sirmium* on their right [f]. *Jornandes* writes, that they met with no oppoſition [g]: according to St. *Jerom*, they beſieged *Aquileia*; and after having opened themſelves a way into *Italy*, they laid the country waſte far and near [h]. This happened the preſent year; but they were ſtill in *Italy* in the beginning of the following year 401. for *Paulinus*, in his annual poem on the birth-day of *Felix* of *Nola*, the fourteenth of *January*, writes in 401. that the *Goths* and other foreign nations were ſtill purſuing their ravages in *Italy* [i]. As we have no diſtinct account of this firſt irruption of *Alaric* into *Italy*, we know not how it ended; but as it ſeems altogether improbable, that he continued in that country till the battle of *Pollentia*, fought two years after, in which no mention is made of *Radagaiſus*, we are inclined to believe, that *Stilicho* induced them both, by ſome means or other, to retire, and that *Alaric* returned about the end of the year 402.

He enters Italy *with* Radagaiſus, *and lays waſte ſeveral provinces.*

He retires.

Theodoſius *born.*

The next conſuls were *Vicentius* prefect of *Gaul*, and *Fravitus* or *Fravita*, of whom we have ſpoken above. This year is remarkable for the birth of *Theodoſius*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Arcadius*, born, according to *Socrates* [k] and the chronicle of *Alexandria* [l], on the tenth, according to *Marcellinus*, on the eleventh, of *April*, and, ſoon after his birth, declared *Cæſar* [m], and baptized with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity. This year *Arcadius* publiſhed a law, forbidding any one to beg the eſtates of condemned perſons, till two years after they had been confiſcated [n]. The *Euxine* ſea was

[u] Claud. conſ Hon. 6. p. 177. Baudr. Prud. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242. [w] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 14, 29. p. 630, 651. [x] Claud. bell. Get. p. 170. [y] Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 222. [z] Claud. ibid. p. 159. [a] Prud. in Sym. l. ii. p. 242. [b] Claud. ibid. p 170. [c] Idem conſ. Hon. 6. p. 177. Socr. l. vii. c. 10. p. 346. Zos. l. v. p. 783. [d] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651. & de regn. ſucc. c. 43. p. 653. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Prosp. chron. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 29. p. 651. Ruf. p 15. Hier in Ruf. l. iii. c. 6. p. 239. Paulin. car. xxiii. p. 585. [g] Jorn. ibid. p. 651. [h] Hier. in Ruf. l iii. c. 6. p. 239. [i] Paulin. carm. xxiii. p. 585—588. [k] Socr. p. 763. [l] Chron. Al. p. 712. [m] Theod. l. ii. p. 568. Soz. p. 763. [n] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 17. p. 345.

was this year frozen over for the ſpace of twenty days [o]. A band of ſlaves and deſerters pillaged part of *Thrace*, pretending to be *Hunns*: but *Fravitus*, marching againſt them, put moſt of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt [p]. In the weſt, *Honorius*, by a law dated the twenty-fifth of *June*, forgave all the debts owing to the exchequer before his firſt conſulſhip; that is, before the month of *September* 386. By the ſame law, he ordered all proſecutions and ſuits for what was owing from that time, to the year 395. that is to his acceſſion to the empire, to be ſuſpended, till he had enquired into the circumſtances of the debtors [q]. The following year, when *Arcadius* and *Honorius* were both conſuls the fifth time, nothing remarkable happened in the eaſt, except the promotion of young *Theodoſius* to the imperial dignity; which ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence in the palace of *Hebdomon*, on the tenth or eleventh of *January* [r]. In the weſt, *Alaric* entered *Italy* anew. *Claudian* who wrote a poem on this war, ſuppoſes, that he ſet out from *Theſſaly* [s]; but *Socrates* tells us in a very confuſed manner, that not preſuming to take upon him the title of emperor, he left *Conſtantinople*, and upon his arrival in *Illyricum*, put all to fire and ſword; but as he was paſſing out of *Theſſaly* into *Epirus*, he was attacked in the narrow paſſes of mount *Pindus* by the *Theſſalians*, who killed three thouſand of his men in the neighbourhood of *Nicopolis*. Notwithſtanding this loſs, he purſued his march, carrying all before him [t]. What prompted him to theſe acts of hoſtility, we are no-where told. *Claudian* lays the whole blame on *Alaric*, charging him with treachery [u]. On the other hand *Oroſius* accuſes *Stilicho*, as if he had been the chief author of this war, and had provoked the *Goths*, by refuſing to grant them certain lands, which they demanded upon terms very advantageous to the empire [w]. He hoped, ſays that writer, when a war was once kindled in the bowels of the empire, to improve it to his own advantage, and ſettle the ſovereignty on his ſon *Eucherius* [x]. Be that as it will, *Alaric* entered *Italy* in the latter end of the autumn, the winter being more favourable to his men, enured to a cold climate, than to the *Romans*, not accuſtomed to bear the hardſhips of war in that ſeaſon [y]. He paſſed the *Alps* without oppoſition, the *Roman* troops being then employed in driving out a body of barbarians, who had made an irruption into *Rhætia*. As there was then no army in *Italy* to oppoſe him, he ravaged without controul the provinces of *Venetia* and *Liguira* which threw *Rome* itſelf into the utmoſt conſternation: the walls of that metropolis were repaired with great expedition by *Flavius Macrobius Longinianus*, then prefect of the city [z]; and the citizens, not being ſuffered to retire with their families and effects, were buſied night and day in preparing arms, and putting themſelves in the beſt poſture of defence they could [a]. The court was no leſs alarmed than the people, *Alaric* threatening to beſiege the emperor himſelf, and force him to comply with his demands [b]. *Honorius* was for retiring into *Gaul*; but *Stilicho* would neither ſuffer him, nor his own wife and ſon, to abandon *Italy* [c]. However, the emperor left *Milan*, and retired to *Ravenna*, which thenceforth became the uſual place of his reſidence [d]. The news of this irruption ſoon reached the moſt diſtant provinces of the eaſt; for we are told that this very year the chriſtians of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, repairing to the church of St. *Thomas*, begged in their public prayers, that the *Arian* robber, who plundered *Italy*, might meet with the juſt doom which had overtaken his countryman of the ſame ſect, meaning no doubt *Gainas* [e].

An inſtance of the generoſity of Honorius.

Alaric *enters* Italy *anew*.

And ravages ſeveral provinces without oppoſition.

The emperor retires to Ravenna.

THE next conſuls were *Theodoſius Auguſtus* and *Rumoridus*. Who the latter was, we are no-where told; but his name gives us room to think he was a *Goth*, probably in the ſervice of *Honorius*; for, generally ſpeaking, one of the conſuls belonged to the eaſtern, and the other to the weſtern empire. This year 403. *Eudoxia* was, on the tenth or eleventh of *February*, delivered of *Marina*, her fourth and laſt daughter [f]. A ſtatue of ſilver was erected to the empreſs on a column of porphyry, near the church of St. *Sophia*; which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between *Eudoxia* and St. *Chryſoſtom*, biſhop of the city, who could not endure the profane ſports that were exhibited before the ſtatue at the very entry of the church [g]. *Arcadius* cauſed likewiſe his own ſtatue to be placed on a column, which, according to ſome writers, was reared

Marina *born*.

[o] Chron. Alex. p. 713. [p] Zos. p. 799. [q] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28. leg. 3. p. 196. [r] Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 763. Chron. Alex. p. 712. [s] CLAUD. bell. Get. p. 169. [t] SOCR. l. vii. c. 10. p. 346. [u] CLAUD. ibid. p. 171. [w] OROS. l. vii. c 37, 38. p. 221, 222. [x] Idem ibid. [y] CLAUD. ibid. p. 165. & conſ. Hon. 6. p. 186. [z] GRUT. p. 165. PRUD. in. Sym. l. ii. p. 242. [a] CLAUD. bell. Get. p. 158, 159, 164, &c. [b] Idem. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 186. [c] Idem, bell. Get. p. 166. [d] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 146. [e] CHRYS. tom. 6. p. 272—274. [f] Chron. Alex. ibid. SOCR. l. vi. c. 18. p. 326. [g] SOCR. ibid. THEOPH. p. 68.

reared this year in the quarter of the city called *Xerelophos*, and is deſcribed by *Gyllius* [i]. The ſame year *Arcadius* built the city of *Arcadiopolis* in *Thrace* [k], or rather gave that name to the ancient city of *Bergulæ* [l]. To return to *Italy*, *Stilicho*, having in ſome degree removed the young emperor's fears, ſays *Claudian*, croſſed the lake of *Como*, and paſſing the *Alps* in the depth of winter, entered *Rhætia*, where, with his unexpected arrival, he alarmed the barbarians and not only obliged them to ſue for peace, but perſuaded great numbers of them to join him. At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to the troops that guarded the coaſt of *Britain*, and the banks of the *Rhine*, ordering them to march immediately, and with all poſſible expedition, into *Rhætia*. Upon their arrival, he commanded them to purſue their march into *Italy*; but ſet out himſelf before them, attended by a ſmall number of troops, in order to return with all ſpeed to court. When he came to the *Adda*, he found the enemy encamped on the oppoſite bank and maſters of the bridge; but not in the leaſt daunted, he thew himſelf into the river as ſoon as it was dark, and forcing his way ſword in hand through the midſt of the barbarians, appeared unexpectedly at court to the inexpreſſible joy of the emperor [m]. The troops arrived ſoon after out of *Rhætia*; and *Stilicho*, putting himſelf at their head, marched againſt the enemy; but could not hinder *Alaric* from paſſing the *Po*, and advancing to *Pollentia*, now *Pollenza*, on the *Tanaro* in *Piedmont* [n], where the two armies engaged, almoſt on the ſame ſpot, ſays *Claudian*, where *Marius* had formerly defeated the *Cimbrians* [o]; but he was therein miſtaken, for the *Cimbrians* were overcome in the neighbourhood of *Vercelli* [p]. There is a great diſagreement among authors in the accounts they give us of this battle: *Jornandes* writes, that *Alaric* having advanced to *Pollentia*, in virtue of a treaty, by which *Honorius* had yielded to him the provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, then held by the *Vandals*. *Stilicho* followed him, and without any regard to the faith of treaties, or law of nations, fell upon him, while he was under no apprehenſion of an enemy [q]. But it is certain, that the *Vandals* had not yet entered either of thoſe provinces. *Claudian*, *Caſſiodorus* and *Prudentius* ſuppoſe *Stilicho* to have been preſent, and to have commanded the army in perſon; but *Oroſius* tells us, that *Saul*, a pagan and barbarian, was veſted with the chief command; and that he, imagining the *Goths*, out of reſpect to their religion, (for they were for the moſt part chriſtians, tho' *Arians*) would not fight on *Eaſter-day*, attacked them on that ſolemn feſtival [r]. In the preſent year 403. *Eaſter* fell on the twenty-ninth of *March* [s]; which is agreeable to what we read in *Claudian*, *viz.* that the war of *Alaric* began and ended with the winter [t]. In the *Roman* army ſerved a body of *Alan* horſe, commanded by an officer of that nation, who advancing with more courage than prudence, was ſlain at the head of his men; which put them into no ſmall confuſion: but *Stilicho* coming ſeaſonably with the foot to their aſſiſtance, they rallied, and returned to the charge [u]. *Claudian* and *Prudentius* [w] ſuppoſe the battle to have been gained by the *Romans*; but *Caſſiodorus* in his chronicle writes, that *Stilicho* and the *Roman* army were defeated, and put to flight; and *Jornandes*, that the *Goths*, when ſurpriſed by *Stilicho*, betrayed no ſmall fear; but afterwards took courage, and put moſt of his men to the ſword, obliging the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight [x]. According to *Oroſius* the *Romans* gained the battle; but were overcome after the victory [y]. The *Romans*, while victorious, forced and plundered the enemy's camp, in which they found the ſpoils of ſeveral provinces, and the wife of *Alaric*, with his children and daughters-in-law, whom they took priſoners. *Alaric* was no ſooner informed of their misfortunes, than he ſent deputies to *Stilicho* to ſue for peace; which was readily granted him upon condition of his marching forthwith out of *Italy* [z]. Purſuant to this agreement, *Alaric* repaſſed the *Po*, and retired as far as *Verona*, where, in defiance of the late treaty, he began to plunder the country, and commit other acts of hoſtility. Hereupon *Stilicho* detached againſt him a ſtrong body of barbarians, by whom he was overcome, and obliged to take refuge amongſt the mountains. He endeavoured to paſs the *Alps*, and ſeize on *Gaul* or *Rhætia*; but found all the paſſes guarded by *Stilicho*, who kept him blocked up, till moſt of his men

Stilicho aſſembles an army,

And marches againſt Alaric.

The battle of Pollentia.

Alaric *ſues for peace.*

[i] Gyll. de Conſtant. geograph. l. iv. c. 7. p. 300. [k] Theoph. p. 66. [l] Vide Baudr. p. 60, 114. [m] Claud. bell. Get. p. 165—168. conf. Hon. 6. p. 186, 187. [n] Idem ibid. p. 170—180. [o] Idem, bell. Get. p. 171. [p] Plut. vit. Mar. p. 767. [q] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653. [r] Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. [s] Buch. cycl. [t] Claud. ibid. p. 160, 161. [u] Prud. in Sym. p. 243. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Jorn. ibid. [y] Oros. ibid. [z] Claud. p. 172. &. conf. Hon. p. 181, 182. Prud. ibid.

men forſaking him, and joining the *Romans*, he thought it adviſeable to withdraw in the night-time, and return through by-ways into *Pannonia*. Thus *Claudian* [a]. *Oroſius* writes, that the barbarians could not agree among themſelves; that the *Goths* were divided into two factions; and that the *Alans* and *Hunns*, who ſerved under *Alaric*, often quarrelled, and deſtroyed each other [b]. *Italy* being thus delivered from the barbarians, *Honorius*, to ſatisfy the ſenate and people of *Rome*, who, by frequent embaſſies, had intreated him to honour their city with his preſence, left *Ravenna*, and ſet out for that metropolis; which he entered in triumph, having *Stilicho* with him in the chariot, about the beginning of *December*. He was received with loud acclamations by the ſenate in a body, by the nobility and people in their beſt apparel.

Abandons Italy, *and returns to* Pannonia.

Honorius *enters* Rome *in triumph.*

b He would not ſuffer the ſenate to attend, according to cuſtom, his triumphal chariot on foot; but allowed his ſiſter *Placidia*, and *Eucherius* his brother-in-law, to pay him that honour [c]. While he was ſtill at *Ravenna*, he ſuppreſſed and utterly abo-

He aboliſhes the ſhews of gladiators.

liſhed the ſhews of gladiators, which, tho' forbidden by *Conſtantine the Great* in 325. had been tolerated by his ſucceſſors, even by *Theodoſius* himſelf, out of complaiſance to the people, fond beyond expreſſion of that inhuman diverſion [d]. *Theodoret* writes, that an anchoret, by name *Telemachus*, attempting to prevent the gladiators from engaging in the amphitheatre at *Rome*, whither he was for that purpoſe come out of the eaſt, was by the incenſed populace ſtoned to death; and hence *Honorius*, according to that writer, took occaſion to ſuppreſs thoſe ſports [e]. Be that as it will, they

c were forbidden after the battle of *Pollentia*, as appears from *Prudentius* [f], and before *Honorius*'s triumphal entry into *Rome*; ſince *Claudian*, in deſcribing the ſhews that were exhibited on that occaſion, makes no mention of gladiators [g].

The following year 404. *Honorius* was conſul the ſixth time, with *Ariſtænetus*, of whom we find no further mention in hiſtory. The empreſs *Eudoxia* died this year of a miſcarriage, on the ſixth of *October*, a few days after ſhe had prevailed upon the weak prince her huſband to baniſh St. *Chryſoſtom*, whom ſhe had for ſome time perſecuted with great bitterneſs, on account of his reflecting in his ſermons, as ſhe imagined, and perhaps not without reaſon, on her conduct, and his exclaiming againſt the profane ſports that were exhibited before her ſtatue, which ſtood near the

The empreſs Eudoxia *dies.*

d church. On the very day he left *Conſtantinople*, a fire broke out in the great church, which intirely conſumed it, with the palace where the ſenate uſed to aſſemble, and the neighbouring edifices. This calamity was imputed to the exiled biſhop's friends, and ſeveral of them were thrown into priſon, and racked to death. But of theſe violent proceedings againſt *Chryſoſtom* and his friends, the reader will find a diſtinct account in the eccleſiaſtic writers [h]. The empreſs was interred on the twelfth of *October*, in the church of the *Apoſtles*, where her tomb was to be ſeen many ages after [i]. Before her death the *Hunns* had broken into *Thrace*, and the *Iſaurian* robbers commit-

Moſt of the eaſtern provinces ravaged by Iſaurian *robbers.*

ted great diſorders in *Aſia* and *Syria*. The former having pillaged great part of *Thrace* and eaſt *Illyricum*, retired of their own accord beyond the *Danube*, loaded

e with booty [k]. Againſt the latter was ſent *Arbazacius*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces, and ſhut them up on all ſides; but ſuffered them in the end to eſcape, being bribed by the large ſums they offered him [l]. *Suidas*, who calls him a native of *Iſauria*, and a few lines after an *Armenian*, ſays, that, from his inſatiable rapaciouſneſs and avarice, he was nicknamed *Harpazacius*, or the *Harpy* [m]. The *Iſaurians*, having now nothing to fear from *Arbazacius*, over-ran the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, *Piſidia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Lower Syria*, extending their ravages to the frontiers of *Perſia* on one ſide, and to the *Euxine* ſea on the other, ranſacking every-where, and pillaging the open country, with the villages, and unfortified towns. They even paſſed over into the iſland of *Cyprus*, and cauſed a general con-

f ſternation in *Phœnicia*, *Caria*, *Judea*, and *Jeruſalem* itſelf; inſomuch that the people were every-where buſied in building walls, in preparing arms, and putting themſelves in a poſture of defence: but, upon the approach of winter, they withdrew to their inacceſſible mountains, with an immenſe booty, which they took care to ſhare with *Arbazacius* [n]. In the weſt, *Honorius* began his ſixth conſulſhip at *Rome*, which is the

Honorius *his* ſubject *ſixth conſulſhip.*

[a] Claud. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 178—183. [b] Oros. p. 221. [c] Claud. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 188, 189. [d] Socr. l i. c. 18. p. 48. Soz. l. i. c. 8. p. 411. Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 11. leg. 2. p. 395. [e] Theod. l. v. c. 26. p. 741. [f] Prud. in Symm. l. ii. p. 242 [g] Claud. in conſ. Hon. 6. p. 190, 191. [h] Socr. l. v. c. 4. p. 34. & l. vi. c. 4. p. 16. Pallad. vit. Chryſ. [i] Cedr. p. 334. Chron. Alex. p. 714. Cange de Conſtant. l. iv. p. 110. [k] Soz. l. viii. c. 25. p. 793. Philost. l. xi. p. 530. [l] Zos. l. v. p. 802. Chrys. ep. 120. p. 754. [m] Suid. p. 412. [n] Theod. vit. patr. c. 10, 21. p. 828. 865. Zos. p. 802. Pallad. dial. vii. p. 147. Chrys. ep. xiv. p. 683, 684.

ſubject of the poem that *Claudian* pronounced on occaſion of that ſolemnity [o]. The emperor continued at *Rome* at leaſt till the fifteenth of *July*, as appears from the dates of his laws. From *Rome* he returned to *Ravenna*, and there fixed his reſidence, notwithſtanding the earneſt entreaties of the inhabitants of *Milan* inviting him back to their city. From this time *Ravenna* became the ſeat of the weſtern or *Roman* empire; whence the country in which it ſtood was called *Romania*, which name it ſtill retains (N).

The ſeat of the weſtern empire transferred to Ravenna.

THE next conſuls were *Stilicho* the ſecond time, and *Anthemius*, who was ſoon after appointed prefect of the eaſt, and is mightily commended by St. *Chryſoſtom* [p]. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of him in the reign of *Theodoſius* II. This year the *Mazichi* and *Auxoriani*, two nations of barbarians inhabiting the country between *Cyrenaica* and *Tripolitana*, laid waſte great part of *Egypt* [q]. *Arcadius* was on the twelfth of *June* at *Nice*; on the tenth and twenty-third of *July*, and twelfth of *Auguſt*, at *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, whence he returned in the beginning of autumn to *Conſtantinople* [r]. This year *Italy* was again alarmed with a ſudden irruption of barbarians, led by *Radagaiſus*, or *Rhodogaiſus*, as the *Greeks* ſtyle him. He was one of the kings or chiefs of the *Goths*, a pagan by religion, and a ſworn enemy to the *Roman* name [s]. He is by ſome writers ſtyled king of the *Hunns* [t]. He entered *Italy*, as we have obſerved above, with *Alaric* in the year 400. but returning afterwards beyond the *Danube*, he aſſembled an army, conſiſting, according to *Zoſimus* [u], of four hundred thouſand, according to *Oroſius* and *Marcellinus* [w], of two hundred thouſand barbarians, of the various nations dwelling beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, who were then all blended under the common name of *Goths* [x]. The commanders, who were diſtinguiſhed with the title of *lords*, amounted, according to *Photius* a contemporary writer, to the number of twelve hundred [y]. With this formidable hoſt he broke ſuddenly into *Italy*, vowing to ſacrifice to his gods, ſays *Oroſius*, all the *Roman* blood he could ſhed [z]. The news of his approach threw all *Italy*, and *Rome* itſelf, into the utmoſt conſternation. As *Radagaiſus* was a zealous worſhipper of the gods, and ſacrificed every morning to *Jupiter*, the pagans in *Rome* gave out, that he would, without all doubt, prevail, not ſo much by his numerous forces, as the protection of the gods, whom the ungrateful *Romans* had baniſhed from a city, which they had ſo often defended. Unleſs the antient religion, ſaid they, be reſtored and chriſtianity, the only cauſe of our calamities, utterly aboliſhed, the city muſt fall into the hands of the barbarians, who have the gods on their ſide, whom we have forſaken [a]. With theſe complaints the whole city was filled, and the name of Chriſt every-where blaſphemed, as the true cauſe of the preſent calamities [b]. In the mean time *Stilicho*, having aſſembled at *Pavia* all the *Roman* forces, amounting to thirty legions, and reinforced them with great numbers of *Goths*, *Hunns* and *Alans*, under the command of *Sarus* a *Goth*, and *Uldin* king of the *Hunns*, he left that place, bending his march towards *Hetruria*, where *Radagaiſus* was buſied in the ſiege of *Florence*, which city was

Radagaiſus *enters* Italy *with a numerous army.*

[o] Claud. conſ. Hon. 6. p. 191. [p] Chrys. ep. 147. p. 780. [q] Philost. l. xi. c. 8. p. 350, 351. [r] Cod. Theod. chron. p 148. [s] Aug in pſal. cv. c. 10. p. 547. [t] Prosp. chron. [u] Zos. l. v. p. 803. [w] Oros. l. vii c. 37. p. 222. [x] Zos. Oros. ibid. [y] Phot. c. 80. p. 180. [z] Oros. ibid. [a] Aug. p. 547. Oros. ibid. [b] Aug. de civit. Dei, l. v. c. 23. p. 83.

(N) The city of *Ravenna* is ſaid by ſome to have been founded by the *Theſſalians*; but *Pliny* calls it a colony of the *Sabines*. It was once reckoned amongſt the cities of *Umbria*; but afterwards became the capital of a particular province, called *Flaminia*, and belonging to *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and the vicarſhip of *Italy* (1). It was incloſed on all ſides, either by the ſea, by an arm of the *Po*, conveyed thither by *Auguſtus*, or by marſhes, through which there was but one way, and that very narrow, leading to the city; ſo that it was, in a manner, a peninſula, and acceſſible only on one ſide (2). The ſea waſhed the walls of the city, and formed a ſpacious harbour, in which two hundred and fifty ſhips could ride ſafe (3). *Auguſtus*, and after him ſeveral other emperors, kept conſtantly two fleets for the defence of *Italy*, one of which was ſtationed at *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic*, and the other at *Miſenum* on the *Mediterranean* ſea. But *Jornandes*, who was biſhop of *Ravenna* about the middle of the ſixth century, tells us, that the harbour was then become a garden, and the city divided into three quarters, or rather cities, of which the higheſt was called *Ravenna*, the ſecond, in which was probably the imperial palace, *Cæſarea*, and the third *Claſſis*, becauſe in that place, then diſtant three miles from *Ravenna*, was formerly the harbour with the fleet (4). A city, thus ſituated amidſt waters and marſhes, could not be healthy; but, on the other ſide, it could not be eaſily attacked, and might with great eaſe be ſuccoured by ſea, affording at the ſame time a ſafe retreat into the eaſt when it could be no longer maintained. Theſe reaſons, without all doubt, prompted *Honorius* to fix the ſeat of the empire there, notwithſtanding the preſſing and reiterated remonſtrances of the inhabitants of *Milan* and *Rome*.

(1) *Vide Ughell.* p. 319—325. (2) *Jorn. rer. Goth.* c. 29. p. 652. (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Idem ibid.*

a was already reduced to the utmoſt extremity. As *Stilicho* came unexpectedly upon the enemy, he immediately ordered the *Hunns*, and other auxiliaries, to fall upon one of the three bodies into which he found their army divided. His orders were executed, and an hundred thouſand of the enemy cut in pieces, without the loſs of one man on the ſide of the *Romans* [c]. Thus St. *Auſtin*, *Zoſimus* and *Proſper*. *Radagaiſus* retired with the reſt to the neighbouring mountains of *Feſulæ*, where he was cloſely beſieged by *Stilicho*, and reduced, with his numerous army, to ſuch extremity, that he attempted to eſcape ſecretly, and leave his men to the mercy of the *Romans*; but as all the paſſes were well guarded, he fell into *Stilicho*'s hands, and was by his orders put to death ſoon after. His men, finding themſelves abandoned by b their leader, and deſtitute of all manner of proviſions, ſubmitted to the *Romans* in ſuch numbers, that they were ſold like beaſts, in droves, at a crown a head [d]; but as by the famine that had raged among them while ſhut up in the mountains, they had contracted an ill ſtate of health, they all died in a few days. *Oroſius* [e] and St. *Auſtin* [f] aſcribe this victory to a miracle.

Which is defeated by Stilicho,

And he himſelf taken priſoner, and put to death.

THE following year *Arcadius* was conſul the ſixth time, with *Anicius Probus*, the younger brother of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, conſuls in 395 [g]. A dreadful fire happened this year at *Conſtantinople* on the twenty-fifth of *October* [h]; and *Paleſtine* was infeſted with ſuch multitudes of graſhoppers, as quite darkned the ſky, and turned day into night. St. *Jerom*, who was then compoſing his comments on the prophet c *Joel*, writes, that, after they had done great miſchief, they were driven by the wind, partly into the *Dead* ſea, partly into the *Mediterranean*, and thrown ſoon after on both ſhores in ſuch heaps, that they infected the air, and occaſioned a plague [i]. This year *Arcadius* enacted, amongſt ſeveral others, a law dated the twenty-eighth of *April*, threatening with death, not only the authors of libels, but ſuch as ſhould read ſuch defamatory writings, without tearing or burning them [k]. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Ravenna*, where he enacted a law dated the ſeventeenth of *April*, encouraging all perſons, whether free-men or ſlaves, to take arms in defence of their country, and promiſing to the latter their liberty, to the former three pieces of gold to be paid immediately, and ſeven more after the war [l]. This law was, without all d doubt, occaſioned by the motions of the northern nations, who, on the laſt day of this year 406. entered *Gaul*, and fixing their abode there, gave beginning to the utter ruin of the *Roman* empire in the weſt. *Oroſius*, *Marcellinus*, *Tyro Proſper*, and St. *Jerom*, aſſure us, that they were ſtirred up, and invited into *Gaul* by *Stilicho*, who even ſupplied them with large ſums, hoping, by their means, to raiſe his ſon *Eucherius* to the empire [m]. The barbarians who, at his inſtigation, broke into *Gaul* this year, were the *Alans*, the *Vandals*, and the *Suevians*. The *Vandals*, in attempting to croſs the *Rhine*, were attacked by the *Franks*, who cut twenty thouſand of them in pieces, with their king *Godigiſcles*, and would have put them all to the ſword, had not the *Alans* and *Suevians*, haſtening to their aſſiſtance, obliged the *Franks* to retire. Upon e their retreat, the barbarians paſſed the *Rhine* without oppoſition, and entered *Gaul*. Thus *Gregory* of *Tours*, upon the authority of an antient writer named *Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus* [n]. The *Vandals* appointed *Gonderic* or *Gontharius*, the ſon of *Godigiſcles*, king in his room [o]. The following year, when *Honorius* was conſul the ſeventh time, and *Theodoſius* the ſecond, the eaſtern empire enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but in the weſt the *Vandals*, *Alans* and *Suevians*, committed dreadful ravages in *Gaul*, where they were joined by the *Burgundians*, and many other nations, ſtirred up, ſays *Oroſius* [p], by *Stilicho*. The firſt city that felt their fury was *Mentz*, which they took by ſtorm, and levelled with the ground, after having inhumanly maſſacred many thouſands of the inhabitants in the churches, to which they had fled for f refuge. *Worms* held out for a conſiderable time; but was in the end taken, and laid in aſhes. *Strasbourg* and *Spires* underwent the ſame fate. Thence they marched to *Rheims*, to *Tournay*, to *Amiens*, to *Arras*, made themſelves maſters of all *Aquitain*, *Gaſcony*, the provinces of *Lions* and *Narbonne*, and extended their ravages from the *Alps* to the ocean, the governors of the provinces having no troops to oppoſe them [q];

Paleſtine *infeſted with multitudes of graſhoppers.*

The Alans, *the* Vandals, *and* Suevians, *break into* Gaul.

And take ſeveral cities.

for

[c] Aug. ibid. Zos. p. 803. [d] Aug. ibid. Oros. p. 222. Marc. chron. [e] Oros. ibid. [f] Aug. civ. dei. p. 63. [g] Idat. & Hier in Am. l. iii. p. 99. [h] Chron. Alex. p. 714. [k] Hier. in Joel. c. 2. p. 60. [k] Cod. Theod. l ix. tit. 34. leg. 10. p. 246. [l] Idem, l. vii. tit. 13. leg. 16, 17. p. 387, 388. [m] Oros. ibid. Hier. ep. 11. p. 93. Mar. Prosp. in chron [n] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62. [o] Idem ibid. & Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 184. [p] Oros. ibid. [q] Hier. ep. 11. p. 95.

for *Stilicho* had withdrawn, as we have related above, the forces that guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, on occaſion of the war with *Alaric*. The whole country, ſays St. *Jerom*, writing about this time, between the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, between the *Rhine* and the ocean, is over-run and pillaged by the *Quadi*, the *Vandals*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Alans*, the *Gepidæ*, the *Heruli*, the *Saxons*, the *Burgundians*, and the *Alemans* [r]. In the mean time the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain*, apprehending the barbarians would, after the intire reduction of *Gaul*, croſs the ſea, and, jointly with the *Scots* and *Iriſh*, fall upon them, and expecting no aſſiſtance from *Honorius*, reſolved to ſet up an emperor of their own; and accordingly conferred that dignity on one *Mark*, whom after a few days they murdered, upon ſome diſlike, and placed *Gratian*, a native of *Britain*, in his room [s]. *Gratian*, after a ſhort reign of four months, underwent the ſame fate, and was ſucceeded by *Conſtantine*, a common ſoldier, who was choſen merely for the ſake of his name, which was common to him with *Conſtantine the great*, who being advanced to the imperial dignity in *Britain*, had made himſelf maſter of the whole empire, and governed it with great proſperity and ſucceſs [t]. The new prince, immediately after his promotion, paſſed over into *Gaul*, taking with him all the *Roman* forces quartered in the iſland, and the flower of the *Britiſh* youth; by which means the country, thus left quite naked and defenceleſs, was not long after obliged to ſubmit to the yoke of new lords. *Conſtantine* landed at *Bologne*, and continued there, till he was joined by the *Roman* troops, who were diſperſed up and down *Gaul*, and who choſe rather to ſubmit to him, than to the barbarians. Hereupon *Limenius*, prefect of *Gaul*, and *Cariobaudes*, commander of the *Roman* forces, fled into *Italy*, leaving the barbarians to waſte the country on one ſide, and *Conſtantine* to purſue his ſucceſs on the other [u]. *Honorius*, who was at *Rome* when news of this revolt was brought him, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to *Stilicho* then at *Ravenna*, who haſtening to *Rome*, ordered *Sarus*, by nation a *Goth*, but an officer of known valour, bold and enterpriſing, to march with a ſufficient force into *Gaul*, and make head againſt the uſurper. *Sarus* was met on the frontiers of *Gaul* by *Juſtin*, one of *Conſtantine*'s commanders, whom he eaſily defeated and killed, after having put to the ſword the greateſt part of his forces. He then led his men, encouraged with this ſucceſs, to beſiege *Valence* in *Dauphiny*, whither the uſurper had retired. Upon his approach, *Conſtantine* ſent *Neobigaſtes*, another of his generals, to treat with him of an accommodation; but him *Sarus* cauſed to be murdered, contrary to the law of nations, and the aſſurances he had given him [w]; but *Conſtantine* having placed, in the room of the two generals he had loſt, *Edobincus* and *Gerontius*, the former a *Gaul*, the latter of *Britain*, *Sarus*, ſays *Zoſimus* with little appearance of truth, dreading their courage and experience, raiſed the ſiege of *Valence*, and retired in great haſte. *Conſtantine*'s army purſued him to the *Alps*, over which he was obliged to purchaſe a paſſage of the *Bagaudæ*, by quitting to them all his booty [x]. However that be, it is certain, that *Sarus* raiſed the ſiege, and repaſſing the *Alps* with his army, returned to *Italy*. Upon his retreat, *Conſtantine* fixed his reſidence at *Arles* [y], overcame the barbarians in ſeveral battles, and in the end forced them to ſue for peace; which he granted, without obliging them to quit *Gaul*, probably becauſe he deſigned to maintain himſelf by their means in his uſurped power [z]. Theſe diſturbances did not prevent *Honorius* from enacting this year ſevere laws againſt the *Donatiſts*, *Manichees*, *Phrygians*, *Priſcillianiſts*, and all ſectaries in general [a].

The Romans *in* Britain *revolt, and ſet up* Conſtantine *for emperor;*

Who paſſes over into Gaul, *which ſubmits to him.*

His army defeated by Sarus, *and he himſelf beſieged in* Valence.

The ſiege raiſed.

Conſtantine *maſter of all* Gaul.

The following year 408. when *Anicius Baſſus* and *Flavius Philippus* were conſuls, is remarkable for many memorable events. In the eaſt died at *Conſtantinople* on the firſt of *May* the emperor *Arcadius*, after having lived thirty-one years, and reigned twelve years with his father, and fourteen after his death [b], or rather thirteen years, three months, and fourteen days. He was buried near the empreſs *Eudoxia*, in the church of the *Apoſtles* [c], where their tombs of porphyry were to be ſeen ſeveral ages after [d]. He left behind him but one ſon, *viz. Theodoſius*, then eight years old, but juſt weaned, ſays *Sozomen* [e]. We ſhall examine elſewhere what we read in *Procopius*, *viz.* that *Arcadius* by his laſt will appointed *Iſdegerdes*, king of *Perſia*, guardian

Arcadius *dies.*

His iſſue.

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Soz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813. Phot. c. 80. p. 180. [t] Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. Bed. hiſt. gent. Aug. l. i. c. 10. p. 12. Soz. Zos. ibid. [u] Oros. Soz. Zos. ibid. Phot. p. 181. [w] Zos. p. 803, 804. Phot. p. 181. Oros. p. 223. Soz. ibid. [x] Zos. p. 824. [y] Idem, p. 807. [z] Oros. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. [a] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 40. p. 160. leg. 48. p. 168, 169 leg. 41. p. 160, &c. [b] Theod. l ii. p. 568. Socr. l. vi. c. 23. p. 332. [c] Theod. ibid. [d] Cange de Conſt. l. iv. p. 110. [e] Soz. l. ix. c. 1. p. 799. Chron. Alex. p. 712.

dian to the young prince. We have obſerved in the hiſtory of his reign, that he
a had four daughters, *Flaccilla*, *Pulcheria*, *Arcadia*, and *Marina*: *Flaccilla* is never mentioned by hiſtorians but on occaſion of her birth; whence we may conclude, that ſhe died ſoon after. The other three embraced the ſtate of virginity, and led exemplary lives [f]. They were all ſtyled queens, as appears from the councils [g]; but only by courteſy; for, excepting *Pulcheria*, who was declared *Auguſta* in 414. they had no other title but that of *moſt noble*. *Arcadia* and *Marina* built a palace at *Conſtantinople*, which for many ages retained their name. The former built likewiſe a church in honour of St. *Andrew*, which was many ages after, when become a monaſtery, rebuilt by *Theodora*, the niece of *Michael Paleologus* [h]. *Arcadia* died in 444. and
b *Marina* on the third of *Auguſt* 449 [i]. *Arcadius* himſelf was a prince naturally inclined to virtue, and an enemy to vice, but of very ſlender parts, and therefore intirely governed, and ſhamefully impoſed upon, by his miniſters, and the empreſs, who abuſed his authority to oppreſs the people in a moſt deſpotic and tyrannical manner. To return to the weſt: *Conſtantine*, having reduced all *Gaul* to his obedience, ſent a body of troops into *Spain*, in order to oppoſe *Didymius* and *Verianus* or *Verinianus*, who having aſſembled the few troops that were quartered in that province, and reinforced them with ſuch ſlaves and peaſants as were willing to take arms, had ſeized on the paſſes of the *Pyrenees*. *Didymius* and *Verinianus* were brothers, natives of *Spain*, and nearly allied to *Honorius*, for whom they openly declared, while
c moſt of the cities of that province were ready to revolt from him, and ſubmit to the uſurper [k]. The troops that were firſt ſent againſt them not being able to open themſelves a paſſage through the *Pyrenees*, which were carefully guarded by the two brothers, *Conſtantine* obliged his eldeſt ſon, by name *Conſtans*, who profeſſed a monaſtic life, to quit his retirement, created him *Cæſar*, and diſpatched him with the flower of his army, commanded by *Gerontius*, an experienced officer, into *Spain*. *Didymius* and *Verinianus* defended the paſſes for ſome time with great reſolution and intrepidity; but being overpowered with numbers, were in the end obliged to retire. *Conſtans* purſued them cloſe; and coming up with them in *Luſitania*, now *Portugal*, cut moſt of their men in pieces, and took both them and their wives priſoners.
d Upon the news of their defeat and captivity, their brothers *Theodoſius* or *Theodoſiolus*, and *Lagodus*, who had taken arms in another province, abandoned *Spain* to the uſurper, and retired, the former to the court of *Honorius*, and the latter to that of *Theodoſius*, who had ſucceeded his father *Arcadius* in the empire of the eaſt [l]. *Conſtans*, having thus reduced all *Spain*, and appointed *Gerontius* to command the army and guard the *Pyrenees*, returned to *Gaul*, where he preſented the two illuſtrious captives to his father, who immediately ordered them to be privately put to death. To reward his ſon for his eminent ſervices, he created him *Auguſtus*, honouring him, ſays *Zoſimus* [m], with a diadem. At the ſame time he ſent a ſolemn deputation
e to *Honorius*, excuſing his revolt, as if he had been forced by the ſoldiery to accept of the ſovereignty, and demanding to be acknowledged by him as his partner in the empire. *Honorius*, not finding himſelf in a condition to make war upon the uſurper, thought it adviſable to comply with his requeſt; and accordingly ſent him the imperial purple, honouring him, at the ſame time, with the title of *Auguſtus*, [n]. *Italy* was at this time threatened with a new invaſion of the barbarians, under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*, who, at the inſtigation of *Stilicho*, leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been granted to him and his *Goths*, paſſed unexpectedly the *Alps*, and breaking into *Noricum*, threatened to invade *Italy*, and lay all waſte before him, unleſs a certain ſum, which he pretended to be due to him and his troops, were immediately ſent him. Upon this demand, *Honorius*, who was
f then at *Rome*, aſſembled the ſenate, when ſeveral ſenators of great diſtinction were for rejecting his demand, and marching the army without delay againſt him, urging, that to comply with an arrogant and unreaſonable demand was not buying a peace, but ſigning a contract of perpetual ſlavery. However *Stilicho*, who maintained a private correſpondence with *Alaric* and his party, pleading with great warmth in his favour, as if the money he demanded were really due, it was agreed, that four thouſand pounds weight of gold ſhould be ſent him. *Lampadius*, who had with great

His character.

Conſtans, *the ſon of* Conſtantine, *declar'd* Cæſar.

He reduces all Spain, *and is declared* Auguſtus.

Honorius *acknowledges* Conſtantine *for his collegue*

Alaric *threatens* Italy.

The money he demanded is liberty *ſent him.*

[f] Soz. l. ix. c. 5. p. 804. [g] Concil. tom. iii. p. 105. [h] Cange ibid. l. iv. p. 111, 112.
[i] Man. chron. & chron. Al. p. 734. [k] Zos. l. vi. p. 826. Oros. l. vi. c. 40. p. 223. Soz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813. Phot. p. 184. [l] Zos. p. 830. Soz. Phot. Oros. ibid. Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62.
[m] Zos. ibid. [n] Idem, p. 818. Phot. p. 180. Greg. Tur. ibid.

liberty of ſpeech oppoſed this motion, and by that means incurred the diſpleaſure of *Stilicho*, as ſoon as the ſenate broke up, took ſanctuary in a neighbouring church [o]. A few days after *Honorius*, leaving *Rome*, ſet out for *Bononia*; whence, after a ſhort ſtay, he removed to *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, attended by one *Olympius*, who, by an outward ſhew of chriſtian piety, ſays *Zoſimus*, had gained the confidence of the emperor, and was by him employed about his perſon. As every one was now well appriſed of the wicked deſigns of *Stilicho*, *Olympius*, thought h mſelf obliged to diſcloſe them to the emperor, which he did accordingly on the road from *Bologna* to *Pavia*, and ſo throughly convinced him of the treachery of his miniſter, that the prince, awaked, as it were, out of a deep lethargy, no ſooner arrived at *Pavia*, than he diſpatched an expreſs to *Ravenna*, where *Stilicho* then was, with two different orders, the one commanding him to be ſecured, and the other to be put to death. Upon the arrival of the meſſenger, *Stilicho* took ſanctuary in a church; but the next day, being in the preſence of the biſhop aſſured by the ſoldiers upon oath, that they had orders only to arreſt him, he left his aſylum, and delivered himſelf into their hands; which he had ſcarce done, when the meſſenger produced the warrant for his death; whereupon he was beheaded the ſame day, the twenty-third of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 408 [p]. It was no ſooner known at *Pavia*, that the emperor had ordered him to be arreſted, than the army encamped there, encouraged by *Olympius*, ſays *Zoſimus* [q], flew to arms, and in a tumultuous manner ſlew all thoſe who were known to be well-affected to the diſgraced general, and amongſt the reſt *Limenius*, prefect of *Gaul*, *Chariobaudes*, commander of the troops in the ſame province, who had both been lately driven out of that province by *Conſtantine*, *Longinianus*, formerly prefect of *Italy*, *Vincentius*, general of the horſe, *Salvius* and *Petronius*, the one *comes domeſticorum*, the other *comes largitionum*, another *Salvius*, who was quæſtor, *Nemorius*, then *magiſter officiorum*, and many other perſons of great diſtinction [r]. All authors, except *Zoſimus* and the poet *Claudian*, agree, that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, *viz.* that he maintained a private correſpondence with *Alaric*; that he invited the barbarians into *Gaul*, hoping the emperor would reward his eminent ſervices, after he had driven them out, with aſſuming him for his collegue; that he had formed a deſign of murdering the two princes *Honorius* and *Theodoſius*, and ſeizing on both empires for himſelf; that by a portion given to *Honorius*, he prevented his having any iſſue, *&c.* But *Zoſimus* pretends theſe crimes to have been all feigned by his enemies, in order to prejudice *Honorius* againſt him, and procure his ruin, to which the credulous prince in the end conſented. The ſame writer adds, that after his death ſeveral of his friends were cruelly tortured, and amongſt the reſt *Deuterus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, and *Peter* his chief ſecretary, who died on the rack without owning any of the ſeveral charges that were brought againſt him or them as privy to his wicked deſigns [s]. *Stilicho* profeſſed the chriſtian religion; but his ſon *Eucherius* was not only a pagan, but a profeſſed enemy to the chriſtians; nay, he uſed to brag amongſt the pagans, ſays *Oroſius*, who wrote about that time, that if he ever attained the empire, he would ſignalize the beginning of his reign with the re-eſtabliſhment of the pagan, and utter extirpation of the chriſtian ceremonies [t]. If what that author writes be true, the partiality which *Zoſimus*, a zealous patron of paganiſm, ſhews for *Stilicho* and *Eucherius*, may be eaſily accounted for. The emperor had married in the beginning of this year *Thermantia*, *Stilicho*'s ſecond daughter, *Maria*, his eldeſt daughter, whom *Honorius* had married in 398. being dead ſome years before [u]; perhaps when the emperor was at *Rome*, in 404. for her body was diſcovered in the *Vatican* church on the fourth of *February* 1544. with ſeveral things of great value: her body, when expoſed to the air, mouldered away; but the gold of her garments remaining, when the reſt fell to aſhes, weighed thirty-ſix pounds [w]. *Honorius* married *Thermantia* at *Rome*, where the match was concluded by *Serena*, alledging, ſays *Zoſimus*, to her huſband *Stilicho*, who was averſe to it as inceſtuous, that the other ſiſter died a virgin [x]. Upon the death of *Stilicho*, *Honorius* divorced his daughter, and ſent her back untouched to her mother *Serena* [y]. *Zoſimus* writes, that ſhe died ſoon after; but, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*,

Stilicho *diſgraced, and put to death.*

Several of his friends are cut in pieces by the army.

Stilicho *ſuppoſed by ſome guilty, by others innocent.*

Honorius *divorces his daughter* Thermantia.

[o] Zos. p. 805. Philost. l. xii. c. 2. p. 532. Rutil. l. ii. p. 142. [p] Zos. p. 810. Soz. l. ix. c. 4. p. 806. Oros. l. vii. c. 38. p. 222. [q] Zos. p. 808, 809. [r] Zos. Socr. Oros. ibid [s] Zos. p. 811, 819. [t] Oros. p. 222. [u] Zos. p. 804. Phot c. 80. p. 177. [w] Anaſt. Childerici, p. 53. Aringhii Rom. ſubterr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 173. Mabill. iter. Italic. p. 145. [x] Ros. p. 804. [y] Idem, p. 811, 804.

a *dria*, news of her death was brought to *Conſtantinople* on *Friday* the thirtieth of *July* 415 [z]. Her body too was found in the *Vatican* in 1543. adorned with the imperial robes, and all the enſigns of majeſty [a]. As for *Eucherius*, when he heard the news of his father's death, he fled to a church for protection; but being dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to *Rome*, and there executed [b]. Thus were the empire, ſays *Oroſius* [c], and the church, by the death of a few perſons, delivered from the wicked attempts of their enemies. However, we could wiſh for the reputation of *Honorius*, a pious and well-meaning prince, that the pretended criminals had been tried in due form; for ſuch as ſuffer without being heard, have a right to be deemed innocent. All the eccleſiaſtic writers ſup-

b poſe *Stilicho* to have been guilty; but the crimes laid to his charge were never proved either in his life-time, or after his death; and hence *Zoſimus* looks upon them as falſe imputations and groundleſs ſuſpicions. *Stilicho*'s eſtate was confiſcated, and likewiſe the eſtates of all his avowed partizans, and of ſuch as had been preferred by him for money [d]; and *Heliocrates* was ſent to *Rome* to ſeize them, which commiſſion he diſcharged with great humanity and good-nature, warning underhand thoſe who were the leaſt guilty to remove their effects out of the way: but his moderation coſt him dear; for he was not only deprived of his commiſſion, but ſent in bonds to *Ravenna*, and would have been put to death, had he not found means to eſcape out of priſon, and ſave himſelf in a church [e]. Such was the end of *Stilicho*,

c after he had commanded in chief the *Roman* armies for the ſpace of twenty-three years. He was no doubt a perſon of extraordinary qualities, a great ſtateſman, a valiant ſoldier, and experienced officer. He gained ſuch an aſcendant over *Honorius*, who was blindly guided by his counſels, that, till the time of his diſgrace, he governed with a more abſolute ſway, than the emperor himſelf. *Zoſimus*, however partial to his memory, accuſes him of rapine and oppreſſion, of great partiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and of conveying by degrees into his own coffers the whole wealth of the empire [f]. *Stilicho* was ſucceeded in the adminiſtration by *Olympius*, the chief author of his ruin. he was a native of the country bordering on the *Euxine* ſea, and not only profeſſed the chriſtian religion, but outwardly affected

d an extraordinary piety, ſays *Zoſimus* [g], inſinuating thereby, that his piety was counterfeit: but St. *Auſtin* entertained a very favourable opinion of him, as appears from the commendations he beſtows upon him [h]; as did likewiſe *Symmachus*, tho' a zealous pagan [i]. *Olympiodorus* writes, that he owed his firſt preferment to *Stilicho*, who recommended him to *Honorius* [k]; which would render the return he made that miniſter highly criminal, if he had any thing in view but the public welfare. He had in *Stilicho*'s life-time a conſiderable employment at court, and was after his death raiſed to the poſt of *magiſter officiorum*, or ſteward of the emperor's houſhold, one of the greateſt employments in the ſtate [l]. Soon after his promotion, he wrote to St. *Auſtin*, deſiring that zealous prelate to ſuggeſt to him from time to time what

e he thought would conduce to the good of the church [m]. In the very beginning of his adminiſtration, he cauſed ſeveral laws to be enacted againſt the pagans, *Jews*, and heretics, eſpecially the *Donatiſts* in *Africa* [n]. By a law dated the fourteenth of *November*, all thoſe who were not of the catholic communion, or did not conform to the religion of the prince, were excluded from all employments at court [o]. When this law was enacted, one of the chiefs of the barbarians in the *Roman* ſervice, reſigned his command; and his example, if *Zoſimus* is to be credited [p], was followed by many others, who were either pagans or *Arians*. Amongſt the ſeveral laws of this year, relating both to civil and eccleſiaſtical matters, one was enacted forbidding all perſons of quality to trade, not that trade was by any means looked upon as degrade-

f ing, but becauſe others, in dealing with men of power and authority, were liable to be injured by them without redreſs [q].

Eucherius, *his ſon, executed.*

Stilicho's *eſtate confiſcated.*

His character.

Olympius *prime miniſter.*

He favours the church.

When the *Roman* ſoldiers, quartered in the cities of *Italy*, heard of *Stilicho*'s death, they flew to arms, and, out of hatred to him, inhumanly murdered the wives and children of the barbarians, whom he had taken into the ſervice, and whom they

The wives and children of the barbarians in the Roman *ſervice murdered.*

[z] Chron. Al. p. 716. [a] Aringh. Mabill. ibid. [b] Philos. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. Zos. p. 813. [c] Oros. p. 222. [d] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 20. p. 319. [e] Zos. p. 811, 819. [f] Idem, p. 780, 789. [g] Idem, p. 810, 811. [h] Aug. ep. cxxiv, cxxix. p. 242, 245. [i] Sym. l. ix. ep. 60. p. 362. [k] Phot. c. 80. p. 177. [l] Zos. p. 808. [m] Aug. ep. cxxix. p. 245. [n] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 44. p. 165. [o] Idem ibid. leg. 42. p. 163. [p] Zos. l. v. p. 820. [q] Cod. Juſt. l. iv. tit. 63. leg. 3. p. 395.

on that account looked upon as privy to his wicked designs, as public enemies. The a barbarians, highly provoked at this unheard-of cruelty, vowed revenge; and quitting the emperor's service, retired, to the number of thirty thousand and upwards, to *Alaric*, who, tho' thus reinforced, sent deputies to *Honorius*, offering to conclude, a lasting peace with him, and never more to disturb the tranquillity of the empire, provided he would send him a sufficient sum to pay his army their arrears [s]. *Honorius* refusing to comply with his demand, he dispatched an express to *Athulphus* or *Athaulphus*, his brother-in-law, who was quartered on the frontiers of *Pannonia*, ordering him to hasten with his troops, consisting of *Goths* and *Huns*, into *Italy*. In the mean time, *Alaric* himself advancing with long marches from *Noricum* to the *Po*, crossed that river without opposition; and passing in sight of *Ravenna*, where the b emperor then was, pursued his march almost without halting till he arrived at *Rome*, which he immediately invested, blocking up all the roads and avenues leading to it, and placing guards at the mouth and on the banks of the *Tiber*, to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies or provisions by water [t]. By this means the city, which was crouded with people, was soon reduced to great distress: a famine began to rage, which was attended with a plague, arising from the great number of dead bodies that lay in the streets unburied [u]. *Olympiodorus* writes, that the unhappy citizens were reduced to the fatal necessity of feeding upon human flesh, and devouring each other [w]; and *Zosimus*, that they were almost brought to that extremity [x]. During this calamity, the pagans, and among the rest *Pompeianus*, prefect c of the city, began to cry aloud, that recourse ought to be had to the gods of their ancestors, who had so often relieved the city, and delivered it from the greatest dangers. *Zosimus* adds, that *Innocent*, at that time bishop of *Rome*, consented to their offering sacrifices to the gods, provided it were done privately; but that they were, notwithstanding his consent, afraid to perform the ceremony [y]. *Sozomen* writes, that, at the instigation of some *Hetruscan* aruspices, they actually revived the ancient sacrifices; which were so far from relieving the city, that thenceforth it laboured under greater difficulties than ever [z]. Be that as it will, the unhappy citizens were in the end obliged to send out deputies to treat with *Alaric*. These were *Basilius*, who had been prefect of *Rome* in 395. and *John*, the emperor's first secretary. d *Alaric* hearkened to their proposals, and agreed to raise the siege, and ever after continue faithful to the *Romans*, upon their delivering up hostages, and paying to him five thousand pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand of silver, four thousand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and as many pounds of pepper [a]. For the raising of the required sum, the senators were taxed according to their estates; but as they had not so much ready money by them, that wicked genius, says *Zosimus* [b], which then governed the affairs of mankind, prompted those, who were concerned in levying the said sum, to the height of iniquity; for, to make good the deficiency, they had recourse to the ornaments of the temples and images of the gods: some of the latter, that were of gold or silver, they melted down, e and among the rest that of *Valour*, which being destroyed, the ancient *Roman* valour was utterly extinguished, as had been foretold by persons skilled in divine matters, and well versed in the rites and ceremonies of their country. The treaty was ratified by *Honorius*, and the sum thus raised sent to *Alaric*, who thereupon raised the siege, and retired with his army into *Hetruria* [c]. When he first appeared before *Rome*, the senate, with the consent and approbation of *Placidia*, the emperor's sister, then in the city, caused *Serena*, the widow of *Stilicho*, to be put to death, upon a false supposition, says *Zosimus*, of her privately corresponding with the enemy [d]. *Læta*, the widow of the emperor *Gratian*, and her mother *Pissamene*, signalized their good nature during the siege, relieving with great generosity, as *Zosimus* himself owns [e], f the famished citizens.

The barbarians join Alaric, *who enters* Italy, *and besieges* Rome.

Which is reduced to great straights,

And complies with the demands of Alaric.

The siege raised

Serena, *the widow of* Stilicho, *put to death.*

While the western empire was thus miserably harassed by the barbarians, and rent into two empires by the usurpation of *Constantine*, whom *Honorius* had been obliged to acknowledge for his partner in the sovereignty, a profound peace reigned over all the provinces subject to young *Theodosius*, though not yet eight years old. They were chiefly indebted for the happiness they enjoyed to *Anthemius*, who taking upon

[s] Zos. l. v. p. 811. [t] Idem, p. 814, 815. Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807. [u] Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807. Aug. ep. cxxxiii. p. 248. [w] Phot. p. 180. [x] Zos. p. 815. [y] Idem, p. 816. [z] Soz. p. 807, 808. [a] Zos. p. 815—818. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Zos. ibid. Soz. p. 808. Hier. ep. xi. xvi. p. 93, 121. [d] Idem. p. 114, 115. [e] Idem ibid.

a upon him the adminiſtration, diſcharged the office of prime miniſter with an integrity hardly to be matched in hiſtory. He was grandſon to *Philippus*, who had been prefect of the eaſt under *Conſtantius*, which office *Anthemius* himſelf diſcharged from the year 405. to 414 [h]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions one *Simplicius*, the ſon of *Anthemius* the elder, and probably the father of *Anthemius* the younger, who was diſgraced in 359 [i]. The latter was *magiſter officiorum* before the year 404. embaſſador to the king of *Perſia* before the year 405 [k]. conſul in that year, and ſoon after *præfectus prætorio* [l]. He had at leaſt one daughter, who was married to *Procopius*, by whom ſhe had *Anthemius*, advanced to the empire in 465 [m]. *Anthemius*, who governed the eaſtern empire during the minority of *Theodoſius*, is commended by all

b the writers of thoſe times as an experienced commander, an able ſtateſman, a zealous chriſtian, and one who had nothing ſo much at heart as the glory of his prince and the happineſs of the people [n]. He was, ſays *Syneſius*, who conſtantly ſtyles him the great *Anthemius*, in my opinion, and in that of all men, the greateſt, the beſt, the moſt virtuous, diſintereſted, and well-meaning miniſter, that ever governed a ſtate [o]. *Procopius* writes, that *Arcadius*, either diſtruſting his brother *Honorius*, or appriſed that the diſtracted ſtate of his own affairs would divert him from minding thoſe of the eaſt, begged in his will *Iſdegerdes*, king of *Perſia*, with whom he had entered into a ſtrict alliance, to take upon him the care and tuition of the young prince: the ſame writer adds, that *Iſdegerdes*, who was a prince of great generoſity, ſent embaſ-

c ſadors to acquaint the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*, that he accepted the charge, and was reſolved to make war upon ſuch as ſhould preſume to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate [p]. *Theophanes*, who wrote after *Procopius*, and has borrowed from him the greateſt part of his hiſtory, adds, that *Iſdegerdes*, not being at leiſure to attend the adminiſtration in perſon, ſent *Antiochus* to *Conſtantinople* in his room, a perſon of extraordinary abilities, and of an unblemiſhed character, who diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt integrity till the year 414. when *Pulcheria* taking upon her the adminiſtration, he was deprived of his authority, and even of his life [q]. *Zonaras* follows *Procopius* and *Theophanes* [r], as does likewiſe *Cedrenus* [s]. It is ſurpriſing, that ſuch an event, one of the moſt remarkable in hiſtory, ſhould by no hiſtorian be taken

d notice of before *Procopius*, who wrote a hundred and fifty years after, and is often guilty of no ſmall miſtakes, being miſled by popular and ill-grounded traditions, among which we may reckon this ſuppoſed laſt will of *Arcadius*; for *Agathias* tells us, that it was the common talk, having been handed down by tradition from father to ſon; but that he found it vouched by no writer, except *Procopius*, not even by thoſe who had given a particular account of the death of *Arcadius* [t]. And truly *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Zoſimus*, *Philoſtorgius*, both *Proſpers*, and *Marcellinus*, take not the leaſt notice of this memorable tranſaction. *Iſidore* of *Peluſium* and *Syneſius* [u] mention an eunuch, by name *Antiochus*, who paſſing from the ſervice of a *Perſian* lord, named *Narſes*, to that of *Theodoſius* II. became preceptor to the young prince;

e which perhaps gave riſe to the above-mentioned tradition. This year the *Hunns* and *Squiri*, or *Scyri*, a northern nation, broke ſuddenly into *Thrace*, under the conduct of *Uldin*, of whom we have made no mention above; but ſome of their officers abandoning them to join the *Romans*, they retired with great precipitation: however, the emperor's troops, coming up with the *Squiri* before they could reach the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took the reſt priſoners. By this overthrow, that nation was almoſt utterly extirpated [w].

The next conſuls were *Honorius*, the eighth time, and *Theodoſius*, the third. In *Gaul*, *Conſtantine*, who reigned there, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged conſul in the room of *Theodoſius* [x]. As *Honorius*, under various pretences, declined delivering

f up to *Alaric* the promiſed hoſtages, and executing ſome other articles of the treaty not mentioned by hiſtorians, the ſenate ſent *Attalus*, *Cæcilianus*, and *Maximianus* or *Maximilianus*, to repreſent to him in their name the evils that might thence accrue to the empire, eſpecially to the capital. But their remonſtrances were utterly diſregarded by the emperor, miſled, ſays *Zoſimus*, by *Olympius* and *Alaric*'s enemies at court [y]. However, he raiſed *Aitalus* to the poſt of *comes largitionum*, and *Cæcilianus* to

The happy adminiſtration of Anthemius *in the eaſt.*

His character.

Whether Iſdegerdes, *king of* Perſia, *was appointed guardian to the young prince.*

The Hunns *and the* Squiri *break into* Thrace; *but the latter are almoſt intirely cut off.*

[h] Socr. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334. [i] Ammian. l. ix. p. 151. [k] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 349. [l] Theod. c. 8. p. 813. [m] Sid. car. ii. p. 291, 292. [n] Chrys. p. 780. Socr. Syn. ep. lxxv. p. 220. [o] Syn. car. p. 299. & ep. lxxii. p. 220, 221. [p] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 2. p. 7. [q] Theoph. p. 69. [r] Zonar. p. 43. [s] Cedren. p. 334. [t] Agath. l. iv. p. 137. [u] Isidor. Pel. l. i. ep. 39. p. 11. Syn. p. 84. [w] Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807, 809. [x] Gruter. p. 2052. [y] Zos. l. v. p. 817—819.

to

Alaric *returns before* Rome.

to that of *præfectus prætorio* [z], In the mean time, *Alaric*, provoked at the emperor's backwardneſs in complying with the articles of the late treaty, left *Hetruria*, and approaching *Rome*, blocked it up a ſecond time, his army being reinforced with forty thouſand ſlaves, who had made their eſcape out of the city [a]. *Honorius* ſent ſix thouſand choſen troops to the defence of the city; but they were intercepted by *Alaric*'s parties, and all either cut off, or taken priſoners, except *Valens*, their commander, *Attalus*, and about an hundred more, who with much ado got into *Rome* [b]. *Maximilianus*, one of the priſoners, was ranſomed by his father with thirty thouſand pieces of gold. *Zoſimus* writes, that the ſix thouſand men ſent by *Honorius* to defend the city, made up five legions [c]; ſo that a legion at this time conſiſted but of twelve hundred men. In the mean time, *Ataulphus*, whom *Alaric* had ſent for, as we have obſerved above, was advancing to join him; and had already paſſed the *Julian Alps*, and entered the province of *Venetia*, when *Honorius* diſpatched againſt him all the forces quartered in the neighbouring towns, who cut in pieces eleven hundred of his men, with the loſs only of fifteen; but notwithſtanding this check, *Ataulphus* purſued his march, and joined *Alaric* [d]. About this time, *Olympius*, the prime miniſter, was diſgraced, diveſted of all his honours, and diſcharged, the eunuchs of the court blaming him to the emperor as the author of the preſent calamities. He was ſucceeded by *Jovius*, then prefect of *Italy*, a perſon highly commended by *Zoſimus* [e], which gives us room to believe him to have been a pagan; for he is ſcarce ever ſo laviſh of his praiſes on thoſe who profeſſed the chriſtian religion. With *Olympius* ſeveral other officers were changed. *Attalus* was made prefect of *Rome*, and *Demetrius comes largitionum*, or treaſurer, in his place. The ſoldiers, mutinying at *Ravenna*, demanded the heads of the two generals *Turpilio* and *Vigilantius*, and likewiſe of *Terentius* and *Arſacius*, the emperor's two firſt chamberlains. Hereupon the timorous prince, at the inſtigation of *Jovius*, perhaps the author of the tumult, ordered the two generals to be conveyed on board a veſſel, in order to be ſent into exile; but the ſoldiers, who were charged to conduct them, put them both to death. *Terentius* was baniſhed into the eaſt, and *Arſacius* confined to the city of *Milan* [f]. *Euſebius* was made great chamberlain in the room of *Terentius*; *Valens* ſucceeded *Turpilio* in the poſt of general of the horſe; and the office of *comes domeſticorum*, held by *Vigilantius*, was given to *Ellebichus* or *Allobichus*. Theſe were all creatures of *Jovius*, whoſe authority was thus thoroughly eſtabliſhed [g]. At the ſame time, *Generides*, by birth a barbarian, was appointed general of the troops quartered in *Rhætia*, *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia*; which countries he protected with great fidelity againſt the barbarians, who attempted to invade them. *Zoſimus* writes, that he was a pagan, and that for his ſake *Honorius* revoked the law excluding the pagans from all employments [h]. The ſame law was revoked with reſpect to heretics, eſpecially the *Donatiſts*, to whom ſome churches were reſtored, which had been formerly taken from them, the emperor following therein the advice of *Jovius*, of *Heraclianus*, count of *Africa*, and of *Macrobius*, the author of the *Saturnalia*, as is commonly believed, at that time proconſul of *Africa* [i].

Ataulphus *enters* Italy.

Olympius *diſgraced.*

The generals Turpilio *and* Vigilantius *put to death.*

Alaric being returned before *Rome*, as we have obſerved above, the ſenate ſent a ſecond deputation to the emperor, preſſing him to execute the articles of a treaty, which he himſelf had ratified. *Alaric* approved of this ſtep, and appointed a body of *Goths* to eſcort the deputies, among whom was *Innocent*, biſhop of the city. At the ſame time, *Alaric*, by the advice of *Jovius*, with whom he had been intimately acquainted in *Epirus*, advanced with part of his army to *Ariminum* or *Rimini*, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor, then at *Ravenna*. *Jovius* himſelf met him at *Rimini*; and, after ſome conferences with him, wrote to court, adviſing the emperor to comply with the articles formerly agreed to; or if he thought them unreaſonable, to ſatisfy *Alaric* by preferring him to the poſt of commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces. To this letter the emperor anſwered, that he was reſolved never to prefer *Alaric*, nor any of his people. The emperor's letter being delivered to *Jovius*, while he was in *Alaric*'s tent, and he with the utmoſt imprudence reading it out aloud, *Alaric* was ſo provoked at the prince's declaration, that he immediately decamped, bending his march towards *Rome*: but ſoon after changing his mind, he ſent ſome biſhops to *Honorius*, with very moderate propoſals;

Honorius *refuſes to comply with the propoſals of* Alaric.

[z] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 153. [a] Zos. p. 819. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem, p. 820. [e] Idem, p. 824. [f] Idem, p. 820, 821. [g] Idem ibid. Phot. p. 181. [h] Zos. ibid. [i] Hier. ep. viii. p. 65. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 199.

a poſals; for he offered to enter into a perpetual alliance with *Honorius*, and to defend the empire againſt all invaders, provided he would only ſend him a ſmall ſum to pay his men their arrears, that they might not mutiny when diſbanded, and allow them to ſettle in *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, which provinces paid but an inconſiderable tribute, and nevertheleſs obliged the emperor, as they were expoſed to the incurſions of the neighhouring barbarians, to maintain numerous armies to defend them, which he took upon himſelf to do, without putting the empire to the leaſt charge. Theſe propoſals, however reaſonable, were rejected, *Jovius* having, by a ſecond fault, cut off all means of an accommodation; for, apprehending the emperor might, from his late imprudent conduct, ſuſpect him of privately favouring *Alaric*, he overb acted the contrary part, inducing the emperor to ſwear, that he would never make peace, but wage perpetual war with *Alaric:* this he ſwore himſelf by the emperor's head, and obliged all the officers both civil and military to take the ſame oath [k]. *Alaric*, tho' informed of theſe unaccountable proceedings, ſent back the biſhops to *Ravenna*, earneſtly entreating the emperor, who had not ſufficient forces to withſtand him, not to ſuffer that ſtately metropolis, which for ſo many ages had been revered by all nations as miſtreſs of the world, to become a prey to her enemies. But the emperor continuing obſtinate in his former reſolution, *Alaric* purſued his march to *Rome*; and, approaching the city, acquainted the inhabitants with the emperor's invincible obſtinacy, inviting them at the ſame time to conſult their own ſafety by c joining him againſt *Honorius*. This propoſal they rejected at firſt with indignation; but *Alaric* having, after a few days ſiege, taken the caſtle at the mouth of the *Tiber*, in which all the public proviſions were lodged, they immediately opened their gates, and received him into the city, which he entered attended by a ſmall guard, and obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge, not himſelf, as he might have eaſily done, but *Attalus*, then prefect of the city, for emperor [l]. *Attalus* was a native of *Ionia*, and greatly beloved by *Alaric* and his *Goths*, becauſe he had been baptized by *Segiſarius* their biſhop [m], and conſequently profeſſed the doctrine of *Arius*, tho' he was in his heart a pagan, according to *Philoſtorgius* [n]. *Attalus*, thus created emperor by *Alaric*, made him in return commander d in chief of all his forces, and *Ataulphus* his *comes domeſticorum*, diſtributing the other great employments amongſt pagans and *Arians*. As it was a matter of the utmoſt importance to ſecure *Africa*, whence *Rome* was ſupplied with proviſions, *Alaric* adviſed the new emperor to ſend thither without delay a conſiderable body of troops under the conduct of *Drumas*, who was by nation a *Goth*, but an officer of great experience and addreſs: but *Attalus*, contrary to the advice of *Alaric*, ſent one *Conſtantine* or *Conſtans*, a perſon quite unacquainted with military affairs, and with him but a ſmall number of troops, being aſſured by the aruſpices, ſays *Sozomen*, that *Africa* would immediately ſubmit [o]. But *Conſtantine* was upon his firſt landing cut off with all his men by *Heraclianus*, who took care to place guards in all the ports of *Africa*, e that no corn might be thence conveyed to *Rome*, which by that means was ſoon reduced to great ſtreights [p]. In the mean time, *Attalus*, without waiting news from *Africa*, ſet out from *Rome* with the ſuccours he received from *Alaric*, with a deſign to beſiege the emperor in *Ravenna*, who, alarmed at his motions, diſpatched *Jovius*, the prime miniſter, *Valens*, general of the foot, *Potamus*, the quæſtor, and *Julian*, his firſt ſecretary, to wait his arrival at *Rimini*, and acquaint him, that the emperor was willing to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. But *Attalus* would only grant *Honorius* his life, and the liberty of retiring to what iſland he pleaſed [q]. *Jovius*, f in a private conference with *Attalus*, not only adviſed him to inſiſt upon theſe terms, but ſuggeſted to him, that he ought to maim the emperor ſo as to prevent his having iſſue; which wicked ſuggeſtion was rejected with horror, if *Olympiodorus* is to be credited, by *Attalus* himſelf [r]. That treacherous miniſter returned to court; but being ſent back to the uſurper with new propoſals, he continued with him. *Honorius*, finding himſelf thus betrayed by his friends, and no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo many enemies at once, reſolved to abandon *Ravenna* and retire by ſea into the eaſt; but was diverted from that reſolution by the ſeaſonable arrival of four thouſand men, ſent him by his nephew *Theodoſius*; which encouraged him to continue at *Ravenna*, and there wait the iſſue of the war in *Africa*. And truly his arms were attended

And ſwears never to make peace with him.

Alaric's *moderation.*

He beſieges Rome, *which ſubmits, and acknowledges* Attalus *for emperor.*

The uſurper's troops defeated by Heraclianus *in* Africa.

Honorius *offers to acknowledge* Attalus; *Who inſiſts upon his reſigning.*

Honorius *receives a ſeaſonable ſupply from* Theodoſius.

[k] Soz. l. ix. c. 7. p. 808, 809. Zos. p. 822—124.
[l] Soz. Zos. ibid.
[m] Soz. c. 9. p. 111.
[n] Philost. l. xii. c. c. p. 533. Phot. p. 181.
[o] Soz. p. 810.
[p] Zos. p. 829. Soz. ibid.
[q] Zos. p. 828.
[r] Phot. ibid.

attended there with uncommon ſucceſs; for *Attalus* having, after the death of *Conſtans*, ſent thither a body of troops far more numerous than the firſt, *Heraclianus* cut them likewiſe in pieces; and not only continued to keep the ports blocked up, ſo that no proviſions could be conveyed to *Rome*, but ſent a ſeaſonable ſupply of money to *Honorius*, which he immediately diſtributed among the ſoldiery, and by that means re-eſtabliſhed his affairs[s]. In the mean time, *Alaric* reduced all the cities of *Liguria* and *Æmilia*, except *Bononia*, which he was obliged to abandon, after having lain a conſiderable time before it. He cauſed *Attalus* to be every-where proclaimed emperor, and obliged the people to ſwear allegiance to him[t]. a

WHILE theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, *Geroncius*, to whom *Conſtans*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, had committed the government of *Spain*, as we have related above, revolting, upon ſome diſguſt, from *Conſtantine*, ſet up one *Maximus* for emperor, whom *Olympiodorus* ſuppoſes to have been his ſon[u], while other writers ſtyle him his client or creature[w]. *Oroſius* ſpeaks of him as a perſon of a mean extraction, and altogether unknown[x]. It was no ſooner known in *Gaul*, that *Geroncius* had revolted, than the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Alans*, and other barbarians, whom *Conſtantine* had ſuffered to remain in that province, as we have related above, flew to arms, probably at the inſtigation of the new uſurper, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities. The people, finding themſelves thus haraſſed by the barbarians, and expecting no relief either from *Honorius* or *Conſtantine*, reſolved to defend themſelves. The *Britons* were the firſt, who, falling off from the empire, eſtabliſhed a new form of government among themſelves, after having driven out the barbarians, the *Germans*, according to *Zoſimus*, but more likely the *Scots* or *Iriſh*, who had invaded their country[y]. Thus they continued a free people till the year 421, 422. when, overpowered by their warlike neighbours the *Scots*, they were forced to implore the protection of the emperor, and ſubmit anew to the laws of the empire, as we ſhall relate hereafter. All the *Armorici*, ſays *Zoſimus*, that is, in the language of the *Gauls*, the maritime people, followed the example of the *Britons*, and, ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke, gave riſe to a new ſtate and government[z], which, notwithſtanding all their efforts, proved but ſhort-lived. The barbarians, meeting with greater oppoſition than they expected from the inhabitants of *Gaul*, who had taken arms in their own defence, and acquainted with the diſtracted ſtate of *Spain*, which was repreſented to them as a wealthy and fruitful country, reſolved to try whether they could ſettle there. With this deſign, the *Vandals*, the *Alans* and *Suevians* bent their march towards the *Pyrenees*, which they paſſed without oppoſition, the guards, who had been placed there by *Geroncius* to defend the narrow paſſes, either retiring at the approach of ſuch multitudes, or joining them[a]. Thus the barbarians firſt entered *Spain* in 409. on a *Tueſday*, ſays *Idatius*, the twenty-eighth of *September*, or the thirteenth of *October*[b]; but in the year 409. the 13th of *October* fell on a *Wedneſday*. The paſſes of the *Pyrenees* being once opened, the barbarians, who had over-run *Gaul*, poured in ſwarms into *Spain*, and there made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities and ſtrong-holds, defeated the troops which *Conſtantine* had ſent, under the conduct of his ſon *Conſtans*, to ſuppreſs the rebellion of *Geroncius*, and obliged *Conſtans* himſelf to abandon the country, and retire to his father at *Arles*[c]. As for *Geroncius*, they entered into a kind of alliance with him againſt their common enemy *Conſtantine*[d]. The barbarians, having no enemy to oppoſe them, after the retreat of *Conſtans*, over-ran the whole country, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties; which the reader will find deſcribed at length by *Idatius*, who, in this very century, was biſhop of a city in *Spain*[e]. *Olympiodorus* writes, that the *Romans*, who had taken refuge in ſome ſtrong-holds, were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of feeding upon one another; and adds, that a mother, who had four children, killed and devoured them all; for which unnatural cruelty ſhe was ſtoned to death by the populace[f]. The barbarians continued their ravages, putting all to fire and ſword, till the year 411. when, being abſolute maſters of the country, they applied themſelves to the tilling of the ground, and other works of agriculture, after having divided among themſelves by lot the *Spaniſh* provinces. In that diviſion *Galicia* fell to the *Vandals* and *Suevians*, the former

Maximus *ſet up in* Spain *by* Geroncius. b

The Britons *fall off from the empire.* c

And the Armorici.

The Vandals, Alans *and* Suevians *enter* Spain, d

And over-run the whole country, e

And divide the Spaniſh *provinces among themſelves.* f

[s] Zos. p. 829. OROS. l. vii. c. 42. p. 224. [t] Idem ibid. [u] PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. [w] Soz. p. 814. GREG. Tur. p. 63. OROS. p. 224. PROSP. ann. 412. [x] OROS. ibid. [y] Zoz. l. vi. p. 827. [z] Idem ibid. [a] GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. 2. p. 42. OROS. l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. Soz. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. [c] IDAT. chron. [c] Zoz. OROS. GREG. Tur. ibid. [d] PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. [e] IDAT. chron. p. 10, 11. [f] PHOT. c. 80. p. 189.

a mer having *Gonderic* for their king, and the latter *Ermeric*; *Luſitania*, and the province of *Carthagena*, to the *Alans*; *Bætica* to the *Silingi*, who were likewiſe *Vandals*, and are ſuppoſed to have given to their lot the name of *Wandaluſia*, which was afterwards changed into that of *Andaluſia* [g]. Such of the natives as had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter, ſubmitted to the barbarians, who, touching the holy book of the goſpels, ſwore, that they would treat them for the future as their friends and allies; which oath they obſerved ſo religiouſly, that the *Romans* choſe to live in poverty, ſays *Oroſius*, under the barbarians, rather than to return into the dominions of the empire [h]. The inhabitants of *Galicia*, however, maintained their liberty, and formed a new ſtate in a corner of that province, where they were often b attacked, but without ſucceſs, by *Emeric* or *Ermeric*, king of the *Suevians* [i]. Nothing happened this year in the eaſt worthy of notice, except a tumult at *Conſtantinople*, where the people, riſing on account of the ſcarcity of bread, burnt the houſe of *Monaxes*, prefect of the city; but the ſenators and other wealthy citizens, having, by voluntary contributions, raiſed a large ſum for the relief of the poor, and the bakers being publicly whipt through the city, as was frequently practiſed when bread grew dear, the tumult was quelled [k].

A tumult at Conſtantinople.

THE following year 410. when *Varanes* alone was conſul, is remarkable for the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*. *Varanes* began his conſulſhip at *Conſtantinople*; but the weſtern empire, eſpecially the city of *Rome*, was involved in ſuch troubles, that *Ho*c *norius* was not at leiſure to think of a conſul. *Attalus*, however, raiſed *Tertullus*, a pagan, to that dignity: but he was acknowledged only by the partizans of the uſurper; whence *Varanes* alone is named conſul in the *faſti* and in the laws, ſome of which are dated thus; *the year after the eighth conſulſhip of* Honorius, *and the third of* Theodoſius [l]. As *Heraclian* continued to keep the ports of *Africa* blocked up, and the lands in *Italy* had not been tilled for ſeveral years, by reaſon of the wars, the *Roman* people were reduced to feed upon cheſnuts; nay, human fleſh was publicly ſold, and ſeveral mothers were ſaid to have devoured their children [m]. This obliged both *Alaric* and *Attalus* to haſten to *Rome*, in order to adviſe with the ſenate about the proper means of ſupplying the city. Moſt part of the ſenators were for ſending d into *Africa* a body of *Goths*, *Alaric* engaging, that *Drumas*, one of his officers, would reduce it with five hundred only; but *Attalus* openly declared, that he would not by any means employ *Goths* in that war; which ſo piqued *Alaric*, who had already began to look upon *Attalus* as one no-ways qualified for the high ſtation to which he had raiſed him, that he reſolved to depoſe him, leſt, by his obſtinacy and imprudence, he ſhould quite ruin his affairs. He was confirmed in this reſolution by *Jovius*, who perſuaded him, that *Attalus*, ſcorning to depend upon him, and to hold the empire upon precarious terms, was determined to deſtroy him. This conduct of *Jovius* has induced ſome writers to believe, that he maintained a private correſpondence with *Honorius*; nay, that he abandoned him with no other view but to betray e *Attalus* [n]. Be that as it will, *Alaric*, finding the new emperor unequal to ſo great a charge, and provoked at his late declaration and miſconduct with reſpect to the affairs of *Africa*, ſent deputies once more to *Honorius*, with very reaſonable terms; which the emperor ſeeming inclined to comply with, *Alaric* publicly ſtripped the mock prince of all the badges of ſovereignty, and ſent them to *Honorius*. He would not, however, deliver up either *Attalus*, or his ſon *Ampelius*; but inſiſted upon their being pardoned, ſince their crime was owing more to him than to them [o]. *Attalus* being thus depoſed, *Alaric* approached *Ravenna*, and ſtopped at a place called the *Alps*, about nine miles from that city, in order to put the laſt hand to the treaty of accommodation between him and the emperor [p]. But this peaceable face of affairs was ſoon changed by an f unlucky and unforeſeen accident: *Sarus* the *Goth*, of whom we have made frequent mention, commanded a body of three hundred men in *Picenum*, without declaring either for *Honorius* or *Alaric*. However, *Ataulphus*, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, reſolved to deſtroy him, and with this view marched at the head of a ſtrong party againſt him; which obliged him to declare for *Honorius*, and retire to *Ravenna*. *Olympiodorus* writes, that *Alaric* was ſo provoked at the kind reception *Sarus* met with from

Alaric *depoſes* Attalus,

And attempts an accommodation with Honorius.

[g] OROS. c. 41. p. 223. IDAT. ISID. chron. [h] OROS. l iii. c. 23. p. 173. & l. vii c. 41. p. 223. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 84. LIB. orat. i. p. 64. Chron Alex. p. 716. [l] Cod. Theod. chron. 156. [m] SOCR. l. ix. p. 810. Zos. l. vi. p. 830. [n] PHILOST. p. 181. [o] PHOT. c. 80. p. 181. Zos. p. 830. SOZ. p. 810. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. [p] Soz. p. 809. Zos. p. 831.

Which unhappily broke off;

from the emperor, that he would hearken to no terms [q]. On the other hand, *Sozomen* tells us, that *Sarus*, apprehending a peace would be prejudicial to him, fell unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, and put some of them to the sword [r]. However that be, it is certain, that *Alaric* departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, and returned to his army, encamped near *Rome*, as soon as *Sarus* had joined the emperor [s], restoring the purple, and other badges of majesty, to *Attalus*; but in a few days degrading him anew, as if he designed to traduce and expose to ridicule the imperial dignity [t]. *Socrates* writes, that having shewed him to the soldiery, with all the ensigns of sovereignty, he exposed him the very next day to public view in the dress of a slave [u]. To this was the majesty of the *Roman* empire now reduced. *Alaric* no sooner arrived before *Rome*, than he blocked it up on all sides, and by that means, as provisions were already very scarce, reduced it in a few days to the utmost extremity. Some authors, and among the rest, St. *Jerom* [w] write, that it held out a long time; while others say, *Alaric* reduced it with such expedition, that *Honorius*, when told by one of his courtiers, that *Rome* was lost, understood him of a favourite cock bearing that name, not being yet informed, that the city of *Rome* was besieged [x]. There is likewise a disagreement among authors as to the manner in which it was taken. *Procopius* writes, that *Proba*, an illustrious *Roman* matron, pitying the unhappy condition of the people, reduced by the famine that had long raged in the city to the fatal necessity of devouring one another, opened the gates in the night-time to the enemy [y]. *Sozomen* says it was taken by treachery, without explaining himself farther [z]; but *Orosius* uses the word *irrumpit* [a], which seems to import, that the enemy broke in by force, or took the city by assault. Be that as it will, that proud and haughty city, styled the metropolis of the universe, after having triumphed over so many nations, and extended her dominions from one end of the known world to the other, was, on the twenty-fourth of *August* of the present year 410. taken by a barbarian, who had not a foot of ground which he could properly call his own. As she had, for the space of one thousand one hundred and sixty-three years, pillaged the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of the plundered nations, she underwent in the end the same fate, and suffered in her turn the same calamities, which she had brought upon others. *Alaric*, when upon the point of breaking into the city, addressing his soldiers, told them, That all the wealth lodged in it was theirs, and therefore he gave them full liberty to seize it; but at the same time he strictly injoined them to shed the blood of none but such as they should find in arms, and above all to spare those who should take sanctuary in the holy places, especially in the churches of the apostle St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which he named, because they were more spacious, and consequently capable of affording an asylum to great numbers of people. Having given these orders, he abandoned the city to the *Goths*, who treated it no better, according to St. *Jerom*, than the *Greeks* are said to have treated antient *Troy* [b]; for after having plundered it for the space of three, or, as others will have it, of six, days, they set fire to it in several places; so that the stately palace of *Sallust*, and many other magnificent buildings, were reduced to ashes; nay *Procopius* writes, that there was not in the whole city one house left intire [c]; and both St. *Jerom* [d] and *Philostorgius* [e], that the great metropolis of the empire was reduced to a heap of ashes and ruins. Tho' many of the *Goths*, pursuant to the orders of their general, refrained from shedding the blood of such as made no resistance, yet others, more cruel and blood-thirsty, massacred all they met; so that the streets in some quarters of the city were seen covered with heaps of dead bodies, and swimming in blood [f]. However, not the least injury was offered to those who had fled to the churches; nay, the *Goths* themselves conveyed thither, as to places of safety, such as they were desirous should be spared [g]. Many of the statues of the gods that had been left intire by the emperors, as excellent pieces of art, were on this occasion destroyed, either by the *Goths*, who, tho' mostly *Arians*, were zealous christians, or by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which fell at the same time upon the city, as if it had been sent on purpose to complete, with them, the destruction of idolatry, and abolish the small remains of pagan superstition [h]. The learned bishop of

And Rome *anew besieged, taken, and plundered.*

Alaric *orders his men to spare the lives of the citizens, especially of such as should fly to the churches.*

The miserable condition to which the city was reduced.

[q] Phot. p. 180. [r] Soz. p. 811. [s] Idem ibid. Philost. p. 534. [t] Oros. l. vii. c. 42. p. 224. [u] Socr. l. vii. c. 10. p. 346, 347. [w] Hier. ep. 16. p. 121. [x] Prosp. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2. p. 180. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Soz. l. ix. c. 9. p. 811. [a] Oros. p. 222. [b] Hier. ep. 16. p. 121. [c] Procop. p. 179. [d] Hier. ep. 12. p. 100. [e] Philost. p. 534. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Hier. & Soz. ibid. [h] Oros. l. vii. c. 39. p. 222. & l. ii. c. 19. p. 164.

a of *Meaux* wrote a famous treatiſe, ſhewing, that the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric* may be looked upon as one of the chief myſteries foretold by St. *John* in his revelations [i]. The pagans aſcribed the calamities which *Rome* ſuffered on this occaſion, to its having baniſhed the gods, by whom it had been often protected againſt far more powerful enemies. Theſe calumnies St. *Auſtin* fully confuted in his 81ſt, 105th and 106th ſermons, in another intituled *of the deſtruction of the city of* Rome [k], and in his great work *de civitate Dei*, wherein he ſhews, that *Rome* had ſuffered far greater calamities before it embraced the true faith, and that it was preſerved by the chriſtian religion from utter deſtruction [l].

[i] Explication de l'apocalypſe. [k] Aug. m. p. 546. & Rom. excid. p. 330. [l] Idem de civ. Dei.

CHAP. XXX.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the taking of the city by the* Goths, *to the death of* Theodoſius II.

b ALARIC, having ſtaid, according to ſome, ſix, according to others, only three days in *Rome*, retired from thence into *Campania*, carrying with him immenſe wealth, and a great number of captives, among whom was *Placidia*, the ſiſter of *Honorius*, whom he treated with all the reſpect due to her rank and ſex. After he ravaged and laid waſte *Campania*, *Lucania*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the country of the *Brutii*, he approached the ſtreights of *Sicily*, with a deſign to paſs over into that iſland, and thence into *Africa*, which he intended to reduce; but the fleet he had prepared for that purpoſe being ſhipwrecked in the ſtreights, he continued in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium*, deliberating what further meaſures he was to take; but before he came to any reſolution, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, c which carried him off in a few days [l]. The *Goths* were deeply concerned for the death of their king, (for they had given him that title, as we have obſerved above) and fearing the *Romans* ſhould offer ſome indignity to his bones, they turned the courſe of the *Buſento* near *Coſenza* in the *Farther Calabria*; and having buried him, with many rich ſpoils brought from *Rome*, in the bed of the river, they reſtored the waters to their natural current, and killed all the ſlaves they had employed in the work [m]. After this they choſe *Ataulphus* king in his room. He was brother-in-law to the deceaſed prince, who had married his ſiſter. *Jornandes* writes, that he returned to *Rome*, and pillaged that city a ſecond time [n]. But of this ſecond deſtruction of *Rome*, as he ſtyles it, no mention is made by any of the writers who d flouriſhed at that time. While the barbarians were thus ravaging *Italy* on one ſide, *Conſtantine*, leaving *Gaul*, where he reigned, entered it on the other, giving out, that he was marching to the aſſiſtance of *Honorius*, tho' his real deſign was to ſtrip him of the few provinces that were left him. With this view he was already advanced as far as *Verona*; but while he was preparing to paſs the *Po*, in order to march to *Ravenna*, and there confer, as he pretended, with the emperor about the moſt proper meaſures in the preſent juncture, he received news of the unhappy, but deſerved end of *Alabicus* or *Allobicus*, one of *Honorius*'s generals, whom that prince had cauſed to be put death, upon a well grounded ſuſpicion of his privately correſponding with the uſurper [o]. This *Conſtantine* no ſooner underſtood, than he repaſſed in great e haſte the *Alps*, and retired to *Arles*, where he found his ſon *Conſtans* driven out of *Spain* by the above mentioned barbarians. *Geroncius*, who had joined them againſt him purſued him into *Gaul*; which obliged *Conſtantine* to ſend *Edobicus*, one of his generals, to procure ſupplies among the *Franks* and *Germans*, and to commit the guard

Alaric *retires, with the wealth of* Rome, *into* Campania.

He dies in the neighbourhood of Rhegium.

Ataulphus *choſen king in his room.*

Conſtantine *invades* Italy.

But repaſſes the Alps *in great haſte, and retires to* Arles.

[l] Oros. ii. c. 19. p. 164. Socr. l. vii. c. 10. p. 347. Philost. l. xii. c. 3. 534. Aug. civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. p. 8. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653. [m] Jorn. ibid. [n] Idem, p. 654. [o] Soz. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. Phot. c. 80. p. 181. Zos. l v. p. 821.

guard of *Vienne*, and the other cities on the *Rhone*, to his ſon *Conſtans*. But *Geron-* a
cius, arriving in the mean time before *Vienne*, took the place; and having put *Con-*
ſtans, whom he found in it, to death, advanced without oppoſition to *Arles*, and
there cloſely beſieged *Conſtantine* himſelf [p]. While the weſtern empire was thus
involved in endleſs calamities, the provinces all over the eaſt enjoyed a profound peace
under the wiſe adminiſtration of *Anthemius*; ſo that nothing remarkable happened
there, except the diſgrace of one *Andronicus*, governor of the *Pentopolis*, who, by
his tyrannical extortions, deſerved to be firſt excommunicated by *Syneſius* biſhop of
Ptolemais, the metropolis of that province, and afterwards removed by *Anthemius*
from his government [q].

Conſtans *taken, and put to death by* Geroncius, *who beſieges* Conſtantine *in* Arles.

THE following year 411. *Theodoſius* alone was the fourth time conſul, *Honorius* b
being diverted, by the troubles in the weſt, from naming any one to that dignity [r].
This year *Honorius* ſent *Conſtantius*, an officer of great experience and addreſs, and
inviolably attached to the intereſt of his prince, into *Gaul*, with what troops he
could ſpare, to make war upon *Conſtantine*, whom after his entering *Italy*, the
emperor no longer looked upon as his partner in the empire, but as a public enemy.
Conſtantius was not by birth a barbarian, but a *Roman*; that is, he was born a ſubject
of the empire, according to *Olympiodorus*, in the city of *Panaiſa* in *Illyricum* [s]. *Vale-*
ſius, ſuppoſes, upon what authority we know not, that he was a native of *Naiſſus* in
Dacia, the birth-place of *Conſtantine the Great* [t]. He was a man of extraordinary
parts, well-ſhaped in his perſon, agreeable in converſation, frank, generous, an
enemy to all diſſimulation and reſtraint, diſintereſted, brave, and equally capable of
commanding an army, and governing the ſtate [u]. He was no ſooner named for this c
expedition, than he ſet out at the head of a conſiderable army from *Gaul*, where he was
joined upon his firſt arrival by moſt of the troops of *Geroncius*, then buſied in reducing
the city of *Arles*, in which was *Conſtantine* himſelf, as we have related above. *Geron-*
cius, finding himſelf abandoned by his men, raiſed the ſiege in great haſte, and fled
into *Spain*, where the few ſoldiers who attended him, provoked at his unſeaſonable
ſeverity, attacked him in the houſe where he was lodged; which he defended, tho'
aſſiſted only by one friend, and a few ſlaves, with great reſolution and intrepidity,
killing three hundred of the aggreſſors. In the end the ſlaves conſulting their own
ſafety, made their eſcape, which *Geroncius* too might have eaſily done, had he been d
able to prevail upon himſelf to forſake his wife, whom he tenderly loved. When
he found himſelf overpowered, he reſolved to lay violent hands on himſelf. His wife,
by name *Nonnichia*, appriſed of this reſolution, earneſtly intreated him to put her to
death rather than ſuffer her to fall into the hands of the incenſed ſoldiery. Moved
with her tears, he firſt diſpatched her, then his friend, and laſtly himſelf [w]. It is
ſurpriſing, that *Sozomen* ſhould commend this in *Nonnichia*, as an action worthy of the
chriſtian religion, which ſhe profeſſed [x]. As for *Maximus*, whom *Geroncius* had ſet
up for emperor, as we have related above he was ſecured by his own men, and
brought to *Conſtantius*, who ſtripped him of his enſigns of majeſty, but ſpared his
life, looking upon him as a perſon of himſelf inoffenſive, and incapable of giving e
the leaſt umbrage [y]. He retired into *Spain* amongſt the barbarians, and was ſtill
alive when *Oroſius* wrote his hiſtory, that is, in 417 [z]. To return to *Conſtantius*: he
purſued the ſiege of *Arles*, which *Geroncius* had begun. *Conſtantine*, who was in
the place with his ſecond ſon, by name *Julian*, held out for the ſpace of four months, in
expectation of the ſuccours which *Edobicus* was ſent to procure amongſt the *Franks*,
and other *German* nations. *Edobicus* arrived at length, at the head of an army far
more numerous than that of *Conſtantius*; which ſo terrified the emperor's generals,
that they were for abandoning the ſiege, and retiring into *Italy*. But their retreat
being cut off by the enemy, they were forced to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle.
Ulphilas therefore, who commanded under *Conſtantius*, paſſing the *Rhone* with a ſtrong f
detachment of foot, concealed himſelf among the woods, till the enemy paſſed, and
were ready to engage *Conſtantius*; when falling unexpectedly upon their rear, while
Conſtantius charged them in front, they were immediately put to the rout. *Edobicus*
fled to the houſe of a *Gauliſh* lord, by name *Ecdices*, who notwithſtanding the many
favours he had received at his hands, ſtruck off his head, and carried it to *Conſtan-*
tius

Conſtantius *ſent againſt* Conſtantine.

His character.

Geroncius *raiſes the ſiege of* Arles, *and flies into* Spain,

Where he lays violent hands on himſelf.

Maximus *taken; but his life ſpared.*

The Germans *coming to the aſſiſtance of* Conſtantine *defeated*

[p] Soz. ibid. PHOT. p. 184. OROS. p. 224. [q] SYNES. c. 74. p. 220. [r] IDAT. PROSP. CASSIOD. &c. [s] PHOT. c. 80. p. 193. [t] VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 107. [u] PHOT. p. 185. OROS. c. 43. p. 224. Soz. l. ix. c. 16. p. 817. [w] OROS. p. 224. Soz. p. 815. PHOT. ibid. [x] Soz. ibid. [y] OROS. ibid. [z] Idem ibid.

tius, who ordered the traitor to depart the camp that inſtant, leſt his preſence ſhould draw down from heaven ſome misfortune upon the whole army [a]. *Conſtantius* returned without loſs of time before *Arles*, which ſtill held out with great obſtinacy, till news being brought to the *Roman* camp, that *Jovinus*, having uſurped the imperial title in *Farther Gaul*, was advancing full march to *Arles*, at the head of a formidable army, conſiſting of *Alemans*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and *Alans*, with a deſign to fall on the emperor's army. Upon this intelligence, *Conſtantius* thought it adviſeable to comply with the terms which had been propoſed before by the beſieged, but rejected by him, *viz.* to grant a general indemnity, and to promiſe upon oath, that the lives of *Conſtantine* and *Julian* ſhould be ſpared. Hereupon the gates were opened, and the victorious army received into the town. *Conſtantine* had ſome time before diveſted himſelf of the purple, and taking ſanctuary in a church, cauſed himſelf to be ordained prieſt, thinking that character would ſcreen him from the emperor's juſt reſentment. *Conſtantius* nevertheleſs cauſed both him and his ſon to be ſecured, and ſent into *Italy*, where they were, by the emperor's orders, beheaded about thirty miles from *Ravenna* [b]. *Honorius* would not grant them their lives, becauſe they had put to death his two couſins *Didymius* and *Verinianus*; but as they had been promiſed indemnity by his lieutenant, the chriſtian as well as the pagan writers look upon this action as a breach of faith unworthy of a prince. About the ſame time that *Conſtantine* diveſted himſelf of the purple, *Jovinus*, or, as he is ſtyled by *Sozomen* and *Philoſtorgius*, *Jovianus*, aſſumed it at *Mundiacum*, ſays *Olympiodorus* [c]; which ſome take to be *Mentz*. He was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Gaul*, and is ſaid to have cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at the inſtigation of *Goar* king of the *Alans*, and *Guntarius*, or *Gondicarius*, prince of the *Burgundians* [d]. It appears from his medals, that he made himſelf maſter of *Treves* [e]; but his reign was ſhort-lived, as we ſhall ſee anon. In the eaſt, the tranquillity which the people had long enjoyed there, was diſturbed this year by the *Auſurians*, a *Mooriſh* nation, who, breaking into the *Pentapolis*, laid waſte that province; but were ſoon driven out by *Anyſius*, who had ſucceeded *Andronicus* in that government. The *Saracens* likewiſe committed great diſorders on the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Paleſtine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*; but retired of their own accord.

Arles *ſurrendered to* Conſtantius.

Conſtantine *and his ſon beheaded.*

Jovinus *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.*

THE following year 412. when *Honorius* was conſul the ninth time, and *Theodoſius* the fifth, the *Goths* at length left *Italy*, either in virtue of a treaty between *Honorius* and *Ataulphus* their new king, as *Jornandes* ſeems to ſuppoſe [f], or becauſe they had already quite drained that country of its wealth, which, from the ſequel of the hiſtory, appears more probable. However that be, quitting *Italy*, they broke into *Gaul*, ravaging the countries through which they paſſed. Upon their arrival in that province, *Attalus*, whom *Ataulphus* had brought thither with him, adviſed the *Goth* to join *Jovinus* againſt *Honorius*, and divide *Gaul* between them. *Ataulphus* and *Jovinus* met upon that propoſal; but all we know of their interview is, that *Jovinus* was not at all pleaſed to ſee *Ataulphus* and his *Goths* in *Gaul* [g]. *Sarus*, whom we have often mentioned, having about this time revolted from *Honorius*, becauſe he refuſed to puniſh the authors of the murder of one of his officers, by name *Bellerid*, was going into *Gaul*, to offer his ſervice to *Jovinus*; which coming to the ears of *Ataulphus*, his implacable enemy, he went to meet him at the head of a thouſand men. *Sarus*, tho' attended only by twenty perſons, defended himſelf with ſuch reſolution, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he was taken alive, after having killed with his own hand great numbers of the enemy. *Ataulphus* cauſed him ſoon after to be put to death; which, as he was a brave and experienced officer, created a miſunderſtanding between *Jovinus* and *Ataulphus*. *Jovinus* ſoon after took his brother *Sebaſtian* for his partner in the empire, contrary to the opinion of *Ataulphus*, who was ſo provoked at his promotion, that he diſpatched privately deputies to *Honorius*, offering to reſtore to him his ſiſter *Placidia*, and to ſend him the heads of the two uſurpers, provided he would ſupply his men with a certain quantity of corn. The emperor having readily complied with his demand, *Ataulphus* ſoon found an opportunity of diſpatching *Sebaſtian*; but *Jovinus*, upon the news of his death, fled to *Valence*, where he was cloſely beſieged, and in the end forced to ſubmit to *Ataulphus*, who delivered him

The Goths *leave* Italy, *and break into* Gaul.

Sarus *taken priſoner by* Ataulphus, *and put to death.*

[a] Idem, p. 223. PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. GREG. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 65. SOZ. l. ix. c. 14. p. 815. [b] PHOT. SOZ. GREG. Tur. ibid. [c] PHOT. c. 80. [d] SOZ. p. 816, 817. OROS. p. 224. PHOT. p. 184. [e] SYNES. cataſt. p. 299. & ep. 78. p. 223, 224. [f] JORN. rer. Goth. c. 31. p. 655. [g] OROS. p. 224. PHOT. ibid.

Jovinus is taken, and put to death.

him up to *Dardanus* prefect of *Gaul*, by whose orders he was put to death at *Narbonne*[h]. *Idatius* ascribes the defeat of the two usurpers to the generals of *Honorius*, who had perhaps joined *Ataulphus*. *Dardanus*, at this time prefect of *Gaul*, is highly commended by St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin*, who wrote several letters to him; but *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who is likewise honoured with the title of *saint*, paints him as a person of a most infamous character, in whom centred all the vices of the three usurpers *Constantine*, *Jovinus* and *Geroncius*[i] (O.) This year *Theodosius*, or rather *Anthemius*, caused the walls of the frontier towns of *Illyricum* to be repaired[k]. a

Heraclianus revolts in Africa.

THE next consuls were *Lucius* and *Heraclianus*: but the name of the latter was erased out of the *fasti*; for he revolted this very year from *Honorius*, and causing himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Africa*, which he had with so much bravery defended against *Attalus*, he equipped a fleet there of seven hundred sail, according to some, of three thousand seven hundred, according to others, if there is no mistake in the numbers[l]. *Orosius* writes, that his fleet was more numerous than those of *Xerxes*, of *Alexander*, or any other monarch mentioned in history[m]. With this formidable armada he sailed from *Africa*, and landing safe in *Italy*, marched strait to *Rome*, which his approach threw into the utmost consternation; but count *Marinus* marching out to meet him, at the head of all the troops he could assemble, the usurper, seized with a sudden panic, betook himself to flight, and hastening on board one of his vessels, returned alone to *Carthage*. Upon his flight, his men immediately submitted, and were received into favour by *Honorius*, who soon after published a law, dated the fifth of *July*, and addressed to the people of *Africa*, wherein he declared *Heraclianus* a public enemy, and impowered every one to apprehend him, and put him to death, where-ever they found him[n]. He was, soon after his return to *Carthage*, discovered by some soldiers in an ancient temple, and by them immediately cut in pieces[o]. His estate was confiscated, and bestowed upon *Constantius*[p]. The same year the *Franks* made an irruption into *Gaul*, set fire to the city of *Treves*, and laid waste the neighbouring country[q]. The *Burgundians*, who had entered *Gaul* in 407. with the *Vandals* and *Alans*, made themselves this year masters of the country now known by the name of *Alsace*, or *Alsatia*. *Constantius*, who had reduced the rest of *Gaul* after the death of the two usurpers *Constantine* and *Jovinus*, marched against them; but they demanding leave to settle in *Gaul*, as friends and allies of the *Roman* people, the *Roman* general, not caring to reduce them to despair, persuaded the emperor to grant them part of the country which they had conquered[r]. Such was the rise of the kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*, under the conduct of *Gondicarius* or *Guntiarius*. *Socrates* commends them as a peaceable people, for the most part artificers, and willing to earn a livelihood with labour[s]. *Orosius* writes, that in 417. they had all embraced already the christian religion, and the catholic faith, and treated the *Gauls*, who lived under them, not as their vassals, but their friends[t]. About the year 440. the heresy of *Arius* began to prevail among them[u], which was probably owing to their intercourse with the *Goths*. *Ataulphus* had promised, as we have observed above, to restore to *Honorius* his sister *Placidia*, taken prisoner in *Rome*, but treated by him, as she had been by *Alaric*, with the utmost respect. *Constantius*, hoping the emperor would give her to him in marriage, was continually pressing *Ataulphus* to comply with this article; but as *Honorius* had not yet sent to the *Goths* the corn he had promised them, *Ataulphus*, who desired to marry *Placidia* himself, refused to part with her, till the emperor had executed his promise, which he was not b c d e

Lands in Italy; but, seized with a sudden panic, returns to Africa.

Where he is discovered, and cut in pieces by the soldiery.

The Burgundians allowed to settle in Gaul.

[h] OROS. ibid. PHOT. p. 184. SOZ. l. ix. c. 15. p. 817. [i] SID. l. v. ep. 9. p. 139. [k] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 29. p. 322. [l] MARC. chron. [m] OROS. p. 224. [n] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 21. p. 320. [o] OROS. ibid. IDAT. chron. [p] PHOT. c. 80. p. 185. [q] GREG. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63. [r] OROS. c. 43. p. 224. VAL. p. 136. BUCH. de Belg. p. 440. COINT. annal. eccles. Fran. ann. 407. [s] SOCR. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371. [t] OROS. p. 219. [u] SOCR. p. 372.

(O) From an ancient inscription discovered near *Sisteron* in *Provence*, it appears, that *Dardanus*, or *Claudius Postumius Dardanus*, as he is styled there, had been governor of *Vienne*, and its territory, prefect of *Gaul*, quæstor, and in the end raised to the rank of patrician; that his wife's name was *Nevia Galla*; and that his brother, *Claudius Lepidus*, who is distinguished in the inscription with the title of *count*, had been governor of *Germania Prima*, and treasurer. This inscription was made in honour of *Dardanus*, and his wife *Galla*, for having built a castle on a steep rock which stood on their estate, that the country-people, in the sudden irruptions of the barbarians, might have a safe place to retire to with their families and effects. This castle was then called *Theopolis*; but is known at present by the name of *Rochetaillée*.

a not at that time in a condition to do: however, the *Romans* promiſed to ſend the corn as ſoon as *Placidia* was reſtored; and *Ataulphus* to reſtore *Placidia* as ſoon as the corn was ſpent [t]. After matters had continued for ſome time in this ſituation, *Ataulphus*, at laſt thinking himſelf deluded by the *Romans*, began hoſtilities anew; and, having reduced the cities of *Narbone* and *Toulouſe*, advanced as far as *Marſeilles*; but met there with ſuch vigorous reſiſtance from count *Bonifacius*, that he was forced to abandon the enterprize and retire, after having loſt great numbers of his men, and been himſelf wounded. From *Marſeilles* he bent his march to *Bourdeaux*, where he was received as a friend [u]. In the eaſt, one *Lucius*, a pagan who commanded the troops attending the court, provoked at the zeal of young *Theodoſius* in extir-

b pating idolatry, reſolved to ſave it from utter ruin by aſſaſſinating his prince. With this deſign he went to the palace, and was thrice upon the point of drawing his ſword; but was deterred from executing his wicked purpoſe by a woman of an extraordinary ſtature, and a threatening aſpect, who, as often as he put his hand to his ſword, appeared to him holding the emperor in her arms. Thus *Damaſcus*, a pagan writer, who flouriſhed about the latter end of the preſent century. *Photius*, who copied it from him, calls it a moſt remarkable event, and not to be queſtioned, ſince related by a pagan writer [w], but it is not, however remarkable, taken notice of by any other hiſtorian. This year the city of *Conſtantinople* was ſurrounded with the walls, which *Socrates* ſtyles *the great walls* [x]. Thoſe which had been built by

c *Conſtantine the Great* were pulled down, and this new work, twenty miles in circuit, completed in two months [y]. But this we can hardly believe upon the authority of

' *Nicephorus*, an hiſtorian not much to be relied on. It was called *the new wall*, and the wall of *Theodoſius* [z]. The emperor publiſhed this year ſeveral laws againſt the *Re-baptizers*, the *Eunomians*, the *Sabbatians*, and the *Protopaſchites*, that is, againſt thoſe, who, in the celebration of *Eaſter*, differed from the church as to the day, and therefore ſtyled themſelves *Protopaſchites*, as if they followed the primitive practice and inſtitution.

Ataulphus *makes himſelf maſter of* Narbone *and* Toulouſe.

Luciusattempts *upon the life of* Theodoſius.

Conſtantinople *ſurrounded with new walls.*

The next conſuls were *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*, both generals, the former in the weſt, and the latter in the eaſt. This year the negotiations between *Honorius* and

d *Ataulphus*, interrupted by the taking of *Narbonne* and *Toulouſe*, were reſumed. But the more the *Goth* was preſſed by *Conſtantius* to ſend back *Placidia*, the higher he raiſed his demands, that, the emperor refuſing to comply with them, he might have a more plauſible excuſe for detaining her. In the end, by means of one *Candidianus*, he prevailed upon her to marry him, and the nuptials were celebrated at *Narbonne*, in the month of *January* of this year 414. with the utmoſt pomp and ſolemnity. *Placidia* appeared on that occaſion ſitting on a bed of ſtate, and *Ataulphus* in the *Roman* dreſs. He yielded to the royal bride the moſt honourable place, and preſented her with fifty baſons filled with pieces of gold, and fifty with jewels and precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, part of the ſpoils brought from *Rome*. *Attalus*

e aſſiſted at the ceremony, and ſung the *epithalamium* or nuptial ſong [a]; a degrading function for one who had been veſted with the imperial dignity. This marriage was generally looked upon as an accompliſhment of *Daniel*'s prophecy, that the king of the north ſhould marry the daughter of the king of the ſouth [b] (P). *Honorius* did not, it ſeems, conſent to this marriage; for ſoon after *Ataulphus* obliged *Attalus* to reſume the purple, and cauſed him to be acknowledged emperor by his *Goths*. However, he wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to conclude a laſting peace with *Honorius*, and ſeems to have ſet up *Attalus* anew, with no other deſign but to intimidate the emperor, and oblige him to grant to him and his *Goths* more favourable terms [c].

Ataulphus *marries* Placidia.

He obliges Attalus *to reſume the purple.*

Oroſius

[t] Phot. c. 80. p. 185. [u] Rutil. l. i. p. 137. Phot. p. 185. Val. ibid. p. 115. Hier. ep. xi. p. 39. [w] Phot. c. 242. p. 1072. [x] Socr. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334. [y] Niceph. l. xiv. c. 1. p. 438. [z] Cange de Conſt. p. 38—40. [a] Olymp. apud Phot. p. 181. Idat. chron. [b] Idat. ibid. [c] Olymp. ibid.

(P) At *St Gille* in *Languedoc* was found an inſcription made by the neighbouring people in honour of *Ataulphus* and *Placidia*, their princes and ſovereigns, as they are ſtyled, for having choſen *Heraclea*, that is, according to ſome, the preſent St. *Gille*, for the place of their reſidence (1). In this inſcription, which both *Spon* and *du Cange* look upon as genuine, *Ataulphus* is ſtyled *the moſt powerful king of kings*, and *the moſt juſt conqueror of conquerors*: he is likewiſe commended for having driven out the *Vandals*, probably ſome of that nation, who had remained in *Gaul*. *Placidia* is ſtyled *Cæſarea*, as if ſhe had enjoyed the rank and honours peculiar to the *Cæſars*.

(1) *Spon. p.* 157.

Oroſius writes, that at firſt he had nothing elſe in view than the utter ruin of the *Roman* empire, and the eſtabliſhing the empire of the *Goths* in its room; of giving the name of *Gothia* to that country, which was then called *Romania*; and founding ſuch a monarchy among his countrymen as *Auguſtus Cæſar* had introduced among the *Romans*: but being by long experience convinced, that the *Goths* were incapable of being governed by laws, he began to think, that the only means of acquiring a great name was to reſtore, inſtead of deſtroying, the *Roman* empire; and with this view he courted the friendſhip of *Honorius*, eſpecially after he had by *Placidia* a ſon to whom he gave the name of *Theodoſius* [d]. But *Conſtantius*, and his party at court, defeated all the meaſures taken by *Ataulphus* and *Placidia* to bring about an accommodation: they would not ſuffer the emperor to hearken to any overtures, however reaſonable; ſo that the war being renewed, *Ataulphus* was in the end obliged to quit *Gaul*, and retire to *Spain* [e]. *Valeſius* is of opinion, that he withdrew in virtue of a treaty between him and *Conſtantius* [f]; but the expreſſion of *Oroſius*, that *he was forced to quit* Gaul, ſeems to import, that he was driven out by force [g]. *Honorius* publiſhed a law this year, dated the twenty-third of *March*, forbidding any one to moleſt ſuch as ſhould take ſanctuary in churches, on pain of being proſecuted and puniſhed as guilty of high treaſon [h]. The law dated the twentieth of *May* allows every one full liberty to kill ſuch lions as they ſhould find on their grounds, but not to hunt them, in order to take them alive, and ſell them. Theſe lions were kept for the public ſhews; but *the intereſt of our people*, ſays the emperor in that law, *muſt be preferred to our diverſion* [i].

Ataulphus *obliged to quit* Gaul, *and retire into* Spain.

Pulcheria *is declared* Auguſta, *and takes upon her the adminiſtration in the eaſt.*

While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, *Pulcheria*, ſiſter to the emperor *Theodoſius*, being declared *Auguſta* in the eaſt, on account of her extraordinary wiſdom and piety, took upon her the adminiſtration, *Athemius* thinking her better qualified for it than himſelf, though ſhe had juſt then entered only the ſixteenth year of her age, and was but two years older than the emperor. And truly, as ſhe was endowed with moſt extraordinary parts and eminent for piety, her adminiſtration proved equally advantagious to the ſtate and the church. *Theodoſius* II. excelled perhaps in piety and religion even his grandfather *Theodoſius the Great*, which all authors agree to have been in great part owing to the uncommon care *Pulcheria* took in inſpiring him with thoſe religious maxims, by which ſhe ruled her own actions [k]. In the very beginning of her adminiſtration, ſhe perſuaded the young prince to diſmiſs the eunuch *Antiochus*, of whom hereafter, and to remit whatever was due to the exchequer from the year 368. to 407 [l].

The following year, when *Honorius* was conſul the tenth time, and *Theodoſius* the third, *Theodoſius* the ſon of *Ataulphus* and *Placidia*, died in *Spain*, whither his father had retired with his *Goths*; and was buried in a ſilver coffin near *Barcelona*, in a place of prayer, ſays *Olympiodorus* [m], that is, in a church. *Ataulphus* himſelf did not long ſurvive him; for he was killed this very year at *Barcelona*, in the month of *Auguſt* or *September*, ſince the news of his death was brought to *Conſtantinople* on a *Friday* the twenty-fourth of the latter month [n]. He was ſtabbed in his ſtable by one of his own countrymen and domeſtics, named *Dobbius*, whoſe former maſter, a leading man among the *Goths*, *Ataulphus* had cauſed to be murdered ſeveral years before [o]. *Jornandes* ſuppoſes him to have waged a long war with the *Vandals* in *Spain*, and to have been killed three years after he had reduced that country by one *Vernulphus*, whoſe former maſter *Ataulphus* had murdered [p]. But in what relates to *Ataulphus*, we have all along followed *Olympiodorus*, a contemporary hiſtorian, who, generally ſpeaking, agrees with the other writers of thoſe times. *Photius* has tranſmitted to us an abſtract of his work. We are ſurpriſed, that *Giannone*, in his hiſtory of the kingdom of *Naples*, ſhould to his authority prefer that of *Jornandes*, a writer of a much later date, who ſeldom agrees with other hiſtorians, and often diſagrees with himſelf. *Ataulphus*, in dying, charged his brother, not named by our hiſtorian, to ſend back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and to live in friendſhip with them [q]. But the *Goths*, inſtead of his brother, choſe for their king *Sigeric*, the brother of *Sarus*, who immediately ordered the ſix children that *Ataulphus* had had by a former

Ataulphus *murdered in* Spain.

He is ſucceeded by Sigeric, *who cauſes all his children to be mudered, and is murdered himſelf.*

[d] Oros. l. vii. c. 43. p. 224. [e] Olymp. ibid. p. 184. [f] Val. rer. Franc. l. iii, p. 110. [g] Oros. ibid. [h] Cod, Juſt. l. i. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 107. [i] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 12. leg. 1. p. 392. [k] Soz. p. 800. [l] Theoph. p. 70. Isid. Peluſ. l. i. ep. 36. p. 11. Cod. Theod. l. xi, tit. 28. p. 203. [m] Olym. apud Phot. p. 88. [n] Idem ibid. Philostorg. l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 31. p. 655. Olymp. apud Phot. p. 188.

a a former wife, to be inhumanly murdered, revenging by that piece of cruelty, the death of his brother [r]. He even obliged *Placidia* to walk with other captives twelve miles before his chariot. But he was aſſaſſinated by his own people the ſeventh day after his election [s], and *Vallia* choſen in his room, after he had cauſed all thoſe to be murdered who ſtood in competition with him for the crown [t]. This year a great tumult happened at *Alexandria*; the chriſtians and *Jews*, who were very numerous in that city, quarrelling on account of certain ſports exhibited on a *Saturday*, St. *Cyril*, biſhop of the place, threatened to drive the *Jews* out of the city; which exaſperated them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to vent their rage upon his whole flock, the more becauſe they were favoured by *Oreſtes*, prefect of the city, b then at variance with the biſhop. Accordingly having provided themſelves with arms, ſome of them in the dead of the night began to cry *fire*, giving out at the ſame time, that the great church was in flames. Hereupon, the chriſtians, haſtening out of their houſes to ſave the church, were maſſacred in great numbers by the *Jews*, who lay in ambuſh for them, and knew one another by a certain mark or badge, which they wore for that purpoſe. The biſhop, highly provoked at this barbarity, drove all the *Jews* out of the city; which the governor reſenting as an encroachment upon his authority, the breach between him and the biſhop was widened, and they both wrote to court, complaining of each other's conduct. In the mean time, the hermits or monks, who led a retired life on the neighbouring mountains, c being told, that *Oreſtes* had eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Jews* againſt *Cyril* and the chriſtians, flew to the city, and meeting the prefect in his chariot, reviled him with the names of pagan and idolater. *Oreſtes*, to appeaſe them, told them, that he was a chriſtian, and had been baptized by *Atticus*, biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. But while he was yet ſpeaking, one of the monks, by name *Ammonius*, wounded him on the head with a ſtone. His attendants, believing him killed, for he was in an inſtant covered all over with blood, betook themſelves to flight, but ſome of the citizens, coming to his reſcue, ſeized the monk, and delivered him up to the prefect, who cauſed him to be tortured till he died on the rack. The populace reſolved to revenge his death, which they did in the following manner, to the great ſcandal of the chri- d ſtian name and profeſſion. At that time lived in *Alexandria*, *Hypatia*, the daughter of the celebrated philoſopher *Theon*, who had been brought up and inſtructed by her father with extraordinary care, and was thought to excel in learning and quickneſs of apprehenſion all the philoſophers of that age. She was thoroughly acquainted with the different doctrines of the various ſects of philoſophers, and publicly explained them to an incredible number of diſciples, who flocked from all parts to hear her. She was no leſs remarkable for her chaſtity and modeſt carriage, tho' her friendſhip was courted by all the great men of her age, than for her knowledge and erudition. As ſhe was in great favour and eſteem with the prefect *Oreſtes*, the populace, partly to revenge the death of *Ammonius*, and partly becauſe they imagined, as ſhe was a pagan, that ſhe incenſed the prefect againſt the biſhop and his friends, roſe ſuddenly e in a tumultuous manner; and being headed by one *Peter*, a reader in a church, they ſtopped her as ſhe was returning to her houſe, and pulling her out of her chariot, dragged her to a neighbouring church, where they flayed her alive, and tearing her in pieces, carried her mangled members to a place called *Cinaron*, and there burnt them to aſhes. This unheard-of barbarity reflected great ſcandal on the chriſtian name, eſpecially on the church of *Alexandria*. Thus *Socrates* [u], whoſe authority is queſtioned by moſt eccleſiaſtic writers, who ſuppoſe him to have been a zealous *Novatian*, and conſequently an enemy to St. *Cyril*, who, upon his firſt coming to the ſee of *Alexandria*, had cauſed the penal laws againſt thoſe and all other ſectaries to be ſtrictly executed. This year, *Theodoſius*, by a law dated the ſeventh of f *December*, excluded the pagans from all employments both civil and military [w]. By another law, dated the nineteenth of *October*, he depoſed *Gamaliel*, patriarch of the *Jews*, for having abuſed his authority [x]. *Gamaliel* is ſuppoſed to have been the laſt patriarch of that nation, which was thenceforth governed by primates choſen by the councils of the provinces, whereas the patriarchal dignity was hereditary.

A great tumult at Alexandria *between the chriſtians and* Jews.

The celebrated Hypatia *inhumanly murdered by the chriſtians.*

The pagans excluded from all employments both civil and military.

THE next conſuls were *Theodoſius*, the ſeventh time, and *Junius Quartus Palladius*, who was prefect of *Italy* this and the five following years [y]. *Vallia*, lately created king

[r] Idem ibid. OROS. p. 224. Soz. l. ix. c. 9. p. 811. [s] OLYMP. ibid. OROS. p. 224. [t] OROS. ibid. PROSP. chron. [u] SOCR. l. vii. c. 13. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 21. p. 293. [x] Idem, tit. 8. leg. 22. p. 239. [y] IDAT. Cod. THEOD. tit. 6, p. 376.

king of the *Goths* in *Spain*, resolved to pursue the war against the *Romans*, and attempt the reduction of *Africa*; but the fleet he was sending thither being shipwrecked near the streights of *Gibraltar*, and most of the *Goths* on board of it drowned, he entered into a treaty with *Constantius*, and in the end concluded a peace with *Honorius*, delivered up hostages, and, upon his receiving six hundred thousand measures of corn, sent back *Placidia* to her brother [a]. *Vallia* not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with the *Romans* against the barbarians, who had settled in *Spain*, advising the emperor to let them fight it out amongst themselves, since whatever side prevailed, he was sure to be a gainer [b]. This advice *Honorius* followed, to the great advantage and relief of the empire, as we shall see anon. *Attalus*, whom the *Goths* had carried with them into *Spain*, seeing a peace concluded between them and the *Romans*, endeavoured to make his escape by sea; but the ship was taken, and carried to *Constantius*, then in *Gaul*, who sent him to the emperor, by whose orders his right hand, or, as others will have it, only the fingers of his right hand were cut off, to prevent his writing, and he confined to the island of *Lipari*, where the good-natured emperor caused him to be treated with great humanity [c]. This year, *Theodosius*, leaving *Constantinople* for the first time after the twenty-second of *July*, retired to *Eudoxiopolis*, called formerly *Selymbria*, on the sea-coast between *Constantinople* and *Heraclea*, and continued partly there, partly at *Heraclea*, till the twenty-ninth of *September* [d]. The following year 417. when *Honorius* was consul the eleventh time, and *Constantius* the second, the emperor, to reward the services of that brave general, gave him in marriage his sister *Placidia*, an honour at which he had been long aspiring. *Placidia* could not by any means be prevailed upon to give her consent; but the emperor, taking hold of her hand, gave it in spite of her to *Constantius* [e]. They were thus married on the first of *January* of the present year, when *Constantius* entered upon his second consulship. A few months after, *Honorius*, leaving *Ravenna*, repaired to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, causing *Attalus*, brought for that purpose from *Lipari*, to walk before his chariot. When the triumph was over, *Attalus* was remanded to the place of his exile, and *Honorius* returned soon after to *Ravenna* [f]. The *Armorici*, who had revolted in 409. and introduced a new form of government among themselves, were this year brought again under subjection by *Constantius* [g]. About this time the *Franks*, after having dwelt for the space of near two hundred years on the *German* side of the *Rhine*, were allowed to pass that river, and settle in *Thongria*, that is, in the territory of *Tongres*, where they were governed by as many kings as they had cities or cantons [h]. But whether *Faramond*, who reigned at this time, had any authority over the other princes, or was only more powerful than the rest, is what we are no where told. He was the son of *Marcomir*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere [i], and the grandson of *Priamus*, whom *Tiro Prosper* calls the first king of the *Franks* mentioned in history [k]. In the east nothing remarkable happened this year besides an earthquake, which overturned several houses at *Constantinople*, and the city of *Cybyra* in *Phrygia* [l].

Vallia, *king of the* Goths *in* Spain, *concludes a peace with* Honorius

Attalus *taken and confined to the island of* Lipari.

Placidia *married to* Constantius.

The Franks *allowed to settle in* Thongria.

The following year, *Honorius* being consul the twelfth time, and *Theodosius* the eighth, *Vallia*, making war upon the barbarians in *Spain*, cut off all the *Vandals* called *Silingi*, who had settled in *Bætica* or *Andalusia*. He likewise made such a dreadful havock of the *Alans*, who had hitherto ruled over the *Vandals* and *Suevians*, that their king *Ata* being killed among the rest, they fled for protection to *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, who had settled in *Galicia*, and submitted to him. Hence the successors of *Gonderic* used to style themselves kings of the *Vandals* and *Alans* [m]. *Constantius*, to reward these eminent services of *Vallia* and his *Goths*, gave them *Aquitania Secunda*, comprising the present archbishoprick of *Bourdeaux*, and some neighbouring cities, that is, the whole tract from *Toulouse* to the sea, to which he added soon after *Novempopulania* or *Aquitania Tertia*, that is, the province of *Auch*, and *Gascony*. *Vallia* fixed his residence at *Toulouse*, which by that means became the capital of the kingdom of the *Goths* [n]. *Vallia* on the other hand yielded to the *Romans* the countries he had taken from the *Vandals* and *Alans* in *Spain* [o]. He died soon after, leaving behind him one daughter, married to a *Suevian*, by whom she had

Vallia *gains great advantages over the* Vandals *in* Spain.

Vallia *and his* Goths *allowed to settle in* Aquintain.

He dies, and is succeeded by Theodoric.

[a] Oros. p. 224. Philost. l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. Olymp. ibid. p. 189. [b] Oros. ibid. [c] Olymp. Philost. Oros. ibid. [d] Socr. l. vii. c. 36. p. 381. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 163. [e] Olymp. p. 192. [f] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 164. [g] Rut. l. i. p. 132. [h] Greg. Tur. hist. Fran. l. ii. c. 3. p. 64. Buch. de Belg. p. 453. Coint. tom. i. p. 44. [i] P. 483. [k] Prosp. chron. [l] Chron. Al. p. 718. [m] Idat. chron. Sid. carm. ii. p. 300. [n] Idat. Prosp. chron. [o] Jorn. c. 33. p. 658. Idat. p. 32, 33.

a had *Ricimer*, who completed the ruin of the weſtern empire. The deceaſed prince was ſucceeded by *Theodoric*, called by ſome *Theodorus*, and by others *Theodorides* [p]. In the eaſt one *Plintha*, by nation a *Goth*, revolted, but was defeated in *Paleſtine* [q]; which is all we know of this war. *Plintha*, notwithſtanding his defeat, muſt have concluded an advantageous peace with *Theodoſius*; for he was raiſed the following year to the conſular dignity, and preferred to the poſt of general of the *Roman* horſe and foot, in which he acquitted himſelf with great reputation and fidelity [r]. In the conſulſhip he had *Monaxius* for his collegue, another of *Theodoſius*'s officers; ſo that both conſuls were in 419, ſubjects of the eaſtern empire, as they had been in 417. of the weſtern. Of the two conſuls, one was, generally ſpeaking, choſen in the eaſt,
b the other in the weſt; and he named the firſt, who was firſt in rank: if they were equal, each named in the firſt place his own conſul. This year *Honorius*, by a law dated from *Revenna* the twenty-ſecond of *November*, extended the right and privileges of an aſſylum to all places within fifty paces of the church, declaring thoſe guilty of ſacrilege, who ſhould arreſt any one within that ſpace [s]. On the ſecond or third of *July* of this year, *Placidia* was delivered at *Ravenna* of a ſon, who was named *Valentinian*, and ſucceeded *Honorius* in the empire [t]. The barbarians in *Spain* being no longer harraſſed by the *Goths*, who had retired to *Gaul*, as we have related above, and ſettled there, began to quarrel among themſelves. *Gonderic*, king of the *Vandals*, having gained great advantages over *Eremeric*, king of the *Suevians*,
c obliged him in the end to fly for refuge to the mountains of *Biſcay*, where he kept him and his people blocked up. But in the mean time, *Aſterius*, count of *Spain*, and the vicar *Maurocelus*, falling unexpectedly upon *Gonderic*, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt to abandon *Biſcay* and *Galicia*, and retire into *Bætica* [u]. Nothing happened this year in the eaſt, which hiſtorians have thought worthy of notice, except an attempt upon the life of *Aetius*, prefect of *Conſtantinople*, who was attacked by an aſſaſſin, named *Ceryachus*, as he was returning from the great church [w]. We are not told what gave occaſion to this attempt, nor what became of the aſſaſſin. By a law dated the twenty-fourth of *September*, *Theodoſius* declared thoſe guilty of death, who ſhould teach the barbarians the art of building
d ſhips, to which they were yet ſtrangers [x]. The following year, when *Theodoſius* was conſul the eighth time, and *Conſtantius* the third, the army mutinied in the eaſt, and put to death their general, by name *Maximinus*, as we read in the chronicle of *Marcellinus*: but of this mutiny no mention is made by any other writer. In the weſt nothing remarkable happened this year; but under the following conſuls *Agricola* and *Euſtatius*, the emperor *Honorius*, on the eighth of *February*, raiſed *Conſtantius* to the imperial dignity, declared him his collegue, and gave the title of *Auguſta* to his wife *Placidia* [y]. The images of *Conſtantius* and *Placidia* were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, with the news of their promotion; but *Theodoſius* refuſed, for what reaſon we know not, to acknowledge them; which would have kindled a war between the two
e empires, had not *Conſtantius* died ſoon after, that is, on the ſecond of *September*, after having reigned ſeven months wanting ſix days. He was buried at *Ravenna*, where he died of a pleuriſy, in a mauſoleum, built by his widow *Placidia*, near the church of St. *Vitalis* [z]. The ſame year the emperor *Theodoſius* married *Eudocia* on the ſeventh of *June*, on which occaſion there were great rejoicings at *Conſtantinople* [a]. *Euodocia* was the daughter of an *Athenian* philoſopher, by name *Heraclitus*, upon whoſe death her two brothers *Geſius* and *Aurelianus* defrauding her of the ſhare that was due to her of her father's eſtate, ſhe went to *Conſtantinople* to implore the protection of *Pulcheria*. As ſhe had been inſtructed by her father with extraordinary
f care in ſeveral languages, and in every branch of literature, and was beſides remarkable for her beauty and engaging behaviour, *Pulcheria*, after ſeveral conferences with her, began to think her a proper match for her brother *Theodoſius*, whom accordingly ſhe perſuaded to marry her. Thus the modern *Greeks*; but the antient writers tell us, that ſhe was the daughter, not of the philoſopher *Heraclitus*, but of *Leontius*, an *Athenian* ſophiſt, or profeſſor of eloquence at *Athens* [b]. Before the nuptials were celebrated, *Theodoſius* cauſed her to be baptized by *Atticus*, biſhop of *Conſtantinople*,

Valentinian III. *born.*

Gonderic, *king of the* Vandals, *driven by the* Romans *out of* Biſcay *and* Galicia, *retires into* Andaluſia.

Conſtantius *is raiſed to the empire, but dies ſoon after.*

Theodoſius *marries* Eudocia.

Her birth, education, &c.

[p] John. p. 659. Olymp. p. 193. [q] Philost. l. xii. c. 8. p. 166. [r] Socr. l. v. c. 23. p. 292. [s] Cod. Theod. p. 36 [t] Idat. Marc. Prosp. Olymp. p. 192. Cange Byz fam. p. 66, 67. [u] Idat. chron. [w] Chron. Al. p. 720. [x] Cod. Theod. l. ii tit. 40. leg. 24 p. 322. [y] Theoph. p. 72. Olymp. p. 192. Mar. chron. [z] Philost. l. xii. c. 12. p. 537. Olymp. p. 193. Idat. chron. Mabil. it. Ital. p. 39, 40. [a] Chron. Al. p. 724. [b] Socr. l. vii. p. 360.

who changed the name of *Athenais*, which ſhe bore before, into that of *Eudocia*. a
As *Eudocia* had been brought up to letters, ſhe uſed to divert herſelf with making verſes, and this very year ſhe compoſed a poem on the victory gained by the *Romans* over the *Perſians* [d], of which anon (Q). The two brothers of *Eudocia*, informed of her good fortune, and conſcious to themſelves of their behaviour towards her, abſconded; but ſhe, inſtead of reſenting the injury they had done her, invited them both to court, and raiſed them to great preferments [e]. What *Codinus*, a modern *Greek* author, writes of the ſeven philoſophers, who, he ſays, attended *Eudocia* to *Conſtantinople*, has the air of a fable [f]. This year the peace, which had long ſubſiſted between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, was broken, and a war kindled between the two empires on the following occaſion. *Vararanes* V. who in 420. had ſucceeded his father *Iſdegerdes* in the kingdom of *Perſia*, having, at the inſtigation of the *Magi*, raiſed a bloody perſecution againſt the chriſtians in his dominions, great numbers of them took refuge in the *Roman* territories, and repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where they were received with great kindneſs by *Atticus*, biſhop of that city, and by him recommended to the emperor, who was ſo far from delivering them up when redemanded by the *Perſian* embaſſadors, that, on the contrary, he declared his reſolution of defending them, and the religion they profeſſed, with the whole ſtrength of the empire. Some miſunderſtanding had ariſen before between the two princes, the *Perſian* king refuſing to ſend back ſome workmen, whom he had hired out of the *Roman* territories, to dig in mines of gold, which he had lately diſcovered. Beſides, the *Perſians* had plundered and inſulted ſome *Roman* merchants trading to their country [g]. Upon theſe provocations, as *Vararanes* continued to perſecute the chriſtians in his dominions, *Theodoſius* proclaimed war with the *Perſians*, and, without loſs of time, diſpatched *Ardaburius*, an *Alan* by nation, at the head of a conſiderable army, into *Azazene*, a *Perſian* province beyond the *Tigris*, which he laid waſte, after having gained a complete victory over *Narſes*, whom the king of *Perſia* had ſent with a numerous army to oppoſe him. The battle was fought on the third of *September*, and the news of the victory brought on the ſixth of the ſame month to *Conſtantinople*, tho' ſeven hundred miles diſtant from the borders of *Perſia*, by a famous courier of thoſe times, named *Palladius*. He travelled with the ſame ſurprizing expedition to what part ſoever he was ſent; whence of him it was pleaſantly ſaid, that he had found means to reduce the *Roman* empire to a petty ſtate, [h]. *Narſeus*, after his defeat, abandoning the province of *Azazene* to the mercy of the enemy, marched with incredible expedition into *Meſopotamia*, with a deſign to invade the empire on that ſide, which was then deſtitute of troops, and unprepared for a defence. But *Ardaburius*, aware of his deſign, followed him cloſe, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Niſibis*, which place he immediately beſieged. In the mean time the king of *Perſia* having received intelligence of the defeat of his general, and the danger both he and the city of *Niſibis* were in, aſſembled all his forces; and entering *Meſopotamia*, laid ſiege to *Theodoſiopolis*, with a deſign to divert *Ardaburius* from that of *Niſibis*. But the beſieged, having at their head *Eunomius*, biſhop of the place, defended it with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the *Perſians*, after having battered it with an incredible number of machines for a whole month without intermiſſion, were obliged to drop the enterprize and retire [i]. The enemy were ſoon after reinforced with a numberleſs multitude of *Saracens*, under

War between the Perſians *and* Romans.

Narſes, *the* Perſian *general, defeated by* Ardaburius.

Ardaburius *beſieges* Niſibis.

And the king of Perſia Theodoſiopolis.

[c] Evag. l. 1. c. 20. p. 297. [d] Socr. l. vii. c. 21. p. 360. [e] Zonar. p. 44. Chron. Al. p. 724. [f] Vide Codin. de off. Conſtantin. eccleſ. p. 30, 31. [g] Socr. l. vii. c. 18, p. 353. [h] Socr. c. 19. p. 557, 558. [i] Idem ibid. Theodoret. l. v. c. 37, p. 243.

(Q) She likewiſe put it into hexameter verſe the five books of *Moſes*, with thoſe of *Joſhua*, of the *Judges*, and of *Ruth*. This performance, which conſiſted of eight books, is highly commended by *Photius*, as is likewiſe the paraphraſe, which the ſame princeſs wrote in verſe upon the prophecies of *Zachariah* and *Daniel*, and *Photius* found with a poem on St. *Cyprian* and St. *Juſtin*, done, without all doubt, ſays that writer, by the ſame hand (3). The reader will find in *Photius* a long abſtract of that poem (4). *Zonaras* mentions another work of the ſame empreſs, which he calls *Homer's rhapſody*. It contained the hiſtory of our Saviour, and intirely conſiſted of verſes borrowed from *Homer*. It was begun by a patrician, ſays *Zonaras*, but ended by *Eudocia* (5). Some take this patrician to have been one *Pelagius*, who was killed in the reign of *Zeno*, about the year 480, and is ſaid to have been the author of a rhapſody (6). But he was a pagan as appears from *Cedrenus* (7), and conſequently can hardly be thought to have been the author of that work or any part of it.

(3) *Phot. c.* 183. *p.* 413.—416. (4) *Idem, p.* 420. (5) *Zon. tom.* iii. *p.* 37. *Cange Byz. fam. p.* 71. (6) *Voſſ. poet. Græc. p.* 78. (7) *Cedr. p.* 354.

the

a the conduct of *Alamundarus*, a renowned warriour, who to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of the *Perſian* monarch, bragged, that in a ſhort time he would deliver into his hands, not only the *Romans* who beſieged *Niſibis*, but *Antioch* itſelf, the metropolis of *Syria*. But not long after, his men, being ſeized with a panic, and not knowing whither to fly, threw themſelves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where an hundred thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed. The *Romans*, ſeized at the ſame time with the like fear, upon a falſe report, that the king of *Perſia* was advancing to the reſief of *Niſibis* with a great number of elephants, burnt all their machines, raiſed the ſiege, and retired in the utmoſt confuſion into the *Roman* dominions [h].

But are both ſeized with a panic, and retire.

The following year, when *Honorius* was conſul the thirteenth time, and *Theodo-*
b *ſius* the tenth, the war was purſued with uncommon ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians*. From *Socrates*, who only hints at the military preparations, as foreign to his main purpoſe, it appears, that *Ariobindus*, one of the *Roman* generals, killed in a ſingle combat a *Perſian* famed for his valour; that *Ardaburius* put to the ſword ſeven *Perſian* commanders, ſurprized in an ambuſcade; and that *Avitianus* cut in pieces the few *Saracens* who had eſcaped being drowned in the *Euphrates* [i]. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, *Theodoſius*, imagining the *Perſians*, thus weakened and diſheartened, would hearken to an accommodation, and give over perſecuting the chriſtians, in whoſe defence he had taken arms, ſent embaſſadors to *Vararanes*, with very reaſonable propoſals which the *Perſian* would have accepted with joy, had he not been
c diverted from it by the *immortals*, that is, a corps of ten thouſand choſen men, ſo called becauſe they had never been conquered. Theſe perſuaded the king to keep the *Romans* in ſuſpenſe, with a deſign to ſurpriſe them in the mean time; for they imagined they would not at that juncture be upon their guard. With this view they divided themſelves into two bodies, one of which lay concealed among the woods, while the other advanced in order to attack the enemy, and draw them into the ambuſcade; but *Procopius*, who commanded a ſeparate body of *Romans*, obſerving their motions from an eminence where he was poſted, and appriſed of their deſign, attacked them in the rear, while *Ardaburius* charged them in front; by which means they were ſurrounded, and all to a man put to the ſword. *Vararanes* was no ſooner
d informed of this new calamity, than calling the *Roman* embaſſadors, he agreed to the terms they had propoſed, and concluded a peace with the empire for an hundred years, which laſted, according to *Evagrius*, till the twelfth year of the reign of *Anaſtatius*; that is to the year 502 [k]. The chief article of this treaty was, that the *Perſian* king ſhould recall the baniſhed chriſtians, reſtore them to their eſtates, and put a ſtop to the cruel perſecution he had raiſed againſt them. While theſe things paſſed in the eaſt, *Honorius* attempted in the weſt to recover *Spain* out of the hands of the barbarians, greatly weakened by their inteſtine wars. With this view he ordered *Caſtinus*, general of the foot, and *comes domeſticorum*, or captain of the guards, to march againſt them, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army. *Caſtinus*
e ſoon reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they were preparing to ſubmit, and abandon the country which they had ſeized; but the *Roman* general having unſeaſonably ventured an engagement, twenty thouſand of his men were cut in pieces, and he obliged with the reſt to take refuge in *Tarraco* [l]. *Idatius* aſcribes this defeat to the treachery of the *Goths*, who ſerved in the *Roman* army; but all other writers to the raſh and imprudent conduct of *Caſtinus*.

The Romans *gain great advantages over the* Perſians.

A peace concluded between the Romans *and* Perſians *for* 100 *years.*

The Romans *receive a great overthrow in* Spain.

The following year, when *Marinianus* and *Aſclepiodotus* were conſuls, a miſunderſtanding aroſe between *Honorius* and his ſiſter *Placidia*, whom the emperor had entertained at court, ever ſince the death of her huſband *Conſtantius*, with ſuch tenderneſs and affection, as gave occaſion to ſome very ſcandalous reflections. Some
f authors write, that the great ſway ſhe bore in the adminiſtration giving no ſmall jealouſy to the other courtiers, they perſuaded the emperor, that ſhe correſponded privately with the *Goths*, who ſtill looked upon her as their queen, and betrayed to them all his counſels [m]. However that be, it is certain, that the extraordinary affection he had hitherto ſhewn her being this year changed into an averſion no leſs extraordinary, *Placidia* thought it adviſeable to quit the court, and retire, with her ſon *Valentinian*, and her daughter *Honoria*, to *Conſtantinople*, where ſhe was kindly received by her nephew *Theodoſius*, tho' he had formerly refuſed to acknowledge her huſband

Placidia *obliged to quit the court and retire into the eaſt, with her ſon* Valentinian.

[h] Socr. ibid. p. 357—360. [i] Idem. c. 18. p. 357. [k] Evagr. l. i. c. 19. p. 276. Theodor. l. v. c 39. p. 245. Socr. c. 21. p. 359. [l] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63, 64. Salvian. l. vii. p. 165—168. [m] Olymp. p. 196.

Con-

Honorius *dies.* *Conſtantius* for emperor, and to give her the title of *Auguſta* [n]. Soon after, *Honorius* died at *Ravenna* of a dropſy, having reigned twenty eight years ſince the death of his father *Theodoſius*, and thirty-one ſince the time he was firſt created *Auguſtus*. He died, according to *Theopharnes*, on the fifteenth, according to *Olympiodorus*, on the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 423 [o]. His body is ſaid to have been found in 1542. with thoſe of his two wives, *Maria* and *Thermantia*, the daughters of *Stilicho*, in the church of St. *Peter* at *Rome* [p]. If ſo, it muſt have been conveyed thither from *Ravenna*, where his mauſoleum, ſuppoſed to have been built by his ſiſter *Placidia*, is ſtill to be ſeen. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall ſpeak in note (R). *Honorius* no ſooner expired, than an expreſs was diſpatched to *Theodoſius* with

[n] Idem ibid. Cassiod. chron. [o] Theoph. p. 72. Olymp. ibid. [p] Mabill. it. Ital. p. 145.

(R) Under *Honorius* flouriſhed *Olympiodorus*, who wrote in *Greek* the hiſtory of that prince, from the year 407. the thirteenth of his reign, to his death. His work conſiſted of twenty-two books, and was inſcribed to *Theodoſius* II. or *the younger* (8). The reader will find an abſtract of it in *Photius* (9), who cenſures the ſtyle as low, and altogether unworthy of an hiſtorian. However, both *Zoſimus* and *Sozomen* ſeem to have copied it in ſeveral places, with ſome alteration in the phraſe and expreſſion. The author was a native of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, and a pagan by religion. He was ſent, with others, in 412. on an embaſſy to a king of the *Huns*, named *Donatus*. Of this voyage (for he went by ſea) he gives us an account, and likewiſe of his journey to *Athens*, and of another to *Syene* in *Egypt*, and to the country of the *Blemmyes* (10). This is all we know of him. *Renatus Profeturus Frigeridus* wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of the reign of *Honorius*, from the year 406. to the death of that prince; but of his work only a few paſſages have reached our times, quoted by *Gregory* of *Tours* (11). *Claudian* may be ranked among the hiſtorians who have written of *Honorius*; for of him we have learnt ſeveral particulars of that princes's reign. He was a native of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, as he himſelf tells us in different places (12), and not the ſon of a merchant at *Florence*, as ſome modern writers have endeavoured to prove. He firſt applied himſelf to *Greek* poetry; and a fragment of a poem written in that language on the battle of the giants has reached our times (13). His firſt *Latin* poem was on the conſulſhip of the two brothers *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, who were conſuls in 395. He continued to write on different ſubjects til the ſixth conſulſhip of *Honorius* in 404. he was ſent by the citizens of *Rome* in 396. to congratulate *Honorius* on his third conſulſhip (14). He was honoured by the *Roman* ſenate with a ſtatue, which, in conſideration of his excellency in poetry, was erected in the ſquare of *Trajan* (15). This honour was conferred upon him before he wrote his poem on the battle of *Pollentia*, fought in 403 (16). He was then tribune and notary, or ſecretary of ſtate, and enjoyed the title of *clariſſimus*, which was given to the *Roman* ſenators. Having, by means of *Serena*, *Stilicho*'s wife, married a lady poſſeſſed of great wealth in *Africa*, he thenceforth became a profeſſed admirer, or rather adorer, of that great general and ſtateſman, inveighing at the ſame time with much bitterneſs againſt his rivals *Rufinus* and *Eutropius* (17); neither does he ſpare his countryman *Adrian*, who was *prefectus prætorio* in 405. and 412. having probably been ill-uſed by him; for an epiſtle addreſſed to him to appeaſe his wrath, he complains, that his family was undone; that of his friends ſome had been put to the rack, and others baniſhed; and that he himſelf was reduced to beggary (18). To avoid the ill treatment he met with from *Adrian*, he retired, perhaps to the eaſt; for *Evagrius* ranks him among the poets who flouriſhed under *Theodoſius* II (19). He was, as appears from his poems, an adorer of *Jupiter*, and all the other pagan gods. *Oroſius* call him *a moſt obſtinate pagan*; but at the ſame time commends him as an excellent poet (20). St. *Auſtin* likewiſe ſpeaks of him as a perſon greatly attached to the pagan ſuperſtition (21). Hence ſuch pieces as contain chriſtian ſentiments are by the beſt critics thought not to have been written by him, tho' they paſs under his name, but perhaps by *Claudian Mamertus*, a chriſtian poet of *Vienne* in *Gaul*. *Baillet* prefers *Claudian* to all the poets who have written ever ſince the age of *Auguſtus*, tho' he is not, in the opinion of that writer, without ſome faults. His ſtyle is ſometimes flat, and ſometimes ſublime, and moſt of his poems filled with youthful ſallies (22). In all his poems there are ſeveral moſt beautiful paſſages. His invectives, eſpecially the two books againſt *Eutropius*, are moſt eſteemed by the learned (23). It is uncertain whether or no the poem on mount *Ætna* was written by him. *Rutilius*, or, as he is ſtyled at the head of his poem, *Rutilius Claudius Numatianus*, flouriſhed in the reign of *Honorius*. He was a native of *Gaul* according to ſome, of *Toulouſe*. His father had been governor of *Hetruria*, quæſtor, *comes largitionum*, and prefect (24). The *Hetruſcans*, by whom he was greatly beloved, on account of his good nature, and impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, erected ſeveral ſtatues to his honour at *Piſa*, and in other places. He was dead when his ſon wrote his poem. *Rutilius* bore two of the greateſt employments in the ſtate, *viz.* the office of *magiſter officiorum*, and that of prefect of *Rome* (25). In his poem he declares himſelf a pagan, and a ſworn enemy to the monks, eſpecially to thoſe who lived in the iſland of *Capraria* or *Capraia*, on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*, a young nobleman of his acquaintance having renounced a plentiful eſtate, and abandoned his friends relations, and even his wife, to lead a retired life among them (26). *Rutilius* left *Rome*, where he had lived many years, to return to *Gaul*, where he had not been ever ſince the barbarians entered that country in 407. He ſet out from *Rome* in 417. or 420. about the month of *October*; and embarquing on the *Tiber*, repaired to *Porto*, where he waited a whole fortnight for the

(8) *Phot. c.* 80. *p.* 177. (9) *Idem ibid.* (10) *Idem. p.* 177—193. (11) *Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l.* ii. *c.* 9. *p.* 62—64. (12) *Claud. ep.* 1. *p.* 238. *ep.* 4. *p.* 241. *ep.* 5. *p.* 11, 15, &c. (13) *Claud. p.* 236. (14) *Idem, epig.* 9. *p.* 240. (15) *Idem, conſ. Hon.* 3. *p.* 39. (16) *Bell. Goth. p.* 156. (17) *Idem, e. z. p.* 239, 240. (18) *Idem, epig.* 29. *p.* 261. & *ep.* 1. *p.* 257. (19) *Evag. l* i. *c.* 19. *p.* 278. (20) *Oroſ. l.* vii. *c* 35. *p.* 221. (21) *Aug. civ Dei, l.* v. *c.* 26. *p.* 142. (22) *Laill. jugemens de ſçavans. tom.* 6. p. 485—492. (23) *Idem p.* 490, 491. (24) *Rut. p.* 128, 137, 139. (25) *Idem, p,* 131, 138. (26) *Idem, p.* 137.

new

a with the news of his death, which that prince concealed for ſome days, and in the mean time gave private orders to a body of troops to advance into the neighbourhood of

new moon, and the ſetting of the *Pleiades* (27). Thoſe who are ſkilled in aſtronomy, may learn from thence the preciſe year and day of his departure. In 417. and 420. it was new moon in the latter end of *October*. At *Porto*, twelve miles diſtant from *Rome*, he heard, or imagined to hear, the ſhouts of the people in the circus. He embarqued there on board a ſmall veſſel, for the convenience of landing when he pleaſed to viſit his friends, and of lying every night aſhore (28). He landed at *Circumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, and went to view certain hot waters three miles from thence, called the baths of *Taurus*. Putting to ſea again, he diſcovered the ruins of *Graviſcæ*, and *Coſa* or *Coſſa*, two cities famous in former ages. The inhabitants of the latter are ſaid to have been forced, by prodigious ſwarms of rats, to quit their habitations, and abandon the place of their nativity (29). He came aſhore likewiſe at *Port-Ercole*, beyond which he ſaw the iſland of *Elba*, more uſeful, ſays he, on account of its iron-mines, than the *Tagus* for its golden ſands. From *Port-Ercole* he purſued his voyage to *Piombino*, and from thence to *Volterra*, where he went to ſee the fine houſe of *Albinus* prefect of *Rome*, and the ſalt-pits at a ſmall diſtance from it. At *Volterra* he found *Victorinus* his intimate friend, who, having abandoned *Toulouſe*, the place of his nativity, after the ſettling of the *Goths* there, had retired to *Italy*, and led a country life in the neighbourhood of *Volterra*. He had been formerly vicar to the prefect of *Britain*, which office he diſcharged to the great ſatisfaction of the people. *Honorius*, upon his retiring from *Toulouſe*, had invited him to court, and given him the title of *count*; but he preferred a retired life to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him (30). From *Volterra* he ſailed to the iſland of *Gorgona*, and from thence to the port of *Piſa*, where he landed, and went to the city of *Piſa*, to ſee one of his old friends, by name *Protadius*, who, having loſt a great eſtate in *Gaul*, ſeized, no doubt, by the barbarians, enjoyed greater happineſs on a ſmall farm he had in *Umbria*, than he had ever done when poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, and large territories in his own country. He had been prefect of *Rome*, and had been diſtinguiſhed with ſeveral other great employments (31). Several letters written to him by *Symmachus* have reached our times (32). From the port of *Piſa*, where *Rutilius* was obliged to continue ſome time, by reaſon of the bad weather, he purſued his voyage to *Portus Lunæ*, now *Lerice*, as is commonly believed (33). Thus far his *itinerary*, that is, the poem in which he deſcribes his voyage. It was divided into two books, of which the latter is almoſt intirely loſt. It has all the elegance and beauty that can be expected in a performance of that unpoliſhed age, and informs us of ſeveral things relating to the hiſtory of thoſe times (34). Some groſs miſtakes that are to be found in it are, without all doubt, owing partly to the tranſcribers, partly to ignorant critics, who have ſtrangely mangled and confounded ſeveral paſſages. The author betrays throughout the whole work an inveterate hatred both to the *Jews* and chriſtians; whence we may conclude *Lachanius*, *Lucilius*, and his other heroes, to have been pagans. *Lucilius* wrote ſome ſatires, in no reſpect inferior, if we may depend upon the judgment of *Rutilius*, to thoſe of *Turnus* and *Juvenal* (35); but none of them have reached our times. One *Flavius*, ſaid by St. *Jerom* to have wrote in verſe a treatiſe on phyſic, is ſuppoſed by *Voſſius* to have flouriſhed in the reign of *Honorius*, and likewiſe the author of a comedy, ſtyled *Querulus Plauti*, which is inſcribed to one *Rutilius* (36). About this time flouriſhed *Macrobius*, or, as he is ſtyled at the head of his works, *Aurelius Theodoſius Ambroſius Macrobius*; for all the perſons he introduces in his *ſaturnalia*, lived under *Theodoſius* I. and his ſon *Honorius*. He was born in a country where the *Latin* tongue was not common, that is, in *Greece*, or in the eaſt (37). To his name is added, in an antient manuſcript, the word *Sicetinus*, denoting perhaps his country (38); but to us quite unknown. He is diſtinguiſhed with the title of *illuſtrious*, peculiar to the firſt officers of the empire (39). Hence moſt writers conclude him to be the *Macrobius* who was great chamberlain to *Theodoſius* II. in 422. for whoſe ſake that prince equalled the office of great chamberlain to thoſe of the *præfectus prætorio* and the *magiſter militiæ* (40). But againſt this opinion may be objected, that *Macrobius*, the author of the *ſaturnalia* had a ſon, by name *Euſtathius*; whereas the great chamberlains were, generally ſpeaking, eunuchs. Beſides, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that *Theodoſius* II. would have ſuffered a pagan (for ſuch was the writer we are ſpeaking of) to enjoy that office, which obliged him to be always about the emperor's perſon. The opinion of thoſe is better founded, who ſuppoſe the *Macrobius*, who was proconſul of *Africa* in 410. to be the author of the *ſaturnalia*. One *Macrobius* was vicar of *Spain* in 399. and 400. but ſtripped of his employment, and puniſhed for ſome neglect with reſpect to the poſts (41). The work by which *Macrobius* is chiefly known is his *ſaturnalia*, that is, a collection of antiquities made by him for the inſtruction of his ſon, and ſuppoſed to have been uttered in a familiar converſation among friends, during the *ſaturnalia*, or the feaſts of *Saturn*. The perſons he introduces were the moſt famous then at *Rome* for their learning and erudition. He addreſſes his work to his ſon, for whoſe ſake he undertook it. He relates moſt things in the terms of the authors from whom he borrowed them, by reaſon he could not expreſs himſelf with eaſe in the *Latin* tongue; and truly, when he ſpeaks himſelf, he plainly betrays his ſmall knowledge of that language (42). Beſides the *ſaturnalia*, he wrote two books on the dream of *Scipio*, which he likewiſe inſcribed to his ſon, for whoſe inſtruction he undertook that, as he had done the other work. Theſe two books were tranſlated into *Greek* by *Maximus*, ſurnamed *Planudes* (43). Another book paſſes under the name of *Macrobius*, on the conformity and diſagreement of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues (44). *Macrobius* wrote indeed a book on that ſubject; but the work which has reached our times was done by *John Erigenes*, who flouriſhed in the ninth century, and followed the plan of *Macrobius*, whom he copied, changing ſome things, and adding many of his own (45). One of the chief perſons introduced by *Macrobius* in his *ſaturnalia* is *Servius*, who had lately begun to teach polite literature at *Rome*, and is painted as a perſon of great learning, and at the ſame time univerſally beloved on account of his modeſty (46). He

(27) *Idem, p.* 131, 132. (28) *Idem ibid.* (29) *Idem p.* 133. (30) *Idem, p.* 137. (31) *Idem, p.* 138. (32) *Sym. l.* iv. *ep.* 17, 34, 57. *p.* 150, 174. *ep.* 30, 32, *&c.* (33) *Rut. p.* 141. (34) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat l.* iii. *c.* 2. *p.* 746. (35) *Rut. p.* 137. (36) *Voſſ. ibid.* (37) *Macrob. ſat. l.* i. *c.* 8. *p.* 161. (38) *Wilth. append. ad dypt. Leod. p.* 4. (39) *Macrob. p.* 159. (40) *Cod. Theod. tit.* 2. *p.* 82. (41) *Idem, l.* viii. *tit.* 5. *leg.* 61. *p.* 565. (42) *Vide Baillet. tom.* 2. *p.* 27, 28. (43) *Macrob. p.* 17. (44) *Idem, p.* 556. (45) *Idem, p.* 601, 604, 736. (46) *Idem, ſat. l.* i. *c.* 2. *p.* 166. *&* *l.* vi. *c.* 7. *p.* 478.

of *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, that they may be ready at hand, to prevent the disturbances, a which, he apprehended, would be raised in the west by the death of *Honorius*, who had left no children to succeed him. Having taken this step, he made public the death of his uncle, and at the same time caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of the west in his room [q]. This did not deter *John*, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, from assuming the purple in *Rome*, being, no doubt, encouraged in his usurpation by *Castinus*, then commander in chief of all the troops in the west; for he was afterwards disgraced and banished, as one of the usurper's chief friends and abetters. The new tyrant was immediately acknowledged, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but likewise in *Gaul* and *Dalmatia*; which encouraged him to dispatch embas- sadors to *Theodosius*, to acquaint him with his promotion; but that prince refusing to b acknowledge him, and having even ordered his embassadors to be arrested, and thrown into prison, he began to prepare for war, and sent the famous *Aetius*, with great sums, to draw the *Huns* over to his assistance. That celebrated commander, who governed the western empire with an absolute sway during the reign of *Valentinian* III. was a native of *Dorostorum* in *Mœsia*, and the son of *Gaudentius*, who, tho' by birth a *Scythian*, was raised to the highest employments in the empire, and married an *Italian* lady of great distinction, called by some *Italica* [r]. By her he had *Aetius*, who served at first among the emperor's domestics, or the troops of his household, and was given as an hostage to *Alaric*, after the battle of *Pollentia* in 403. and afterwards to the *Huns*, with whose chiefs he, by that means, became acquainted. c Upon his return from the country of the *Huns*, he married the daughter of *Carpilio*, captain of the guards, and had by her two sons, *Gaudentius*, who, after the death of *Valentinian*, was taken by *Genseric*, and *Carpilio*, whom *Valentinian* sent with the character of embassador to *Attila* [s]. *Aetius* was a person of a majestic mien, of a tall stature, and a robust constitution, which enabled him to bear with patience the greatest

Theodosius causes himself to be proclaimed emperor of the west.

John, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, assumes the purple.

Aetius his character.

[q] Olymp. ibid. Socr. l. vii. c. 23. p. 363. Idat. chron.
[r] Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 220.
[s] Cassiod. l. i. ep. 4. p. 4. Pris. leg. p. 53. Sidon. p. 169. Oros. p. 305.

He is introduced speaking mostly of *Virgil*, whose inimitable *Æneid* he explained daily to the *Roman* youth. *Maurus Servius Honoratus*, the author of the learned comment on that poet, is, without all doubt, the *Servius* of *Macrobius*; but most authors are of opinion, that what has reached us is but an abridgment of that learned work; nay, some take it to have been compiled from *Servius*, and several other ancient critics. It is generally held in great esteem, tho' not quite free from faults (47). In the fifth or sixth century flourished a grammarian, named *Martianus Mineus Felix Capella*, who published several philological pieces, partly in prose, and partly in verse, which are still extant, and divided into seven books. He is said in the manuscript copies to have been honoured with the proconsular dignity. He was a native of *Carthage*; and truly his barbarous and uncouth style plainly shews, that he was no *Roman*. In his allegorical marriage of *Mercury* with the sciences, there is a great deal of erudition; but the invention is low and mean (48). *Securus Melior Felix*, who professed the christian religion, and taught rhetoric at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, was at the trouble of correcting in 534. one of the copies of *Capella*'s works. *Felix* is styled in that manuscript *V. SP. Com. Consist.* that is, *Vir spectabilis, comes consistorianus*, a man of rank, and one of the consistorial or the emperor's counsellors (49). *Capella* was greatly esteemed in *France* about the end of the sixth century, as appears from *Gregory* of *Tours* (50). *Sosipater Charisius*, who published five books of observations on the grammar, still extant, flourished, according to *Baillet*, in the time of *Honorius*, and before him a grammarian named *Diomedes*, whose works have likewise reached our times; but strangely mangled by *Johannes Cæsarius*, who published them, with many observations of his own. *Charisius* is quoted by *Priscian*, who wrote about the end of the fifth century (51). About the same time, *Fabius Fulgentius Planciades* published an explication of some words, addressed to one *Calcidius*, another grammarian. He is styled, and indeed deservedly, both by *Vossius* (52) and *Baillet* (53), one of the most ignorant, impertinent, and trifling authors that ever wrote. He ascribes to *Tacitus*, and other writers, works never before heard of. *Cave* calls him an arrant trifler (54); and all other critics speak of him with the utmost contempt. In the reign of *Theodosius* I. or his children, was published, as is commonly believed, what we call the map or tables of *Peutinger*, which are a kind of itinerary made by some quarter-master, if we may so call him, for the use of those who conducted the *Roman* troops from one place to another. The author seems to have been altogether ignorant both of geography and mathematics. These tables belonged to one *Conrad Peutinger* in *Augsbourg*, and are thence called the tables of *Peutinger*; but they were published by *Velser*, who had them engraved by *John Moret* of *Antwerp*. The reader will find them in the *theatrum geographicum* of *Bretius*, published at *Amsterdam* in 1619. and among *Velser*'s works, published at *Nuremberg* in 1682. A civilian, by name *Eusebius*, described the war of *Gainas* in a poem, which he styled *Gainades*; and the same subject was handled by another poet, named *Ammonius*, who read it to *Theodosius* II. in 438. Both these poems were greatly esteemed (55); but neither of them has reached our times. *Vossius* supposes them to have been written in the *Greek* tongue, and ranks the authors among the *Greek* poets (56).

(47) *Vide Baill. tom.* 2. *p.* 29—32. (48) *Idem, p.* 34, 35. *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* iii. *p.* 712, 713.
(49) *Wilt. p.* 4. (50) *Vide Voss. p.* 713, 714. (51) *Vide Baill. tom.* 3. *p.* 36—40. (52) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 30. *p.* 159. (53) *Baill. p.* 38, 39. (54) *Cave script. eccles. p.* 274.
(55) *Socr. p.* 309. (56) *Voss. poet Græc. c.* 9. *p.* 77, 78.

a greateſt fatigues and toils attending a military life. He is no leſs commended by the antients on account of his prudence, addreſs, and penetration in ſtate affairs, than for his courage, intrepidity, and experience in war. He was quite free from avarice, had but little ambition, and was ſuch a lover of juſtice, that no recommendations, however preſſing, were capable of making him ſwerve from what to him appeared equitable. Such is the character given him by *Frigeridus*, a writer who flouriſhed in his time, as quoted by *Gregory* of *Tours*[t]. *Procopius* writes, that *Aetius* and *Bonifacius*, who defended, as we have obſerved above, *Marſeilles*, when attacked by *Ataulphus*, were the two greateſt commanders in the whole empire, and that they deſerved to be called the laſt *Romans*[u]. *John*, upon his uſurping the empire, committed to
b *Aetius* the care of his palace, and then ſent him to engage the *Hunns* in his cauſe, with orders to fall upon the rear of the troops of *Theodoſius*, if they entered *Italy*, while he himſelf charged them in front[w]. On the ſecond of *January* of the preſent year, *Eudocia* was declared *Auguſta*[x].

He ſides with the uſurper.

THE next conſuls were *Caſtinus* and *Victor*. The former was general of the troops in the weſt. Of the latter we find no farther mention in hiſtory. In an antient inſcription, *John* the uſurper is ſtyled conſul, he being probably acknowledged in the weſt, and not *Victor*, whom we may ſuppoſe to have belonged to the eaſtern empire[y]. This year, *Theodoſius*, having drawn together all the forces of the eaſtern empire, ordered them to march to the frontiers of *Dalmatia*, under the conduct of *Ardaburius*,
c his ſon *Aſpar*, and *Candidianus*. With them he ſent *Placidia* and her ſon *Valentinian*, allowing the former to reſume the title and enſigns of *Auguſta*, which had been given her by her brother *Honorius*, but ſhe had quitted upon her entering the dominions of *Theodoſius*; and the latter to wear the habit peculiar to the *nobiliſſimi*; which title had ſome time ſince been given to the ſons of emperors before they were created *Cæſars*. This was renouncing all pretentions to the empire of the weſt, and tacitly yielding it to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*. Before they left *Conſtantinople*, *Theodoſius* betrothed his daughter *Licinia Eudoxia*, born in 422. to young *Valentinian*, born on the ſecond or third of *July* in 419. When this ceremony was over, *Placidia* ſet out from *Conſtantinople* with her ſon, who upon his arrival at *Theſſalonica*, received the
d enſigns peculiar to the *Cæſar*, at the hands of *Helio*, *magiſter officiorum* to *Theodoſius*, by whom he had been ſent thither for that purpoſe[z]. The following year, *Theodoſius* being conſul, the eleventh time, with *Valentinian*, the army of *Theodoſius*, having croſſed *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*, appeared unexpectedly before *Salonæ*, which was taken by ſtorm. There it was agreed among the generals, that *Aſpar* ſhould lead the cavalry, with *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, by land to *Aquileia*, while the foot, under the command of his father *Ardaburius*, was conveyed thither by ſea. This ſcheme was ſo well executed on the ſide of *Aſpar*, that arriving at *Aquileia*, before the enemy had the leaſt notice of his march, he entered the place without oppoſition; but the fleet being diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, *Ardaburius* was driven aſhore, and taken by the
e uſurper's ſoldiers, who immediately carried him to their emperor, then at *Ravenna*, by whom he was received with great joy, and treated with the utmoſt civility, the uſurper hoping by his means to prevail upon *Theodoſius*, with whom *Ardaburius* bore a great ſway, to acknowledge him for his collegue. As he was allowed to converſe with whom he pleaſed, he gained over the chief officers, who had already begun to be tired of their new prince, and privately acquainting his ſon *Aſpar* with the ſecurity in which the tyrant lived, adviſed him to advance ſpeedily with his beſt troops to *Ravenna*. *Aſpar* immediately ſet out from *Aquileia* with the cavalry; and being conducted through the marſhes which ſurrounded *Ravenna* on the land-ſide by a ſhepherd, whom *Socrates* ſuppoſes to have been an angel, he entered the city, find-
f ing the gates open and unguarded, and, with the aſſiſtance of the officers gained over by his father, ſecured the tyrant before he had time to make his eſcape, and ſent him in chains to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, then at *Aquileia*, who ordered firſt his right-hand, and then his head, to be cut off[a]. *Procopius* writes, that after his hand was cut off in the circus, he was by way of deriſion, carried about the ſtreets on an aſs, expoſed to the outrages and inſults of the incenſed multitude[b]. Thus ended the uſurpation of *John*, after he had borne the title of emperor about a year and ſix months, according

Theodoſius *grants to* Placidia *the title of* Auguſta, *and to* Valentinian *that of* Cæſar.

Aſpar *takes* Aquileia *from the uſurper.*

He ſurpriſes Ravenna, *and takes the uſurper, who is put to death.*

[t] GREG. Tur. p. 50. [u] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 183. [w] OLYMP. p. 96. PROSP. chron. [x] Chron. Alex. p. 726. [y] SIDON. p. 137. [z] OLYM. p. 169. PROSP. chron. PHILOST. p. 573. GREG. Tur. p. 57. [a] SOCR. p. 363. PHILOSTORG. p. 538. OLYMP. ibid. p. 197. [b] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 181.

according to *Philoſtorgius* [c]. Three days after his death, *Aetius* entered *Italy*, with an army of ſixty thouſand *Hunns*, who being met by *Aſpar*, a bloody battle was fought, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; but, in the mean time, *Aetius* informed of the death of the uſurper, thought it adviſeable to make the beſt terms he could for himſelf. Accordingly, *Placidia* promiſing not only to receive him into favour, but to diſtinguiſh him with the title of count, he ſubmitted, and prevailed upon the *Hunns* to return into their own country [d]. *Caſtinus*, who was ſuppoſed to have favoured the uſurpation of *John*, was ſent into exile [e]. When news of the captivity and death of the uſurper was brought to *Conſtantinople*, *Theodoſius* declared his couſin, young *Valentinian*, emperor, and *Placidia* regent of the empire during her ſon's minority. He intended to have taken a progreſs into *Italy*, in order to inveſt him there with the ſovereignty, and with that deſign advanced as far as *Theſſalonica*; but was ſeized in that city with a malady, which obliged him to return to *Conſtantinople*, whence he diſpatched *Helio* to *Rome*, where *Valentinian* then was, with the purple and imperial diadem, which the young prince received on the twenty-third of *October* of the preſent year 425 [f]. The ſame year, the *Vandals*, who had ſettled in *Spain*, ravaged the *Balearic* iſlands; and the *Goths*, to whom ſettlements had been allotted in *Gaul*, ſeized on ſome of the neighbouring cities, and even laid ſiege to *Arles* which however they were forced to raiſe at the approach of *Aetius*, who was ſent againſt them with a conſiderable army [g]. In the eaſt, *Thrace* was laid waſte by the *Hunns*, probably the ſame who came to the aſſiſtance of the uſurper *John*, and even threatened *Conſtantinople* with a ſiege, but their leader, by name *Rougas*, or *Roilas*, being killed with lightning, and a great numbers of them being daily ſwept away by a plague, which broke out in the army, the reſt withdrew of their own accord, dreading, not the valour of the *Romans*, ſay *Socrates*, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently eſpouſed the cauſe of *Theodoſius* [h]. The following year 426. when *Theodoſius* was conſul the twelfth time, and *Valentinian* the ſecond, nothing remarkable happened in either empire. But under the next conſuls *Hierius* and *Ardaburius* the *Goths*, who had held *Pannonia* ever ſince the year 377. when they firſt entered that province, were by *Theodoſius* transferred from thence into *Thrace*, where they continued for the ſpace of fifty-eight years, that is, till they made themſelves maſters of *Italy*, under the conduct of *Theodoric* [i]. This gives us room to believe, that *Theodoſius*, in yielding the weſtern empire to *Valentinian*, retained *Pannonia*, which compriſed that part of the preſent *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, that lies on the *Roman* ſide of the *Danube*, and had hitherto belonged to the empire of the weſt. Great diſturbances happened this year in *Africa*, which were attended with the loſs of that province. The celebrated count *Bonifacius*, who is ſtyled by St. *Auſtin* the joy of the church, the bulwark of *Africa*, and the glory of the empire, had been rewarded by *Honorius*, for his gallant behaviour at *Marſeilles*, with the command of the troops in *Africa*; which province he defended with great bravery againſt the repeated attempts of *John*, tho' acknowledged by all the other commanders and governors of provinces. *Placidia*, highly pleaſed with his conduct and loyalty, called him to court, upon the death of that tyrant; and, after beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums, preferred him to the poſt of *comes domeſticorum*, and ſent him back into *Africa* with an unlimitted power. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to his rivals at court, eſpecially to *Felix*, commander in chief of the *Roman* forces, and to *Aetius*, who, after his departure, perſuaded *Placidia*, that he had preſerved *Africa* for himſelf, and only waited an opportunity of eſtabliſhing there an independent ſovereignty. *Aetius* added, that the empreſs might, when ſhe pleaſed, oblige him to pull off the maſk, by recalling him from his government; for he was very ſure *Bonifacius* would diſobey her orders. Hereupon the credulous princeſs immediately ordered *Bonifacius* to repair to *Rome*; but *Aetius* having written to him before, that the empreſs ſought his ruin, and, in order to compaſs it, would ſoon recal him, adviſing him at the ſame time, with great proteſtations of friendſhip, to conſult his own ſafety, he, upon the receipt of *Placidia*'s letter, concluded *Aetius* to be his true friend, and following his advice, he refuſed to comply with the orders he had received. Hereupon *Placidia*, no longer queſtioning the truth of *Aetius*'s informatiom, declared *Bonifacius* a public enemy, and diſpatched a ſtrong body of troops againſt him, under the command of *Mavortius*, *Galbio*, and *Sinex*,

Aetius *ſubmits, and is received into favour.*

Valentinian III. *declared emperor of the weſt, and his mother* Placidia *regent.*

Thrace *ravaged by the* Hunns.

The Goths *removed from* Pannonia *into* Thrace.

Bonifacius *in great favour with* Placidia.

He is forced by the treachery of Aetius *and* Felix, *to revolt*

[c] Philost. ibid. [d] Idem. ibid. Cassiod. chron. [e] Prost. chron. [f] Socr. l. vii. c. 24. p. 364. Olymp. ibid. Idat. chron. [g] Sidon. p. 22. Idat. chron. [h] Socr. p. 357. [i] Theoph. p. 81. Marc. chron.

2 *Sinex*, who beſieged *Bonifacius*, in what place we are no-where told, and kept him ſhut up, till quarrelling among themſelves, *Mavortius* and *Galbio* were killed by the treachery of *Sinex*, and he in a ſally by *Bonifacius*, who gained a complete victory, without the loſs of one man. *Placidia*, being reſolved, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of her three generals, to purſue the war with vigour, committed the whole management of it to *Sigiſvult*, by nation a *Goth*, who, without loſs of time, paſſing over into *Africa*, with a great number of his countrymen, made himſelf maſter of *Carthage* and *Hippo*. *Bonifacius*, finding the empreſs obſtinately bent upon his ruin, and himſelf not in a condition to contend with the whole ſtrength of the empire, had recourſe to the *Vandals*, who, ever ſince the defeat of *Caſtinus* in 422. had peaceably
b enjoyed the province of *Bætica* or *Andaluſia*, and were at this time governed by *Genſeric*, brother to the late king *Gonderic*. *Genſeric* was, according to *Jornandes* [k] and *Procopius* [l], of a low ſtature, and lame by a fall from his horſe: he thought much, and ſpoke little; was an enemy to pleaſure and debauchery; had a wonderful addreſs in gaining the affection of the people, and ſowing diſſentions among his enemies. He was remarkably brave and courageous; but no leſs ambitious and paſſionate; well ſkilled in the art of war, and long enured to the hardſhips and toils attending it. He renounced the catholic faith, which he firſt profeſſed, to embrace the doctrine of *Arius*, which prevailed among his countrymen the *Vandals* [m], His brother *Gonderic* left ſeveral ſons behind him; but he cauſed them all to be put to death, together
c with their mother [n]. With this barbarian *Bonifacius*, whoſe piety had been formerly ſo much extolled by St. *Auſtin* [o], was forced, in his own defence, to enter into a treaty whereof the chief, and perhaps the only, article was, that, upon their aſſiſting him, *Africa* ſhould be divided between, *Gonderic*, ſays *Procopius* falſly, ſuppoſing him ſtill alive, *Genſeric* and himſelf [q]. The treaty being agreed to, *Genſeric*, having aſſembled a great number of veſſels, ordered all his *Vandals*, women and children as well as men, to embarque; and abandoning *Spain* in the month of *May* of the year 528. while *Felix* and *Taurus* were conſuls, croſſed the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, and landed in *Africa* [q]. The *Romans* took poſſeſſion anew of the provinces which the *Vandals* had abandoned, and held them, till they were driven out by the *Sue-*
d *vians*, as the *Suevians* were in their turn by the *Goths*, who by that means, came to ſettle in that part of *Spain* [r], The ſame year, *Aetius* was ſent into *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Francs*, whom he defeated with great ſlaughter, and obliged them to abandon the country on the *Roman* ſide of the *Rhine*, in which they had been allowed by *Honorius* to ſettle, and to retire with their families beyond that river [s]. What gave occaſion to this war, we are no-where told. The *Francs* were governed at this time by *Clodius*, as *Proſper Tyro* ſtyles him [t], or *Clodion*, as he is called by *Gregory* of *Tours* and the modern writers [u]. He is ſuppoſed to have been the ſon, as well as the ſucceſſor, of *Faramond*. Nothing happened this year in the eaſt worthy of notice, except the publiſhing of a law, by which all brothels were ſuppreſſed in
e *Conſtantinople* [w]. *Florentius* and *Dionyſius*, conſuls for the year 429. were ſucceeded by *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, the former the thirteenth time, and the latter the third time conſul. During the conſulſhip of the two princes, *Aetius* was raiſed to the chief command of all the troops of the weſtern empire, in the room of *Felix*, who was at the ſame time created a patrician; but ſoon after killed in *Ravenna* by the mutinous ſoldiery, ſtirred up againſt him by *Aetius*, jealous of his great credit at court, The ſame year *Aetius* gained conſiderable advantages over the *Juthongi*, whoſe country bordered on *Rhætia*; over the inhabitants of *Noricum*, who had revolted; and over the *Goths* in *Gaul*, attempting to raiſe new diſturbances in that province [x]. The following year, when *Baſſus* and *Antiochus* were conſuls, *Aetius* intirely reduced the
f *Norici*, and likewiſe the *Vindelici*, who had joined the former in the revolt. From *Noricum* he paſſed into *Gaul*, to awe the *Francs*, who were ſaid to be in arms [y]. This year, *Placidia* diſcovered at length the true cauſe of the revolt of *Bonifacius*. Some of that general's friends, greatly ſurpriſed at his entering all on a ſudden into an alliance with the enemies of the empires, after having defended it againſt the barbarians with ſo much zeal and integrity, obtained leave of the empreſs to paſs over into *Africa*

He returns to Genſeric *king of the* Vandals.

Who paſſes over into Africa.

The Franks *driven out of* Gaul *by* Aetius.

Who is appointed commander in chief of all the forces of the weſtern empire.

Placidia *acquainted with the true cauſe of the revolt of* Bonifacius.

[k] Jorn. c. 36. p. 657. [l] Procop. p. 184. [m] Idat. p. 17. [n] Malel. hiſt chron. [o] Aug. ep. 70. p. 126. [p] Procop. p. 45. [q] Prosp. chron. Idat. p. 18. Vict. Vit. de perfec. Vandal. p. 3. [r] Procop. p. 19. Idat. ibid. [s] Cassiod. chron. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660. [t] Tyr. Prosp. [u] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 64. [w] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 8. leg. 13. p. 38. [x] Idat. Sidon. car. vii. p. 338. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 34. p. 660. [y] Idat. p. 19.

Africa, in order to confer with him in perſon, and hear what he could alledge in his own defence. *Bonifacius* was overjoyed to ſee them, and produced, upon their charging him with treaſon and rebellion, the letter which *Aetius* had written to him, proteſting, that nothing but his own ſafety and preſervation could have induced him to turn his arms againſt his prince and country. With this letter they returned to *Placidia*, who was thereby fully convinced of the treachery of *Aetius*; but not thinking it adviſeable to provoke him, as he was then at the head of a victorious army in *Gaul*, ſhe concealed her indignation for the preſent, and contented herſelf with expreſſing, in a letter to *Bonifacius*, her ſincere deteſtation of the injury that had been done him; withal aſſuring him of her favour and protection for the future; and exhorting him to return to his duty, and conſulting, with his uſual zeal, the ſafety of the empire, drive out the barbarians, whom, for his own ſafety, he had called in. This *Bonifacius* readily undertook, offering them immenſe ſums provided they quitted *Africa*, and returned to *Spain*; but as they had already reduced the whole country, except three cities, *viz. Carthage*, *Hippo*, and *Cirtha*, *Genſeric* firſt returned him a ſcoffing anſwer; and then falling upon him, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged *Bonifacius* himſelf to fly to *Hippo*: which place the barbarians immediately inveſted; but were obliged the following year, for want of proviſions, to raiſe the ſiege, after it had continued for the ſpace of fourteen months, *Genſeric* attacking the town almoſt daily with incredible fury, and *Bonifacius* defending it with equal vigour and intrepidity [z]. In the eaſt was held this year an œcumenic council at *Epheſus*, in which the doctrine of *Neſtorius*, biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, aſſerting not only two natures in Chriſt, but two perſons, was condemned, and he depoſed on the twenty-ſecond of *June*, the ſentence of his depoſition being ſigned by above two hundred biſhops. The next year, *Aetius* was raiſed to the conſulſhip, *Placidia* ſtill pretending to be unacquainted with his treacherous conduct towards *Bonifacius*. He had for his collegue *Valerius*, the preceding year prefect of *Conſtantinople*. This year *Bonifacius*, reinforced with powerful ſuccours ſent both by *Placidia* and *Theodoſius*, offered battle to the *Vandals*; who readily accepting it, cut moſt of his men in pieces, took an incredible number of priſoners, and obliged the reſt to ſhelter themſelves among the rocks and mountains. Among the priſoners was *Marcianus*, who afterwards attained to the empire. *Aſpar*, who commanded on this occaſion the eaſtern troops, with much-ado eſcaped into *Africa*, and returned to *Conſtantinople*, as did *Bonifacius* to *Italy*, being invited thither by *Placidia*. Upon their departure, the barbarians over-ran all *Africa*, committing every-where dreadful ravages and unheard-of cruelties; which ſtruck the inhabitants of *Hippo* with ſuch terror, that they abandoned their city, which was firſt pillaged, and then ſet on fire, by the victorious enemy [a]. St. *Auſtin*, biſhop of the place, died the year before, in the fourth month of the ſiege. *Carthage* and *Cirtha* were now the only places in all *Africa* held by the *Romans*. *Bonifacius*, upon his arrival at *Ravenna*, was received with extraordinary demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem by *Placidia*, and raiſed to the chief command of the army, in the room of *Aetius*; who, finding his treachery diſcovered, and dreading the power of *Bonifacius*, aſſembled the forces under his command, in order to deſtroy his rival. *Bonifacius*, at his approach, marched out at the head of a body of choſen troops to meet him. Hereupon a battle enſuing, *Bonifacius* received a wound, of which he died three months after [b]. Thus *Marcellinus*, who did not, it ſeems, think it neceſſary to acquaint us in what place the battle was fought, nor which ſide carried the day. The ſame writer adds, that *Bonifacius* on his death-bed exhorted his wife *Pelagia* to marry no man but *Aetius*, if his wife ſhould die before him. *Aetius*, dreading the reſentment of *Placidia*, withdrew to the court of *Rugula*, or *Rouas*, king of the *Huns*, whence he returned ſoon after, at the head of a numerous army of barbarians; but the empreſs promiſing not only to pardon him, but reſtore him to his former poſt, he diſmiſſed the barbarians, and returned to court, where he was this very year raiſed to the rank of a patrician [c]. The following year, *Theodoſius* being conſul, the fourteenth time, with *Petronius Maximus*, a deadful fire broke out at *Conſtantinople*, which laſted three days, and conſumed all the public granaries, with many other ſtately edifices, and great part of the city [d]. In the following conſulſhip of *Aſpar* and *Areobindus*, *Honoria*, ſiſter to the emperor *Valentinian*, having ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by one

He endeavours to perſuade the Vandals *to retire from* Africa.

Moſt of Bonifacius's *men cut in pieces by* Genſeric.

Bonifacius *and* Aſpar *defeated by* Genſeric,

Who over-runs all Africa.

A civil war between Bonifacius *and* Aetius, *in which the former was killed.*

[z] PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c 3. p. 185. [a] Idem ibid. PROSP chron. [b] MARC. chron.
[c] PROSP. IDAT. chron. [d] SOCR. l. vii. c. 39. p. 385.

a one of her domeſtics, named *Eugenius*, was baniſhed the court, being then ſixteen years old, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, her mother *Placidia* having diſcovered, that, by means of her eunuchs, ſhe maintained a private correſpondence with *Attila*, who had ſucceeded *Rouas* king of the *Hunns*; that ſhe had even ſent him a ring, and was daily preſſing him to enter *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, and marry her. The following year 435. *Theodoſius* being conſul the fifteenth time, and *Valentinian* the fourth, a peace was at length concluded with the *Vandals* in *Africa*, to whom the *Romans* yielded great part of *Numidia*, all the province *Proconſularis*, and likewiſe *Bizacene*. This treaty was ſigned at *Hippo*, on the eleventh of *February*, by *Genſeric*, and by *Trigetius*, who had ſucceeded *Bonifacius* in *Africa*. The king of the *Vandals*

b delivered up to the *Romans* his ſon *Huneric* by way of hoſtage [e]. The ſame year, *Aetius* gained a great victory over the *Burgundians*, who having been allowed in 413. to ſettle in that part of *Gaul* which borders on the *Rhine*, had revolted from the *Romans*, and plundered *Belgic Gaul*. *Gondicarius*, their king, was obliged to ſubmit to ſuch conditions, as the conqueror thought fit to impoſe upon him and his people [f]. But *Gondicarius* did not long enjoy the peace which *Aetius* had granted him, being ſoon after, that is, in the beginning of the following year, when *Anthemius Iſidorus* and *Senator* were conſuls, attacked by the *Hunns*, and cut off, with twenty thouſand of his men [g]. *Socrates* writes, that of the unhappy *Burgundians* three thouſand only were left alive, who having embraced the chriſtian religion, and received the ſacra-

c ment of baptiſm, went, full of courage and confidence, to attack the enemy, of whom they killed a thouſand, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight [h]. Thus *Socrates*. But *Oroſius* aſſures us, that the *Bugundians* had embraced the chriſtian religion, before the year 417 [i]. The *Goths*, who had been allowed to ſettle in *Aquitain*, as we have obſerved above, and had *Theodoric* for their king, not ſatisfied with the countries that had been allotted them, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral neighbouring cities belonging to the *Romans*, and even laid ſiege to *Narbonne*; which, however, they were forced to raiſe, either this year 436 or the following, as *Idatius* will have it, count *Litorius* coming ſeaſonably to the relief of the place with a numerous body of *Hunns*, who falling upon the *Goths*, put them to flight, and

d entered the city, each horſeman carrying with him two buſhels of corn; which proved a very welcome ſupply, the inhabitants being by the long ſiege reduced to the utmoſt extremity [k]. While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, *Theodoſius* completed the ruin of idolatry in the eaſt, by a law enacted in 435. ordering all the temples, oratories, and places conſecrated to the worſhip of the idols, to be pulled down, and forbidding his ſubjects, on pain of death, to practiſe any of the pagan ceremonies, either in public or private. By this law the very foundations of the temples were to be intirely demoliſhed, and the ſign of the chriſtian religion, no doubt the croſs, to be ſet up in the place where they had ſtood [l]. *Theodoſius* paſſed part of the year 436. at *Cyzicum*. The following year 437. when *Aetius* was conſul the ſecond time, with *Sigiſ-*

e *vultus*, or *Sigiſvult*, the *Romans*, aſſiſted by the *Hunns*, purſued the war againſt the *Goths* in *Gaul* [m]; but with what ſucceſs we are no-where told. The *Saxon* pirates began this year to infeſt the coaſts of the *Armorici* [n]. *Eudoxia*, the daughter of *Theodoſius* by the empreſs *Eudocia*, had been betrothed to *Valentinian* in 424. as we have related above; and this year the nuptials were celebrated with great ſolemnity at *Conſtantinople*, on the twenty ninth of *October*, *Valentinian* being then eighteen years and five months old. The ceremony was to have been performed at *Theſſalonica*; but *Valentinian*, out of complaiſance to the royal bride, proceeded to *Conſtantinople*; which city he entered on the twenty-firſt of *October* [o]. *Theodoſius*, in giving, or, as others will have it, in betrothing his daughter, to *Valentinian*, obliged the

f young prince to yield to him *Weſt Illyricum*, comprehending the *Upper* and *Lower Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the two *Noricums*, viz. *Mediterraneum* and *Ripenſe* [p]. The two *Panonias* compriſed that part of *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, that lies on the *Roman* ſide of the *Danube*; and the two *Noricums* the archbiſhopric of *Saltzburgh* with *Styria* and *Carinthia*. As for *Eaſt Illyricum*, it had belonged to the emperors of *Conſtantinople* ever ſince the time of *Gratian*, who yielded it to *Theodoſius the Great*. *Valentinian*

Honoria, *ſiſter to* Valentinian, *privately correſponds with* Attila.

The Romans *yield great part of* Africa *to the* Vandals.

20,000 Burgundians *cut off by the* Hunns.

The Goths *beſiege* Narbonne; *but are obliged to drop the enterprize and retire.*

Theodoſius's *edict againſt all manner of idolatrous worſhip.*

Eudoxia, *the daughter of* Theodoſius, *married to* Valentinian III.

Who yields to Theodoſius Weſt Illyricum.

[a] Prosp. chron. Prosp. p. 386. [b] Idat. p. 21. Sid. car. vii. p. 338. [c] Idat. p. 25. Vales. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 136—138. [d] Socr. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371, 372. [e] Oros. l. vii. c. 32. p. 305. [f] Idat. p. 21. Sid: car. vi: p. 346. [g] Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg. 25. p. 296. Theodor. l. v. c. 36. p. 749. [h] Prosp. Marc. chron. [i] Sid. car. vii. p. 342. [k] Socr. l. vii. c. 44. p. 388. Chron, Alex. p. 570. [l] Socr. ibid. Chron. Alex. Jorn. de reg. ſuc. p. 92, 93.

tinian left *Conſtantinople* in the latter end of this year; and having ſpent the winter at *Theſſalonica*, returned early in the ſpring to *Ravenna*. He had by *Eudoxia* two daughters, *viz.* *Eudocia* and *Placidia*. a

The following year, *Theodoſius* being conſul the ſixteenth time, with *Acilius Glabrio Fauſtus*, the *Suevians*, who had ſettled in *Galicia* in 409. under the conduct of their king *Ermeric* or *Hermeric*, came after a long and bloody war to an agreement with the ancient inhabitants [q]; but the articles of that treaty have not been tranſmitted to us. The *Romans* ſtill purſued the war againſt the *Goths* in *Gaul*, of whom eight thouſand were this year cut in pieces by *Aetius* [r]. In the eaſt *Juſtinian* publiſhed, on the fifteenth of *February* of the preſent year 438. his famous code, that is, a collection of all the beſt and moſt uſeful laws that had been enacted by the lawful princes his predeceſſors. Eight able civilians were employed in this work, at the head of whom was *Antiochus*, who had been conſul in 431. Such laws as were not contained in this code, were declared to be of no force. It was immediately received in the weſt; nay, it met with better ſucceſs there than in the eaſt, where it obtained only for the ſpace of about ninety years, that is, to the reign of *Juſtinian*, who abrogated this, and publiſhed a new code: but in the weſt it was received by *Theodoric*, and the *Oſtrogoths*, who made themſelves maſters of *Italy* about the end of the fifth century, and likewiſe by *Alaric*, king of the *Viſigoths* or *Weſtrogoths*, in *Languedoc* and *Spain*. The laws that were afterwards added to the code by *Theodoſius*, and ſome other princes, were called *Novellæ*. *Theodoſius*, in publiſhing the code, enacted, that the laws made by one prince ſhould be of no force in the dominions of the other, unleſs confirmed and ſigned by him [s]. In the following conſulſhip of *Theodoſius*, the ſeventeenth time conſul, and of *Feſtus*, *Litorius*, after having gained great advantages over the *Goths* in *Gaul*, laid ſiege to *Toulouſe*, their capital. *Theodoric*, who was in the place, ſent ſeveral catholic biſhops to *Litorius*, with very reaſonable propoſals; nay, he offered in the end to ſubmit to what terms the *Romans* thought fit to impoſe upon him, begging only, that they would grant to him and his *Goths* their lives and liberty. But *Litorius*, confiding in the valour of his *Hunns*, and deſirous of taking the *Gothiſh* king alive, and carrying him in triumph, would hearken to no propoſals. Hereupon *Theodoric*, having firſt performed his devotions, and viſited all the churches of his capital in the habit of a penitent, ſallied out at the head of his *Goths*; and falling upon the enemy, cut moſt of them in pieces; put the few who ſurvived the general ſlaughter, to flight; and having ſurrounded *Litorius*, while he was attempting to make his eſcape, took him alive in ſpite of the vigorous and deſperate reſiſtance he made, and carried him with his hands tied behind his back in that city, which he had hoped to enter that very day in triumph. *Theodoric* cauſed him to be expoſed for ſome time to the inſults and outrages of the populace and children, and then to be thrown into the public priſon, where he died ſoon after [t]. *Litorius* ſeems to have been a pagan; for he repoſed great confidence in the anſwers of the aruſpices [u]. He was, next to *Aetius*, the moſt powerful man, and the beſt general, in the weſtern empire [w]. After this victory, the *Goths* might have eaſily extended their conqueſts to the *Rhine*; but *Theodoric*, thinking he ought to uſe with moderation a victory, for which he acknowledged himſelf in a particular manner indebted to heaven, hearkened to the propoſals of *Avitus*, prefect of *Gaul*, and this very year concluded a peace with the *Romans* upon very reaſonable terms [x]. *Jornandes* ſuppoſes this peace to have been made by *Litorius*, and no battle to have been fought, or victory gained by the *Goths*; ſo little was that writer acquainted even with the hiſtory of his own nation. The *Hunns*, who ſerved under *Litorius*, were commanded by a king of their own nation, named *Gauſeric*, who, during this war, laid ſiege to the city of *Bazas*, belonging to the *Goths*; but is ſaid to have been obliged by a miraculous apparition to drop the enterprize and retire, as the reader will find related at length by *Gregory* of *Tours* [y]. The ſame year *Merida*, then the metropolis of *Luſitania*, was taken by *Richila*, who the year before had ſucceeded his father *Hermeric*, king of the *Suevians*, in *Galicia* [z]. But the loſs of *Carthage* in *Africa*, ſurpriſed on the twenty-third of *October* of the preſent year by *Genſeric*,

8000 Goths *cut in pieces by* Aetius *in* Gaul.

The Juſtinian *code publiſhed.*

Toulouſe *beſieged by* Litorius.

His men are cut in pieces by Theodoric, *and he himſelf taken priſoner.*

Theodoric *concludes a peace with the* Romans.

Merida *taken by the* Suevians, *and* Carthage *by the* Vandals.

b c d e f

[q] Idat. p. 21, 22. [r] Prosp. chron. [s] Prosp. chron. Doviat. hiſt. jur. civ. c. 1. Rittershut. in jur. Juſt. c. 3. Cod. Theod. nov. 1. p. 1. [t] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fran. l. ii. c. 27. p. 81. Salv. p. 164. Sid. car. vii. p. 340. Idat. p. 22. [u] Salvian. de gub. l. vii. p. 164. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Prosp. Idat. chron. Sid. car. vii. p. 341. [y] Greg. Tur. de glor. martyr. l. i. c. 13. p. 31—34. [z] Idat. p. 22.

Genſeric, king of the *Vandals*, proved a more fatal blow to the weſtern empire. By the taking of that important place, which had belonged to the *Romans* for the ſpace of five hundred and eighty-five years, the *Vandals* remained maſters of the *Proconſularis*, of *Byzacene*, *Getulia*, and part of *Numidia*. However, *Valentinian* maintained ſo long as he lived, the two *Mauritanias*, viz. *Cæſarienſis* and *Sitifenſis*, with *Tripolitana*, *Tingitana*, and that part of *Numidia* in which *Cyrtha* ſtood. In the eaſt, nothing worthy of notice happned this year, except the journey which the empreſs *Eudocia* undertook to *Jeruſalem*, in compliance with a vow ſhe had made to viſit the holy places there [z]. She paſſed through *Antioch*, where, in the preſence of the ſenate and people, ſhe pronounced a ſpeech in commendation of that city from a throne of gold enriched with precious ſtones [a]. At her departure, ſhe preſented the magiſtrates with a very conſiderable ſum, for the relief of the indigent citizens. The inhabitants of that metropolis acknowledged the kindneſs ſhe had ſhewed them by erecting two ſtatues to her honour, placing the one, which was of braſs, in the muſeum; and the other, which was plated over with gold, in the ſenate [b]. At *Jeruſalem* ſhe preſented *Juvenal*, biſhop of the place, with great ſums, to be diſtributed among the poor, and with a croſs of gold, adorned with precious ſtones, to be ſet up on mount *Calvary*; for which the biſhop is ſaid to have preſented her in his turn with the right hand of St. *Stephen*, the protomartyr [c]. The following year, when *Valentinian* was conſul, the fifth time, with *Anatolius*, *Genſeric* made a deſcent upon *Sicily* in the month of *June*; and meeting with little or no reſiſtance, ravaged the open country, committing unheard-of cruelties, and even laid ſiege to *Palermo*: but not being able to reduce the place, he returned to *Africa* with an immenſe booty [d]. The ſame year, count *Cenſorius*, who had been ſent by *Valentinian* to negotiate a peace between the *Suevians* in *Galicia* and the natives of that country, was beſieged by *Rechila* in *Merſola* on the *Guadiana*, where he reſided, and, upon the reduction of the place, taken priſoner [e]. About the ſame time, *Aetius*, removing the *Burgundians* from the banks of the *Rhine*, allotted them ſettlements in the preſent duchy of *Savoy*, and rewarded a body of *Alans*, who had ſerved the *Romans* with great fidelity under the conduct of their king *Eocaric* or *Eocric*, with lands on the *Loire* [f]. Theſe *Alans* are ſuppoſed to have ſettled afterwards with the *Britons* in *Armorica* [g]. *Bucherius* takes *Sangiban*, king of the *Alans*, mentioned by *Jornandes*, to have been the ſucceſſor of *Eocaric* [h]. As *Salvianus* wrote at this time his treatiſe on judgments, we ſhall tranſcribe out of that piece a paſſage, wherein the author acquaints us with the chief virtues and vices of the ſeveral barbarous nations then infeſting the empire. The *Goths*, ſays that writer, are treacherous, but chaſte: the *Alans* are not ſo chaſte, but leſs treacherous: the *Franks* are liars, but kind to ſtrangers: the *Saxons* are exceeding cruel, but wonderfully chaſte. But tho' the *Saxons* are cruel, continues *Salvianus*, the *Gepidæ* are void of humanity, the *Hunns* lewd and deceitful, the *Alemans* drunkards, the *Alans* lovers of plunder, and the *Franks* deceitful and perfidious to ſuch a degree as to look upon falſe oaths as ornaments of ſpeech; yet theſe vices are not ſo criminal in the barbarians as in the *Romans*, who are inſtructed in the morals of the chriſtian religion [i]. The ſame writer obſerves elſewhere [k], that tho' the *Goths* would not ſuffer their own people to frequent brothels, yet in the countries allotted to them they kept up thoſe infamous places for the ſake of the *Romans*, who lived among them, and claimed the ſcandalous privilege of frequenting them without reſtraint. In the eaſt, *Paulinus*, the empreſs *Eudocia*'s chief favourite, who by her intereſt had been raiſed in 430. to the higheſt poſt of *magiſter officiorum*, was this year put to death by the emperor's orders at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* [l]. And this is all we find in the ancient writers concerning this remarkable event. The more modern *Greeks* aſcribe his death to the jealouſy of *Theodoſius*; and tell us, that the emperor being preſented on the ſixth of *January* with an apple of an uncommon ſize, and extraordinary beauty, he immediately ſent it, as a rarity, to *Eudocia*, and ſhe to *Paulinus*, in whoſe converſation ſhe took great delight, as he was a man of learning, and the empreſs herſelf well verſed in all the branches of literature. *Paulinus*, not knowing by whom it had been ſent to the empreſs, thought it a proper preſent for the emperor, and accordingly carried it to him. This raiſed ſome jealouſy in *Theodoſius*,

Sicily *ravaged by* Genſeric.

The Burgundians *removed by* Aetius *to the preſent duchy of* Savoy.

Paulinus *put to death by the emperor's orders.*

The cauſe of his diſgrace, as related by the more modern writers.

[z] Socr. l. vii. c. 47. p. 3[illegible] [a] Evagr. l. i. c. 20. p. 277. [b] Idem ibid. Chron. Al. p. 731. [c] Cedren. p. 337. Theoph. p. 74. Marc. chron. [d] Prosp. Idat. & Chron Al. p. 730. [e] Idat. p. 21, 23. [f] Prosp. chron. Vales. rer. Franc. p. 173. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 37. p. 665. [g] Val. ibid. [h] Buch. Belg. p. 492. [i] Sal. de jud. l. v. p. 107. [k] Idem, l. vii. p. 160. [l] Marc. chron.

Theodoſius, who thereupon diſmiſſed *Paulinus*; and ſending for *Eudocia*, asked her what was become of the apple. The empreſs, not caring to own ſhe had given it to *Paulinus*, anſwered, ſhe had eat it. Upon this, the emperor, producing it commanded *Paulinus* to be immediately executed, and from that time ſhewed himſelf ſo indifferent towards the empreſs, that ſhe begged leave ſoon after to return to *Jeruſalem*, and to continue in that city, which was readily granted her. Thus *Conſtantine Manaſſes*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Glycas* and *Codinus* [m]. That *Eudocia* retired about this time to *Jeruſalem* is very certain; and likewiſe, that there was a miſunderſtanding between her and the emperor, who cauſed a prieſt, by name *Severus*, and a deacon, named *John*, whom *Eudocia* had carried with her from *Conſtantinople*, to *Jeruſalem*, to be murdered, for no other reaſon, but becauſe the empreſs lived in great intimacy with them, and made them frequently rich preſents. This giving, either jealouſy to the prince, or occaſion to ſcandalous reflections, *Theodoſius* diſpatched *Saturnius*, his *comes domeſticorum*, to *Jeruſalem*, with private orders to diſpatch the two favourite eccleſiaſtics. *Eudocia* was ſo affected with their death, that, not miſtreſs of her temper, ſhe cauſed, in her turn, *Saturninus* to be murdered; which provoked the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he ordered all the great officers of her court to quit her ſervice, and return to *Conſtantinople*; which was reducing her to the condition of a private perſon. Thus ſhe lived at *Jeruſalem* to her death, which happened in 460. She is ſaid to have ſolemnly declared on her death-bed, that ſhe was altogether innocent as to the crime, of which *Theodoſius* had ſuſpected her and *Paulinus* [n]. As ſhe was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, which the emperor left untouched, ſhe built at *Jeruſalem* a great number of churches, monaſteries, and hoſpitals, adorned the city with many ſtately edifices, and, at a vaſt expence, repaired the walls, which in moſt places were intirely ruined. She was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of St. *Stephen*, which ſhe had built in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* [o]. Her piety is greatly extolled by moſt writers, eſpecially by *Caſſiodorus*, who ſtyles her of all women the moſt pious, the moſt religious [p]. The following year, *Cyrus* alone was conſul: he excelled in polite learning, eſpecially in poetry; and having by that means gained the favour and protection of *Eudocia*, who took great delight in verſes, he had been raiſed by her intereſt to the firſt employments in the ſtate. As he entered the circus this year with the conſular ornaments, the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, received him with ſuch acclamations, that the emperor, who was preſent, cauſed him out of jealouſy, a few days after, to be ſtripped of all his employments, and his eſtate to be confiſcated, giving out, that he was inclined to paganiſm, and that he aſpired at the empire. Hereupon *Cyrus* fled for refuge to a church, and cauſed himſelf to be ordained prieſt. The emperor, reſpecting his new character, granted him his life, and ſoon after ſuffered him to be ordained biſhop, and to be raiſed to the ſee of *Cotyea* in *Phrygia* [q]. As *Genſeric*, king of the *Vandals*, was now become very formidable, *Theodoſius* reſolved in the end to aſſiſt *Valentinian*, his couſin and ſon-in-law, againſt ſo powerful an enemy. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, conſiſting of eleven hundred large ſhips, and putting on board of it the flower of his army, under the conduct of *Arcovindas*, *Anſilus*, and *Germanus*, he ordered them to land in *Africa*, and joining the weſtern forces there, to drive *Genſeric* out of the countries he had uſurped. They ſteered their courſe to *Sicily*, in order to paſs more eaſily from thence over into *Africa*. But in the mean time, *Genſeric* having ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Theodoſius*, and pretending to be deſirous of concluding a peace with the two empires, the *Roman* generals waited on the coaſt of *Sicily* the reſult of the negotiations, which *Genſeric* craftily ſpun out till the ſeaſon proper for action was over [r]. While his embaſſadors were ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, the *Perſians*, with an open breach of the treaty made between the two empires in 422. entered the *Roman* territories in a hoſtile manner; which obliged *Theodoſius* to recal his forces, and *Valentinian* to conclude a peace with *Genſeric*, which he could not obtain but by yielding to him all the countries in *Africa*, which he had ſeized, and we have mentioned above [s]. *Anatolius* and *Aſpar* were diſpatched againſt the *Perſians*, who finding the *Romans*, whom they expected to ſurpriſe, upon their guard,

Miſunderſtanding between the emperor and his wife Eudocia, *who retires to* Jeruſalem.

Where ſhe died.

The conſul Cyrus *ſtripped of his conſular ornaments by the emperor.*

Theodoſius *ſends a powerful fleet and army againſt* Genſeric

But he is obliged to recal them; and Valentinian, *to conclude a peace with* Genſeric.

[m] Manass. p. 55. Zonar. tom. p. 37. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 23. p. 485. Glyc. p. 261. Codin. orig. Conſtantinop. p. 56. [n] Evag. l. i. c. 21. p. 277, 278. Cedr. p. 343. Theoph. p. 88. [o] Evagr. l. i. c. 22. p. 280. Ced. p. 337. Chron. Al. p. 732. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 50. p. 558, 559. [p] Cassiod. pſ. l. p. 174. [q] Zon. p. 35. Theoph. p. 83. Chron. Al. p. 736. [r] Theoph. p. 87. Coron. Al. p. 730. [s] Idem. p. 88.

a guard, hearkened to an accommodation; ſo that a peace was concluded, whereof one of the chief conditions was, that neither the *Perſians* nor the *Romans* ſhould for the future raiſe any new fortifications on the frontiers [t]. The ſame year, *Arſaces*, king of *Armenia*, dying, divided his kingdom between his two ſons *Tigranes* and *Arſaces*; but by his laſt will bequeathed the far greater part to *Tigranes*. Hereupon *Arſaces* had recourſe to *Theodoſius*, who threatening to make War upon *Tigranes*, terrified the young prince to ſuch a degree, that flying to the protection of the *Perſian* king, he yielded to him his ſhare, preferring the eaſe and quiet of a retired life to all the charms of a crown. *Arſacis*, on the other hand, dreading the power of the *Perſians*, put *Theodoſius* in poſſeſſion of his ſhare, upon certain conditions, one of
b which was, that his family ſhould enjoy for ever an intire liberty, and an exemption from all tribute and taxes [u]. Thus ended the kingdom of *Armenia*, after it had continued for many ages, and given occaſion to much bloodſhed and endleſs wars, waged by the *Romans* firſt with the *Parthians*, and afterwards with the *Perſians*. It began and ended in an *Arſaces*. The ſhare of *Tigranes* belonging to the *Perſians*, was called *Perſarmenia* and *Armenia Perſica* [w]. The part of *Arſaces* held by the *Romans* was thenceforth governed by a particular officer, with the title of *comes Armeniæ*, or count of *Armenia* [x]. The ſame year, the *Hunns*, taking advantage of the wars, in which the *Romans* were engaged with the *Vandals* and *Perſians*, paſſed the *Danube*,
c and with a formidable army fell unexpectedly upon *Thrace*. They had invaded that province in 425. under the conduct of *Rougas*, their king, as we have related above; but he being killed with lightning, and at the ſame time a plague breaking out, and raging with great violence, in his army, the barbarians repaſſed the *Danube* of their own accord, not caring, ſays *Socrates* [y], to engage in a war with the *Romans*, whoſe cauſe heaven had evidently eſpouſed. *Rougas* was ſucceeded by *Roas* or *Rouas* in 434. who concluded a peace with the *Romans*, whereof one of the conditions was, that they ſhould pay him yearly a penſion of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold. A few years after, the *Hunns* reſolving to drive out the *Boſchi*, and other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, under the protection of the *Romans*, *Rouas* diſpatched one *Eilas* to the court of *Conſtantinople*, threatening
d to make war upon *Theodoſius*, if he lent them the leaſt aſſiſtance. Hereupon the two generals, *Plintha* and *Dionyſius*, were appointed by the emperor to treat with the king of the *Hunns*, and divert him, if poſſible, from the reſolution he had taken. But in the mean time, *Rouas* dying, and his nephew, the famous *Attila*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak at length in the hiſtory of the *Hunns*, ſucceeding him, the embaſſadors were ordered to treat with him and his brother *Bleda*, his partner in the ſovereignty. But in the room of *Dionyſius*, who could not agree with *Plintha*, was ſent the queſtor *Epigenes*, a man of great experience in negotiations. The embaſſadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœſia*, at a place where the *Margus* or *Margis* falls into that river. The
e *Romans* were obliged to confer with them on horſeback, the *Hunns* refuſing to diſmount. The peace was confirmed, but upon ſuch conditions as plainly betrayed the weakneſs and deplorable condition of the empire. Theſe were, 1. That the *Romans* ſhould deliver up to *Attila* and *Bleda* ſuch *Hunns* as had taken, or ſhould for the future take, refuge in the *Roman* dominions. 2. That the *Roman* priſoners, who ſhould make their eſcape from the *Hunns*, without paying their ranſom, ſhould in like manner be delivered up, or eight pieces of gold be paid for each of them. 3. That, inſtead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the *Romans* ſhould for the future pay annually ſeven hundred. 4. That the *Romans* ſhould not aſſiſt any nation whatſoever, when attacked by, or at war with, the *Hunns*. In com-
f pliance with this ſhameful treaty, the *Romans* immediately delivered up to *Attila* ſome princes of the royal blood of the *Hunns*, who were by his orders crucified like the meaneſt of ſlaves, in the ſight of the *Romans*, for no other crime but becauſe they had abandoned their own country to ſerve in their armies. *Attila*, being, in virtue of this treaty, at full liberty to make what conqueſt he pleaſed, reduced all the northern countries, his authority being acknowledged even by the ſeveral barbarous nations lying north of the *Euxine* ſea [z]. Having thus extended his domini-

The end of the ancient kingdom of Armenia.

The Hunns *invade* Thrace.

Rouas, *being of the* Hunns, *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Attila.

The Romans *conclude a peace with the* Hunns *upon moſt ſhameful conditions.*

ons,

[t] Agath. p. 237. Procop. bell. Perſ. p. 8. [u] Procop. de ædif. l. iii. c. 1. p. 52, 53 [w] Procop. l. i. p. 29. Theodoret. p. 944. [x] Theod. p. 77. Procop. p. 29. [y] Socr. p. 387. [z] Pris. hiſt. Goth de legat. p. 45—48.

ons, he resolved to take advantage of the wars in which *Theodosius* was engaged this year with the *Persians* and *Vandals*; and accordingly, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he passed the *Danube* at the head of a very numerous and formidable army, and entering *Thrace*, made himself master of several cities and strong holds, and, among the rest, of *Viminacium*, a place of great importance on the *Danube*, and of *Margum*, which was betrayed to him by the bishop of the place. Elated with this success, he dispatched a messenger to *Theodosius*, requiring, or rather commanding, him to deliver up forthwith all the *Huns* who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, to pay part of the tribute that had been owing for some time, and to settle what should be paid him for the future. *Theodosius* could not prevail upon himself to abandon those, who, after the declaration of war, had forsaken *Attila*, and come over to him. Whereupon *Attila* began to ravage the country, putting all to fire and sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. He took by storm *Retiarium* on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœsia*, *Singidunum*, *Naissus* and *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of all *Illyricum*, with several other cities and strong-holds, insomuch, that *Theodosius*, not thinking himself safe at *Constantinople*, retired the following year 442. when *Eudoxius* and *Dioscorus* were consuls, into *Asia*[a]. As to the issue of this war, we are left quite in the dark. All we know is, that this very year a peace was concluded between *Attila* and *Theodosius*, who thereupon returned to *Constantinople*, and entered that city on the twenty-seventh of *August*[a]. From this time *Attila* continued quiet till the year 447. contenting himself with only threatening to make war upon the *Romans*, in order to draw from them corn, money, provisions, and whatever else he stood in need of; for the *Romans*, trembling at the very name of *Attila*, complied with all his demands, however unreasonable, and obeyed him, says *Priscus*, like so many slaves, that he might have no pretence to take arms against them. The embassadors he sent to *Constantinople* returned always loaded with presents; insomuch that, when he thought fit to reward any of his own people, he used to send them, under some pretence or other, with the character of embassadors to *Theodosius*, who, to court the friendship of their master, never failed to load them with presents to a great value. Thus were the subjects of the empire impoverished to enrich the barbarians, their sworn enemies[c]. *Attila*, finding himself thus become the terror of the *Romans*, is said to have sent, out of mere wantonness, two *Goths*, with the character of embassadors, the one to *Theodosius*, and the other to *Valentinian*, whom, by his orders, they addressed thus; Attila, *my master and yours, commands you to get ready a palace for his reception*[d]. During these transactions in the east, the *Suevians* made great progress in *Spain*, where they took the city of *Seville*, and reduced all *Bætica* with the province of *Carthagena*[e].

Attila, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, passes the Danube;

And makes himself master of several cities.

The Romans *dread the name of* Attila.

His haughty behaviour and arrogance.

The following year, *Maximus* being consul, the second time, with *Paterius*, *Theodosius*, leaving *Constantinople*, visited the province of *Pontus*, where he caused the public edifices and walls of *Heraclea* to be repaired[f]. As he was one day, during this progress, marching on foot, greatly tormented with heat, dust, and thirst, an officer of his guards presented him with a beautiful cup full of fresh and excellent liquor; but the emperor, returning the officer thanks in a most obliging manner, declared, that he would not by any means refresh himself, when it was not in his power to refresh those who attended him[g]. In 444. when *Theodosius* was consul, the eighteenth time, with *Albinus*, died *Arcadia*, the sister of *Theodosius*[h]. The same year the eunuch *Antiochus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, being convicted of extortion, and abusing his authority to the oppression of the people, was by *Theodosius* degraded from the rank of a patrician, and confined to the monastery of St. *Euphemia* at *Chalcedon*, stripped of the great wealth he had amassed, and deprived of all the honours which he had enjoyed[i]. *Theophanes* writes, that *Theodosius* made him pope, meaning perhaps, that he obliged him to take holy orders. Upon his disgrace, the emperor enacted a law excluding all eunuchs from the dignity of patrician[k]. The following year, when *Valentinian* was consul, the sixth year, with *Nomus*, nothing remarkable happened in the east; but in the west, *Vitus* being sent with a considerable army into *Spain*, to support the *Romans*, that is, the natives, against the *Suevians*, most of his men were cut off by *Rechila*, and he obliged to save himself by

Arcadia *dies.*

The eunuch Antiochus *disgraced.*

The Romans *defeated by the* Suevians *in* Spain.

[a] Idem, p. 34—57. Chron. Al. p. 730. Prosp. Marcel. chron. [b] Marc. Prosp. chron Cod. Theod. tit. 10. leg 9. p. 898. [c] Prisc. p. 36, 37. [d] Chron. Al. [e] Idat. p. 23. [f] Parc. p. 315. Cod. Theod. nov. tit. 30. p. 13. [g] Pasc. p. 390. [h] Marc chron. [i] Zonar. tom. iii. p. 34. Theoph. p. 83. [k] Cod. p. 48.

a by flight, and abandon the inhabitants to the mercy of thoſe barbarians [l]. The next year, *Aetius* being conſul the third time with *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*, the *Britons*, no longer able to withſtand the *Scots* and *Picts*, had recourſe to *Aetius*, who governed the weſtern empire almoſt with an abſolute ſway; to move him to compaſſion, they wrote him a letter with the following direction, *The groans of the* Britons *to the conſul* Aetius; but could not, with all their groans and tears, prevail upon him to lend them the leaſt aſſiſtance [m]. The learned *Uſher* thinks, that *Valentinian* was then under apprehenſion of a war with *Attila* [n]. The venerable *Bede* ſuppoſes the *Hunns* to have already broken into the weſtern empire [o]; but he was therein certainly miſtaken. In the eaſt a dreadful plague raged this and the following year,

The Britons *recur in vain to* Aetius.

b when *Ardaburius* and *Alypius* were conſuls, and violent earthquakes were felt in moſt provinces, which overturned ſeveral cities, and great part of the new walls of *Conſtantinople*, with fifty-ſeven towers, and many ſtately edifices, not only in that city, but likewiſe at *Antioch* and *Alexandria* [p]. The ſame year, 447. *Attila*, upon what provocation we know not, (for both emperors readily complied with all his demands, however unjuſt and arrogant) broke into *Thrace* with a formidable army, conſiſting of *Hunns*, *Goths*, *Gepidæ*, *Alans*, and many other barbarous nations, commanded by their reſpective kings. *Attila*, whom they all obeyed, at the head of this numerous hoſt, over-ran without oppoſition *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, both *Dacia's*, *Mœſia*, and *Scythia*. He took and plundered above ſeventy cities, and, among the reſt, *Philippo-*

Attila *breaks anew into the empire at the head of a formidable army.*

c *polis* in *Thrace*, properly ſo called, *Arcadiopolis* in the province of *Europe*, and *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mœſia*. They extended their ravages on one ſide to the *Euxine* ſea, and on the other to the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, which part *Theſſaly* from *Achaia* or *Greece*. In the mean time, *Arnegiſelus*, governor of *Mœſia* and *Thrace*, having drawn together all the troops quartered in thoſe two provinces, marched againſt *Attila*; And engaging him in *Lower Mœſia*, on the banks of the river *Utis*, which falls into the *Danube* near a city of the ſame name, cut off great numbers of his men; but falling unluckily from his horſe, he was himſelf killed, after having ſold his life dear, and his army put to the rout [q]. Another battle was

He over-runs ſeveral provinces.

And defeats the Roman *generals ſent againſt him.*

d fought in the *Cherſoneſus* near *Gallipoli*, probably by the generals *Aſpar* and *Arcobindus*, who were both ſent againſt *Attila* [r]. But no better ſucceſs attended the *Romans* in this than in the other engagement; ſo that *Theodoſius* was obliged the following year 448. when *Zeno* and *Poſthumianus* were conſuls, to ſend *Anatolius*, with one *Vigilius*, who underſtood the language of the *Hunns*, to *Attila* to ſue for peace, which he was ſtrictly injoined to conclude upon any terms. A peace was accordingly agreed to, and ratified by the emperor, on the following terms, highly opprobrious to the *Roman* name, *viz.* 1. That the *Romans* ſhould pay immediately to *Attila* ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold, and every year two hundred. 2. That they ſhould ſend back to him all his deſerters, and receive none for the future. 3. That they ſhould

The Romans *conclude a peace with him upon ſhameful terms.*

e deliver up the *Roman* captives, who had eſcaped without paying their ranſom, or f pay for each of them twelve pounds weight of gold. 4. That the *Romans* ſhould ſend no embaſſadors to *Attila*, till they had delivered up to him all his deſerters and fugitives [s]. Purſuant to this ignominious treaty, ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold were ſent immediately to *Attila*, with all the *Hunns* who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, among whom were ſeveral princes, who choſe rather to be killed by the *Romans*, than to fall into the hands of *Attila* [t]. While theſe things paſſed in the eaſt, *Rechila* king of the *Suevians* ſettled in *Spain*, died at *Merida* in 447. and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Requiarius*, who the year following married the daughter of *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, and ſoon after went to pay a viſit to his father-in-law at *Toulouſe*; but on his return to *Spain*, ſurpriſed the city of *Lerida*; g and carrying with him from thence a great number of captives, pillaged the territory of *Saragoſa*, which, according to *Iſidorus*, belonged to the *Romans* [t]. This year a miſunderſtanding aroſe between *Attila* and *Valentinian* on account of ſome ſacred veſſels, which *Attila* falſly pretended to have been ſtolen from him by one *Silvanus*, a banker in *Rome*. *Silvanus*, who was the lawful owner of theſe veſſels, had ſold them to the church. But as they were pieces of exquiſite workmanſhip, *Attila*, coveting them, or rather ſeeking a pretence to quarrel with *Valentinian*, claimed them as

Rechila, *king of the* Suevians *in* Spain, *dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon* Requiarius.

Attila *ſeeks a pretence to quarrel with* Valentinian.

[l] Sid. car. v. p. 315. Idat. p. 24. [m] Gild. excid. Britan. c. 6. p 118. [n] Usser. eccleſ. Brit. antiq. p. 1204. [o] Bed. hiſt. c. 13. p. 156 [p] Chron. Al. p. 734. Evagr. l. i. c. 17. p. 275 Niceph. l. xiv. c. 48. p. 543. [q] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 44. p. 553. Theoph. p. 88. Chron. Al. p. 734. Prisc. p. 35, 36. [r] Pris. p. 34. [s] Idem ibid. & p. 51—53. Theoph. p. 88. [t] Idat. p. 26.

as ſtolen from him by *Silvanus*, and with great arrogance preſſed the emperor either a to reſtore the veſſels, or deliver up to him *Silvanus*. Hereupon count *Romulus* was ſent with *Promotus*, governor of *Noricum*, and *Romulus*, an officer of diſtinction, to the court of *Attila*, to convince him, if poſſible, that the veſſels in diſpute had never belonged to him; or if he continued to claim them, to pay him their value in gold. *Attila* received the embaſſadors in a very obliging manner, entertaining them at his own table with the embaſſadors of *Theodoſius*, who arrived at his court much about the ſame time. But the only anſwer that he returned to their reaſoning and arguments was, that the veſſels belonged to him, and that he was determined to do himſelf juſtice, and declare war, if *Valentinian* did not either reſtore them, or deliver up to him *Silvanus*, who had ſtolen them. But notwithſtanding theſe menaces, b he did not make war upon *Valentinian* till three years after, tho' that prince could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with either of his demands. The following year, when *Protogenes* and *Aſturius* or *Aſterius* were conſuls, one *Edecon* being ſent by *Attila* with the character of embaſſador to *Theodoſius*, the eunuch *Chryſaphus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, diſcovering him to be greatly taken with the ſplendor of the court, and deſirous to continue among the *Romans*, promiſed him great wealth and preferments, provided he diſpatched *Attila*; which he promiſing to do, *Theodoſius* conſented to the wicked attempt, and charged *Vigilius*, interpreter to the *Roman* embaſſadors at the court of *Attila*, to be aſſiſting to him in that undertaking. But *Edecon*, either apprehenſive of the dangers attending ſuch a deſperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the emperor and his miniſter, upon his c return diſcovered the plot to *Attila*, who thereupon cauſed *Vigilius* to be ſeized, and diſpatched his ſecretary *Oreſtes* to reproach *Theodoſius* with his treachery, and demand *Chryſaphus*, the chief author and contriver of the conſpiracy, to be delivered up to him. But *Nomus*, who was ſent embaſſador to the king of the *Huns* on this occaſion, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, gained his eſteem and affection to ſuch a degree, that he promiſed to live in peace and amity with *Theodoſius*, pardoned *Chryſaphus*, ſet *Vigilius* at liberty, and diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, loaded with rich preſents. Thus *Priſcus*, who was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote, having attended the embaſſadors to the court of *Attila*[w].

Theodoſius attempts to get Attila murdered.

Who ſpares the conſpirators, and makes peace with the emperor.

The following year, 450. when *Valentinian* was conſul the ſeventh time, with d *Avienus*, *Theodoſius* was ſo bruiſed with a fall from his horſe in hunting, that being with much ado carried in a ſedan to *Conſtantinople*, he died there the next day, the twentieth of *June*, according to *Theophanes*[x], or the twenty-eighth of *July*, as we read in *Theodorus*[y], who is followed by moſt chronologers. According to this opinion, he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after having reigned forty-two years and near three months after the death of his father, and forty-eight ſince he had received the title of *Auguſtus*. He was buried on the thirtieth of *July*, in the ſame tomb with his father *Arcadius*[z]. He is generally commended as a prince of exemplary piety; but all own him to have had but ſlender parts, and to have been intirely e guided by thoſe about him, eſpecially by the eunuchs of the court, who, abuſing his authority, oppreſſed the people to ſuch a degree, that many in his reign choſe rather to abandon their native country, and live among the *Huns*, and other barbarians, than bear the tyrannical government, of thoſe who, by the eunuchs, were ſet over them. Authors give us the following inſtance of his diſattention to public affairs: As he had been uſed, when yet a child, to ſign all the acts that were brought to him by his miniſters, without reading them, he continued the ſame cuſtom even after he was married, till his ſiſter *Pulcheria*, to appriſe him of the evil conſequences that might attend it, cauſed an act to be drawn up, whereby he yielded to her for ever the empreſs *Eudocia* as her ſlave. This act the emperor ſigned without peruſing it, or inquiring what it contained; which he had no ſooner done, f than *Pulcheria* deſired him to read it, when, aſhamed of his paſt indolence and neglect, he reſolved to be upon his guard for the future, and to ſign no papers till he was well informed what they contained[a]. He was a great friend to the church, but yet, miſled by ill meaning men, countenanced the declared enemies of the orthodox faith, as the reader will find in the account which the eccleſiaſtic writers give us of the two councils held by his orders at *Epheſus*, and of the progreſs which the herely

Theodoſius dies.

His character.

An inſtance of his diſattention to public affairs.

[w] Prisc. p. 57—68. [w] Idem, p. 72. [x] Theoph. p. 568. [y] Theod. p. 88. [z] Theod. ibid. [a] Theoph. p. 87. Constant. Manass. p 55. Zos. p. 36. Suid. p. 577.

a hereſy of *Eutyches* made in his reign. Of the writers who flouriſhed under *Theodoſius*, we ſhall ſpeak in note (S).

(S) We are chiefly indebted to the eccleſiaſtic writers *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Philoſtorgius*, for the hiſtory of the reign of *Theodoſius* the younger. *Socrates* was born in *Conſtantinople* about the year 380. and ſpent moſt part of his life in that city (1). He ſpeaks of what happened after the year 395. as of things that had happened in his time (2). He tells us, that when he was yet very young, he knew a *Novatian* prieſt, by name *Auxano*, who remembred the council of *Nice*, and lived to the reign of *Theodoſius* the younger, that is, to the year 408 (3). *Socrates* ſtudied grammar under *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, two pagan prieſts of *Alexandria*, who had retired to *Conſtantinople*, when the temples of the idols were pulled down in their own country, which happened in the year 389. He probably ſtudied eloquence under *Troilus*, who in his time taught it with great applauſe at *Conſtantinople*; for he beſtows mighty encomiums upon that ſophiſt (4). He begins where *Euſebius* ended his hiſtory, but repeats the tranſactions of the firſt year of *Conſtantine*'s reign, that is, of the year 306 and carries his work down to the ſeventeenth conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* II. that is, to the year 439. ſo that it compriſes the ſpace of a hundred and thirty-four years. He addreſſes it to one *Theodorus*, by whoſe orders he undertook it. *Theodorus* was probably a biſhop or prieſt; for he calls him a perſon conſecrated to the worſhip of God (5). He writes in a familiar, but plain and eaſy ſtyle. At firſt he followed *Ruſinus*, eſpecially in his firſt two books, copying even his miſtakes; but theſe he corrected, after having peruſed the works of *Athanaſius*. He informed himſelf with great care of the truth of what he relates, copying what had happened before his time from the authors that were moſt eſteemed, and relating only ſuch events of his own time as he himſelf had either ſeen, or learnt from perſons of unqueſtionable veracity (6). As he ſpeaks of the *Novatians* with great reſpect, and even pretends ſome of their biſhops to have wrought miracles, ſeveral writers conclude from thence, that he himſelf held the tenets of *Novatus*. But on the other hand, he blames the *Novatians* for ſeparating from the church (7), and in expreſs terms diſapproves the ſuppreſſing of the office of penitentiary in the church of *Conſtantinople*, againſt which office the *Novatians* had always exclaimed (8). *Socrates* wrote in *Greek*, but ſeems to have been acquainted with the *Latin* tongue. His hiſtory is quoted by *Liberatus*, and the ſeventh œcumenical council. *Sozomen*, or *Salaminus Hermias Sozomenes*, as he is ſtyled by *Photius*, was not, as ſome have conjectured from the firſt of theſe names, a native of *Salamis* in the iſland of *Cyprus*, but of a village in the territory of *Gaza*, named *Bethelia*, as appears from the account he gives of the converſion of his grandfather to the chriſtian religion (9). The title of *ſcholaſticus*, beſtowed upon him by *Photius* (10) and others, gives us room to believe, that he was well verſed in polite literature. He pleaded at the bar in *Conſtantinople* (11), and was at the ſame time aſſeſſor or counſellor to *Iſidorus*, prefect of the eaſt in 435, and 436 (12). He was well acquainted with the civil law, as is plain from his works. He wrote firſt in two books the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, from the aſcenſion of our Saviour to the depoſition of *Licinius* in 323 (13), which work has been long ſince intirely loſt. He afterwards undertook his great hiſtory, which was to compriſe whatever had happened worthy of notice from the third conſulſhip of *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine Cæſars*, that is, from the year 324, to the ſeventeenth conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* the younger, in 439 (14). Whence it is manifeſt, that the work, which has reached our times, is imperfect, ſince it ends in the year 415. Some think he was prevented by death from purſuing his deſign. St. *Gregory* writes, that the hiſtory of *Sozomen* was not received by the church of *Rome* on account of the many falſhoods it contained, and of the great commendations the author beſtowed on *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*. He is not indeed without faults; but notwithſtanding ſome miſtakes that are to be found in his work, he is commonly preferred to the other hiſtorians of thoſe times. Whoever compares his hiſtory with that of *Socrates*, will find, that the one has evidently copied from the other moſt likely *Sozomen* from *Socrates*; for the latter ſeems to have written before the former. When *Socrates* wrote, the houſe in which *Arius* died was ſtill ſtanding; whereas *Sozomen* obſerves, that an *Arian*, having bought it, had pulled it down, and built another in its room (15). Beſides, the candor and ſimplicity with which *Socrates* writes, would not, in our opinion, have allowed him to copy his hiſtory from another without owning it. Though *Sozomen* beſtows great commendations on ſome *Novatian* biſhops, as *Socrates* had done; yet he condemns in ſeveral places their tenets (16). About the beginning of the ſixth century, *Caſſiodorus*, cauſed the hiſtories of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* to be tranſlated into the *Latin* tongue by one *Epiphanes*, that *Greece* alone, ſays *Caſſiodorus*, might not poſſeſs ſo valuable and neceſſary a work. He divided them, thus tranſlated into twelve books, commonly known by the name of *Hiſtoria Tripartita*. Before him *Theodorus*, the reader, had begun to compile a hiſtory in *Greek* from the three above-mentioned hiſtorians. But of that work, only the two firſt books, comprifing the reigns of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*, have reached our times. It does not appear, that the author wrote any more; and thoſe, which he wrote, have never yet been printed. *Philoſtorgius*, born about the year 368. in the province of *Cappadocia Secunda*, wrote an eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, or rather, under that name, an apology for the *Arians*, eſpecially the *Eunomians* whoſe tenets he himſelf held. He began his work, which was divided into twelve books, with the death of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*, and carried it down to the acceſſion of *Valentinian* III. to the empire, that is, to the year 425. This work has been long ſince loſt; but an abſtract of it, which may be called a large hiſtory, has been conveyed to us by *Photius* (17), who commends the ſtyle, but thinks the author often too diffuſe and tedious. The whole is a continued ſatire on the catholics, and a panegyric on the *Arians*. *Philoſtorgius* ſeldom agrees with other writers, and relates ſeveral remarkable events, quite unknown to thoſe who lived at the ſame time with him, ſuch as the miracles wrought by *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, by *Theophilus* the *Indian*, by *Leontius* of *Tripoli*, &c. whence *Photius* ſtyles him a *fabulous and lying writer* (18). However, he is often quoted by *John* of *Antioch*, who wrote about the beginning of the ſeventh century, by *Nicetas Coniates*, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, by *Nicephorus*

(1) *Socr. l.* v. *c.* 24. *p.* 293. (2) *Idem, l.* vi. *c.* 1. *p.* 209. (3) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 13. *p.* 41. (4) *Idem, l.* ii. *c.* 1. *p.* 79. & *prol. p.* 6. (5) *Idem prol. p.* 7. (6) *Idem, l.* ii. *c.* 1. *p.* 79. (7) *Idem, l.* ii. *c.* 38. *p.* 144. (8) *Idem. l.* v. *p.* 278. (9) *Soz. l.* v. *c.* 15. *p.* 617. (10) *Phot. c.* 30. *p.* 17. (11) *Soz. p.* 105. (12) *Iſidor. Peluſ. l.* i. *ep.* 309. *p.* 880. (13) *Soz. l.* i. *c.* 1. *p.* 401. (14) *Idem ibid.* & *p.* 991, 397, 403. (15) *Socr. l.* i. *c.* 38. *p.* 74. *Soz. l.* ii. *c.* 30. *p.* 49. (16) *Soz. l.* vii. *c.* 16. *p.* 726. & *l.* viii. *p.* 754, &c. (17) *Phot. c.* 40. *p.* 25. (18) *Idem p.* 16, 25.

Nicephorus and others. *Suidas* likewiſe has copied ſeveral paſſages from him. *Philoſtorgius*, beſides his hiſtory, wrote a long panegyric on *Eunomius*, and an apology for the chriſtian religion againſt *Porphyrius*; but neither of theſe works has reached our times. About the ſame time flouriſhed *Philip* of *Sida* in *Pamphylia*, who wrote a very diffuſe hiſtory from the creation to his time, conſiſting of eight hundred and ſixty-four books, which he intitled the *Chriſtian hiſtory*. Of this voluminous work, which has been long ſince loſt, *Photius* ſpeaks with great contempt (19). The ſame author wrote another extenſive work, wherein he confuted, or attempted to confute, the writings of the emperor *Julian*(20); but that performance has undergone the ſame fate as the other. The author was a deacon of the church of *Conſtantinople*, and thought himſelf highly injured, becauſe he was not preferred to that ſee (21). *Priſcus*, who attended *Maximus*, when ſent embaſſador to *Attila* in 449. wrote the hiſtory of the war between that prince and *Theodoſius*; the hiſtory of *Marcian*'s reign; an account of the journey of *Anthemius* to *Rome*; of the war carried on in the reign of *Leo* againſt *Genſeric*; and of the unhappy end of *Aſpar* and his children, put to death by the emperor *Leo* in 471 (22). *Suidas* aſcribes to him eight books of the *Byzantine* hiſtory, and of the war with *Attilus*, meaning, no doubt *Attila* (23). *Priſcus* was a native of *Panes* or *Panium*, reckoned among the cities of the province of *Europe* in *Thrace* (24). He was a ſophiſt, or profeſſor of eloquence (25). He viſited *Rome*, where he ſaw the king of the *Franks* (26), no doubt *Merouée*, and travelled likewiſe to *Thebais* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. In the latter city he was an eye-witneſs of the diſorders which attended the election of the holy biſhop *Proterus* to that ſee, and greatly contributed to the appeaſing of them by the good advice he gave to *Florus*, prefect of *Egypt*. *Euphemius*, *magiſter officiorum* to the emperor *Marcian*, adviſed with him in all matters of importance (27). His hiſtory is ſaid to be ſtill extant and lodged in ſome libraries(28). Hitherto only ſome fragments of it, relating to embaſſies, have been publiſhed, which are to be found among the works of the other *Byzantine* hiſtorians. Some paſſages of his hiſtory are quoted by *Jornandes* (29). He wrote with great exactneſs and elegance (30). *Suidas* mentions his declamations and letters (31). The hiſtory of *Theodoſius* the younger was likewiſe written by one *John*, who is often quoted by *Evagrius*, and by him ſtyled *orator*, or profeſſor of eloquence (32). He is thought to have been a native of *Antioch*, becauſe he is frequently quoted by *Evagrius* in what relates to the hiſtory of that city (33). His hiſtory ended with the ſeventh year of *Juſtin* I. of the Chriſtian æra 525. whence we muſt diſtinguiſh him from another hiſtorian of the ſame name, whoſe hiſtory began with the death of *Juſtinian*, and was carried down to the reign of *Mauritius* (34). Another hiſtorian, named likewiſe *John*, a follower of *Eutyches*, wrote in five books the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, from the time of *Neſtorius* to the defeat of *Baſiliſcus*; that is, from the year 428, to 477. To his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory he added five books (35) the contents of which are to us quite unknown.

(19) *Idem*, *p.* 21. (20) *Socr. l.* vii. *c.* 27. *p.* 368. (21) *Idem ibid.* (22) *Evagr. l.* i. *c.* 17. *p.* 273. & *l.* ii. *c.* 1. *p.* 283. (23) *Suid. p.* 590. (24) *Theoph. p.* 100. *Evagr. p.* 74 (25) *Evag. l.* i. *c.* 17. *p.* 275. (26) *Idem ibid.* (27) *Idem*, *l.* ii. *p.* 295. *Priſc. p.* 41 (28) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. c. 18. *p.* 488. (29) *Jorn. rer. Goth c.* 24, 34, 35, 42, 49. (30) *Evag. l.* i. *c.* 17. *p.* 275. & *l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 308. (31) *Suid. p.* 590. (32) *Evag. p.* 61. (33) *Idem*, *l.* i. *c.* 16. *l.* ii. *c.* 12 *l.* iii. *c.* 14, 28. (34) *Idem*, *p.* 274. & 383. (35) *Phot. c.* 41. *p.* 38.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Theodoſius II. *to the total failure of the weſtern empire in* Auguſtulus.

IF the laws at this time in force concerning private eſtates and inheritances, had obtained with reſpect to kingdoms and empires, the right of *Eudoxia* to the imperial crown had been indiſputable, that princeſs being the only child of the deceaſed emperor; but not the leaſt regard was had, either to her, or to the emperor *Valentinian* her huſband: and truly neither of them ſeems to have laid any claim to the eaſtern empire, tho' *Theodoſius* left no iſſue male behind him. As *Pulcheria* had ſhared the ſovereignty with her brother, and bore the title of *Auguſta*, ſhe remained by his death ſole miſtreſs of the empire; and no perſon was more capable of governing it well. However, as no woman had yet reigned alone in either empire, ſhe reſolved to marry, notwithſtanding the reſolution ſhe had taken, or the vow ſhe had made, to continue a virgin to her death. Purſuant to this reſolution, as ſoon as the death of *Theodoſius* was publicly know, ſhe ſent for *Marcianus*, a perſon famous for his exemplary piety, and extraordinary qualifications; and told him, that ſhe deſigned to raiſe him to the ſovereignty, by marrying him, on condition that he would ſuffer her,

Pulcheria *reſolves to marry* Marcian.

her, agreeable to the reſolution ſhe had taken, to live and die a virgin. *Marcianus* readily complying with this condition, ſhe ſent for the patriarch *Anatolius*, and the ſenate, and in their preſence declared *Marcianus* emperor. Her choice being approved by them, and applauded by all the officers at court, both civil and military, the new emperor was crowned at the palace of *Hebdomon*, on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 450 [b]. His election was immediately notified to *Valentinian*; and he approving it, his images were, according to cuſtom, ſent into the weſt, and received at *Rome* on the thirtieth of *March* of the following year [c]. After this, the marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, *Pulcheria* being then in the fifty-firſt, and *Marcian* in the fiftieth year of his age [d]. He was a native of *Thrace* or *Illyricum*, and deſcended from a family of no great diſtinction, but remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith [e]. As his father ſerved in the army, he reſolved to follow the ſame profeſſion; and, purſuant to this reſolution, ſet out for *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*, in order to enliſt himſelf there. On his journey, he found the body of a man lately killed lying on the public road, and, prompted by his good nature, could not proceed, till he had decently interred it. This ſome perſons, accidentally coming by, obſerved, and immediately acquainted the magiſtrates of *Philippopolis* with what they had ſeen; who thereupon cauſed *Marcian* to be ſeized and examined, and would have condemned him, had not the true author of the murder been ſeaſonably diſcovered and convicted [f]. *Marcian*, thus ſet at liberty, liſted himſelf among the troops quartered at *Philippopolis*, and ſerved ſtill as a private man in 421. when, upon the breaking out of the war between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, the corps in which he ſerved was ordered into *Syria*; but *Marcian* falling ſick as they marched through *Aſia*, continued a long time indiſpoſed at a place called *Sydema*, and thence repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where he liſted himſelf among the troops that were commanded by *Ardaburius*, and his ſon *Aſpar*, who diſcovering him to be a man of uncommon parts, raiſed him to the poſt of their ſecretary. With that character he attended *Aſpar* in 431. into *Africa*, where he was taken priſoner by *Genſeric*, with many perſons of diſtinction, *Aſpar* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. All the captives of note were, by *Genſeric*'s orders, brought into the palace, where while they were waiting in an open court till the king was at leiſure to view them, *Marcian* lying down on the ground, fell aſleep, and an eagle at the ſame time appearing over him, ſays *Evagrius*, and intercepting with his extended wings the ſcorching rays of the ſun, afforded him a friendly ſhade. This *Genſeric* obſerved from his apartment, and concluding from thence, that he was deſtined by Heaven to the empire, he granted him his liberty, after having obliged him to ſwear, that he would never make war upon the *Vandals* [g]. From *Africa* he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he was, according to *Theophanes*, [h], honoured with the ſenatorial dignity. *Theodorus* ſtyles him only tribune; but adds, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in war [i]. He had by his firſt wife, who died before his acceſſion to the empire, but one daughter, named *Euphemia*, whom, when he was raiſed to the ſovereignty, he married to *Anthemius*, afterwards emperor of the weſt. All writers agree, that *Marcianus* was a prince of moſt exemplary piety, a zealous patron of the orthodox faith, a father to his people, a ſincere friend to virtue, an enemy to all vice and irreligion; in ſhort, a perſon endowed with every great and good quality becoming a prince. Some writers prefer him even to *Conſtantine* and *Theodoſius the Great*. He preferred none but perſons of known abilities, and unblemiſhed characters; whence the reader will find, in the writers of thoſe times, great encomiums beſtowed, not only upon him, but on all thoſe who were employed by him in the adminiſtration.

Who is declared emperor.

His birth, education and character.

In the weſt died in the ſame year 450. *Pulcheria*, mother to the emperor *Valentinian*, and was interred at *Ravenna*, where her tomb is ſtill to be ſeen [k]. She is blamed by ſome writers for yielding, or inducing her ſon to yield, *Weſt Illyricum* to *Theodoſius*. She had governed the weſtern empire with an abſolute ſway for the ſpace of twenty-ſix years, *Valentinian* ſuffering her to rule, to the hour of her death, with the ſame authority which ſhe had enjoyed in his minority.

Pulcheria, *mother to the emperor* Valentinian, *dies.*

The following year 451. *Attila* aſſembled one of the moſt numerous and formidable armies we find mentioned in hiſtory. It conſiſted of *Hunns*, *Gepidæ*, *Oſtrogoths*, *Rugians*,

Attila *aſſembles a formidable army.*

[b] Theod. p. 551. Evagr. l. ii. c. 1. p. 275. Theoph. p. 89. Chron. Alex. p. 738. [c] Evagr. p. 285. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem, p. 283. Niceph. l. xv. c. 1. p. 595 [f] Evagr. p. 283. [g] Idem, p. 284. [h] Theoph. p. 81. [i] Theod. l. i. p. 551. [k] Prosp. chron. Idat. Marcel. it. Ital. p. 39, 40.

Rugians, *Gelonians*, *Burgundians*, *Belonatians*, *Squiri*, *Neurians*, *Baſtarnæ*, *Turingians*, *Bructerians*, *Franks* dwelling on the *Neckar*, *Marconians*, *Suevians*, *Quadians*, *Heruli*, *Turcilingians*, and in ſhort, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others will have it, of ſeven, hundred thouſand men[l]. *Attila*, in raiſing ſo formidable an army, had nothing leſs in view, than to make himſelf maſter of both empires. But *Marcian* returning no other anſwer to his embaſſadors, ſent to demand the annual penſion or tribute paid him by *Theodoſius*, than that *he had gold for his friends, and ſteel for his enemies*, he thought it adviſeable to turn his arms firſt againſt *Valentinian*, whom he held in the utmoſt contempt, being well appriſed, that it would be no difficult undertaking to reduce, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the eaſtern, after he had made himſelf maſter of the weſtern empire. Being therefore determined to make war upon *Valentinian*, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to that prince, demanding his ſiſter *Honoria*, whom he pretended to be his wife, and with her half the weſtern empire, as belonging of right to her. We have obſerved above, that *Honoria* had maintained, by means of her eunuchs, a private correſpondence with *Attila*, and even ſent him a ring, which the embaſſador produced to prove their marriage. *Valentinian* anſwered, That, among the *Romans*, women had no right to the imperial crown, nor to any part of the empire; and at the ſame time diſpatched *Carpilio*, the ſon of *Aetius*, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, to the court of *Attila*, to convince him of the injuſtice of his claim. *Attila*, to the great ſurprize, both of *Valentinian* and the embaſſadors themſelves, ſeemed to be fully ſatisfied with their reaſoning, and the arguments they alledged; but it was only the better to deceive the unwary prince, and put in execution a new ſcheme. *Hemeric*, the ſon of *Genſeric*, king of the *Vandals*, having married the daughter of *Theodoric* king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, cauſed her noſe to be cut off ſoon after, and ſent her back, thus diſfigured, to her father, upon a bare ſuſpicion, that ſhe deſigned to poiſon him. As he was well appriſed, that *Theodoric* would not fail to reſent ſuch an affront, he reſolved to be before-hand with him; and therefore ſent embaſſadors with rich preſents to *Attila*, to engage him to fall upon *Theodoric*. *Attila*, who wanted only ſome pretence to enter *Gaul*, readily cloſed with the propoſal, pretending at the ſame time, that he might meet with no oppoſition from the *Romans*, to be fully ſatisfied with the reaſons alledged by their ambaſſadors, and to relinquiſh all claim to any part of the empire; nay, he ſent to *Valentinian* embaſſadors, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, aſſuring him, that his warlike preparations were deſigned againſt *Theodoric* alone; that, as to the *Romans*, he ſhould ever look upon them as his friends, provided they did not eſpouſe the cauſe of his enemy, At the ſame time he wrote to *Theodoric*, aſſuring him of his friendſhip, and exhorting that prince to join him againſt the *Romans*, as their common enemy. The better to ſurpriſe *Valentinian*, he did not wait the return of the embaſſadors he had ſent to him; but ſetting out immediately from *Scythia*, tho' in the midſt of winter, and directing his march through *Germany*, he never halted till he reached, early in the ſpring, the banks of the *Rhine*. There ſuch of the *Franks* as ſtill dwelt on the *German* ſide of that river, endeavoured to ſtop him; but they were eaſily defeated, *Childeric*, the ſon of *Merouée*, and grandſon of *Clodion*, being taken priſoner, with his mother and other perſons of diſtinction[m]. The *Franks* being thus overcome and diſperſed, *Attila* cauſed an incredible number of boats to be built, cutting down for that purpoſe whole foreſts, and paſſing the *Rhine* without oppoſition, entered *Gaul*[n]. As he gave out, that he deſigned to live in friendſhip with the *Romans*, and only begged leave to march through their country, in order to make war upon the *Viſigoths* in *Languedoc*, ſeveral cities opened their gates to him; but the rapines and violences which he ſuffered his men to commit in the cities that had received him, betraying his real deſign, the other cities ſhut their gates againſt him. Hereupon pulling off the maſk, he beſieged, took by ſtorm, and pillaged *Tongres*, *Treves*, *Straſbourg*, *Spires*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, and all the cities in that neighbourhood. Advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into ſeveral bodies, he put all to fire and ſword, and not only reduced and pillaged, but laid in aſhes the cities of *Arras*, *Laon*, *Beſançon*, *Toul*, and *Langres*[o]. *Attila*, thus laying waſte the country far and near, and committing everywhere unheard-of cruelties, arrived at length before *Orleans*, and laid ſiege to that city,

He reſolves to make war upon Valentinian,

Whom he endeavours to deceive.

He defeats the Franks, *and enters* Gaul.

Takes and deſtroys ſeveral cities.

[l] Priſc. p. 40. Jorn. c. 78. p. 666. Sid. car. vii. p. 54. Du Chesne tom. i. p. 726. Sid. car. vii. p. 541. [n] Idem ibid. [m] Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 158. [o] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 57. p. 275. Idat. p. 28. Coint. annal. eccleſ. Franc. p. 451.

a city. In the mean time, *Aetius*, arriving from *Italy* at *Arles*, assembled what forces he could, having brought with him but a small number of troops, which, however, were reinforced by a great number of *Visigoths*, under the command of their king *Theodoric*, whom *Aetius* had persuaded to join the imperial troops, and, with their united forces, oppose the furious torrent, which threatened both alike. The example of *Theodoric* was followed by several other nations, namely, by the *Franks*, under the conduct of *Merouée*, who by means of one of his own nation, named *Wiomaud*, had made his escape; by the *Sarmatians*, *Burgundians*, *Saxons*, the *Armorici*, the *Lisians*, the *Riverins*, the *Ibrions*, and several other nations of *Celtic Gaul* and *Germany*, who, apprehending themselves to be in no less danger than the *Romans*, readily joined b *Aetius* against the common enemy [p]. The *Lisians* dwelt, according to *Valesius* [q], on the banks of the *Lis* in *Flanders*; the *Riverins* on the *Rhine* towards *Cologne*; and the *Ibrions* in *Vindelicia* now *Suabia* and *Bavaria*. While *Aetius* was busied in assembling the *Roman* forces and those of their allies, *Attila* pursued the siege of *Orleans* with great fury, battering the place night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines. At length he carried it by assault, according to *Apollinaris Sidonius*; but while his men were busie in plundering, without the least apprehension of danger, *Aetius* and *Theodoric*, arriving with all their forces, entered the city, cut great numbers of the *Hunns* in pieces, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, c and obliged *Attila* to repass the *Loire*, in which many of his men were drowned, and to retire towards the *Rhine*. Having passed *Troyes*, he halted in the *Catalaunic* or *Mauriac* fields, that is, in the plains of *Chalons*, which city was then known by the name of *Catalauni*. The same plains were called, according to *Jornandes* [r], *Mauriaci* or *Mauritii*, no doubt, from some neighbouring city or village, *Valesius* indeed distinguishes the *Catalaunic* from the *Mauriac* plains, and supposes two battles to have been fought, the one, which was not decisive, in the *Mauriac*, and the other, which put an end to the war, in the *Catalaunic* plains [s]. But all the antients mention only one battle fought in the plains, called by some *Mauriac* and *Mauritian*, and by others *Catalaunic*. *Attila* chose that place, as the most advantagious for his *Hunns*, who were all horse, to engage in. *Aetius*, who followed him close, resolved, not- d withstanding the enemy's advantagious situation, to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As he arrived late at night in the plains where *Attila* was encamped, the *Gepidæ*, who followed *Attila*, and the *Franks*, who served under *Aetius*, meeting in the dark, engaged with such fury, that, on both sides, above fifteen thousand were left dead upon the spot [t]. The next day *Attila* drew up his men in battle-array, placing the flower of his army in the centre, which he commanded in person, the *Ostrogoths* in the left wing, and the *Gepidæ*, with other barbarous nations, in the right. On the other hand, *Aetius* placed the *Romans*, whom he commanded himself, in the left wing; the *Visigoths*, under the command of *Theodoric* and his eldest son *Thorismond*, in the right; and the *Alans*, with their king *Sangiban*, the *Franks*, and the other e auxiliaries, with their respective leaders, in the centre. That the *Romans* might not have time to pursue the victory, in case they gained it, *Attila* did not quit his camp till four in the afternoon, when the battle began, which, by all writers, is reckoned one of the most obstinate and bloody engagements mentioned in history. *Aetius*, *Theodoric*, and his son *Thorismond*, distinguishing themselves in a most eminent manner. *Theodoric*, notwithstanding his great age, fought at the head of his *Goths* with a courage and resolution hardly to be expressed. But while he was thus animating his men, more by his example than his words, he unluckily fell from his horse, as some authors write, and was trod to death by his own people, who did not know him. Others write, that he was killed by a *Goth*, named *Andagus*, who served under f *Attila*, and was descended from the royal family of the *Amali* [u]. The *Goths*, not in the least disheartened by the death of their king, charged the *Hunns* so vigorously, that they began, after a most obstinate resistance, to give ground; which *Attila* no sooner preceived, than he caused the retreat to be sounded, and retired to his camp. As it was already dark, *Aetius*, thinking it advisable not to pursue the enemy, withdrew likewise; but kept his men all night under arms, for fear of a surprize. The next morning, the extensive plains, in which the battle had been fought, appeared covered with heaps of dead bodies, and a neighbouring brook tinged with the blood of

Aetius *arrives in* Gaul, *and is joined by* Theodoric *and other princes.*

Attila *besieges, and takes* Orleans;

But is driven out with great slaughter by Aetius.

A bloody encounter between the Franks *and* Gepidæ.

The battle of Chalons.

Theodoric, *king of the* Goths, *killed.*

Attila *retires to his camp.*

[p] Jorn. p. 6664. Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 7. p. 277. [q] Val. p. 161. [r] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 664. [s] Val. notit. Gall. p. 324. [t] Jorn. c. 41. p. 671. [u] Vide Buch. hist. Belg. c. 37—40.

of the ſlain. As *Attila* kept cloſe in his camp, the *Romans* concluded from thence, a
that his army had ſuffered greatly, and that he owned himſelf conquered; but as his
camp was well fortified, and ſurrounded with an incredible number of waggons, the
Romans and *Goths* contented themſelves with blocking it up, being well appriſed,
that the enemy would be ſoon obliged, for want of proviſions, either to ſubmit, or
to quit their intrenchments, and venture a ſecond battle in the open fields. In the
mean time, the body of *Theodoric*, found among the ſlain, was interred with extraor-
dinary pomp; and his ſon *Thorismond*, who had been dangerouſly wounded, pro-
claimed king of the *Viſigoths* in his room [w]. Such is the account the antients give us
The number of the ſlain. of this famous action. *Idatus* writes, that on both ſides near three hundred thouſand b
men were killed [x]; and *Jornandes*, according to the *Amſterdam* edition in 1655.
makes the number of the ſlain amount to two hundred and fifty-two thouſand [y]. Both
armies were greatly weakened, and the loſs on each ſide perhaps equal; but as *Attila*
ſhut himſelf up in his camp, and declined a ſecond engagement, the *Romans*, who
remained maſters of the field of battle, challenged the victory. *Caſſiodorus*, and
Theodoric king of *Italy*, aſcribe this victory to the courage and bravery of the *Goths* [z];
but *Gregory* of *Tours* will have it to have been chiefly owing to the prayers of St. *Agnan*
biſhop of *Orleans* [a]. *Thoriſmond*, who had not been informed of his father's death
till the day after the battle, was for revenging it on the *Hunns*, and attacking *Attila*
in his camp. With this view he had already drawn up his *Goths* in battle-array; but
Aetius fearing, if the *Hunns* were intirely cut off, that the young prince, who was of c
an aſpiring genius, would turn his arms againſt the empire, adviſed him to return
home with his forces, and take poſſeſſion of his paternal dominions, leſt his brothers,
during his abſence, ſhould raiſe diſturbances, and, ſeizing on the royal treaſures,
Thoriſmond *returns home with the* Viſigoths. give riſe to a civil war. *Thoriſmond* followed his advice, which *Attila* no ſooner
knew, than he quitted his camp, and began to retire towards the *Rhine*. As he did
not attack *Aetius* even after the departure of *Thoriſmond*, *Valeſius* concludes, that either
the number of his troops was greatly increaſed by the writers of thoſe times, or the
loſs he ſuſtained in the battle leſſened [b]; but the firſt is moſt likely. *Aetius* purſued
Attila as far as the *Rhine*; but never offered to attack him, being willing, ſome
authors ſay, that he ſhould make his eſcape, and, by awing the *Franks* and *Goths*, d
divert them from raiſing diſturbances in the empire. *Attila*, being thus driven out
of *Gaul*, retired to *Pannonia*; and having there reinforced his army with ſupplies ſent
him out of *Scythia*, he reſolved to make an irruption into *Italy*, where he hoped to
Attila *quits* Gaul, meet with more booty and leſs oppoſition, there being no *Goths*, *Alans*, *Franks*,
or *Burgundians*, there to oppoſe him. Purſuant to this reſolution he left *Pannonia*,
and finding the paſſes of the *Alps* unguarded, as no hoſtilities were expected on that
And invades Italy. ſide, he entered *Italy* in the latter end of the preſent year 451. as *Idatius* and *Jornan-*
des ſeem to inſinuate [c], or in the beginning of the following year 452. when *Hercu-*
lanus and *Sporacius* were conſuls. It is impoſſible to expreſs the terror and conſter-
nation, which ſo ſudden and unexpected an irruption occaſioned, even in the moſt e
diſtant provinces. *Aetius* was at firſt for ſaving himſelf by flight, and retiring with
the emperor into *Gaul*; but ſhame getting the better of his fear, he continued in
Italy, and began to aſſemble the forces that were diſperſed up and down the pro-
vinces. In the mean time, *Attila*, advancing as far as *Aquileia*, the metropolis of the
province called *Venetia*, inveſted that important place, battering it night and day
with an incredible number of warlike engines; but as it was well fortified, and
defended by the flower of the *Roman* troops, it held out, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts,
Aquileia *taken and deſtroyed, with ſeveral other cities.* for the ſpace of three whole months, at the end of which it was taken by aſſault,
pillaged for ſeveral days together, and laid in aſhes, not one houſe being left ſtand-
ing, nor one perſon alive that fell into the enemy's hands, *Attila* deſigning, by this f
barbarous and inhuman treatment, to ſtrike terror into the other cities, and frighten
them into ſubmiſſion. The cities of *Arevigio*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Breſcia*,
and *Bergamo*, underwent the ſame fate, the barbarians raging every-where with ſuch
fury, as can hardly be expreſſed or conceived, and putting all to the ſword, without
diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. It is commonly believed, that on this occaſion
the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Hunns*,
The founding of Venice. retired to the iſlands on their coaſt, and there laid the foundations of a city, which, borrowing

[w] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 40, 41. p. 669—672. [x] Idat. p. 28. [y] Jorn. c. 41. p. 672. [z] Caſ-
ſiod. chron & l. iii. ep. 1. p. 40. [a] Vide Du Chesne p. 277. & Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 164.
[b] Val. p. 165. [c] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 672. Theoph. p. 92. Greg. Tur. l. ii. p. 277.

borrowing its name from the province, was called *Venetiæ*, and is now known by the name of *Venice* [d]. *Caſſiodorus*, ſpeaking of the *Venetians*, as he ſtyles them, about fifty years after, ſays, that they inhabited the iſlands of the *Adriatic*; that they had no other fence againſt the waves but hurdles; no other food but fiſh; no wealth beſides their boats; and no merchandize but ſalt, which they exchanged for other proviſions [e]. To return to *Attila*: From the province of *Venetia* he advanced to *Milan*, then the metropolis of *Liguria*, which he took and pillaged, the city of *Pavia*, and ſeveral other places in that neighbourhood, he laid in aſhes, after having plundered them, and put ſuch of the inhabitants to the ſword, as had not ſaved themſelves by a timely flight. Seeing at *Milan* ſome pictures, repreſenting the *Roman* emperors ſitting on thrones of gold, and the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths* or *Hunns*, proſtrate at their feet, he cauſed himſelf to be painted ſitting on a throne, and the *Roman* emperors carrying on their ſhoulders ſacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet [f]. From *Liguria*, *Attila* was for advancing to *Rome*, which city was not in a condition to withſtand him; but his men, remembering the untimely end of *Alaric*, who died ſoon after he had plundered that metropolis, did all that lay in their power to divert him, notwithſtanding their thirſt after plunder, from that reſolution. *Attila* deſpiſed that omen; but his troops being greatly diminiſhed for want of proviſions, and by the maladies that raged among them, and *Aetius* having at the ſame time, with a reinforcement ſent him by *Marcian* out of the eaſt, defeated a party of *Hunns*, he thought it adviſeable to put off his march to *Rome*, and purſue his ravages in the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, *Valentinian*, having no other reſource, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Attila*, with propoſals for an accommodation. At the head of this embaſſy was *Leo* biſhop of *Rome*, a perſon famed for his eminent piety, eloquence, and learning. His collegues were *Albienus* or *Avienus*, who had been conſul in 450. and *Trigecius*, formerly prefect. They found *Attila* on the banks of the *Menzo*, not far from *Mantua*, and were by him received with uncommon demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. He concluded with *Leo*, who ſurpriſed and ſoftened him with his eloquence, a kind of treaty, which, it ſeems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to *Italy*, and purſue his ravages with more cruelty than ever, unleſs the princeſs *Honoria* was ſent him, with the ſhare of the imperial treaſures that was due to her. One of the articles of this treaty was, that the emperor ſhould pay an annual penſion to *Attila*. It was no ſooner ſigned, than he ordered his *Hunns* to forbear hoſtilities, and leaving *Italy*, retired beyond the *Danube* [g]. *Damaſcus*, who flouriſhed about this time, writes, that a bloody battle was fought under the walls of *Rome* between the *Romans* and the *Scythians* under the conduct of *Attila*; and that the ſlaughter was great on both ſides, none but the chiefs, and a ſmall number of their guards, being left alive; but as he adds, that the ſouls of the ſlain purſued the engagement with great noiſe for three days and three nights [h], his whole account may be looked upon as fabulous. The following year, 453. when *Opilio* and *Vincomalus* were conſuls, *Attila*, incapable of living himſelf, or ſuffering others to live in peace, croſſing *Rhætia*, and following the courſe of the *Rhone*, entered unexpectedly the country now known by the name of *Dauphiny*, and fell upon the *Alans*, whom *Aetius* had allowed to ſettle in the *Valentinois*, under the conduct of *Sangiban*. But *Thoriſmond*, king of the *Viſigoths*, whoſe dominions were divided from thoſe of the *Alans* only by the *Rhone*, being well appriſed, that *Attila*, after having reduced the *Alans*, would not fail to invade his territories, joined his neighbours with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom, and having gained a complete victory over *Attila*, obliged him to return with ſhame and diſgrace into his own country [i]. *Jornandes* and *Sigebert* are the only writers who mention this ſecond irruption of the *Hunns* into *Gaul*; and their authority is ſuſpected by *Valeſius*, eſpecially that of *Jornandes*, who ſeems not to have been well acquainted with the hiſtory of the *Viſigoths*. *Attila* died ſoon after, that is, either in the preſent, or the following year, 454. and with him ended the kingdom, or rather empire, of the *Hunns* in the north, a civil war being kindled, upon his death, among his numerous iſſue; which gave the ſeveral nations he had ſubdued an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke, and recovering their ancient liberty, as we ſhall relate more at length in the hiſtory of the *Hunns*, and other northern nations. The ſame year, *Thoriſmond*, king of the *Viſigoths*, was murdered in *Toulouſe*, the capital of his kingdom, *murdered.*

Milan *taken and pillaged.*

Valentinian *concludes a treaty with* Attila.

Who retires out of Italy.

And returns to Gaul,

Where he is defeated by Thoriſmond.

Thoriſmond

[d] Por. de imp. c. 28. p. 69, 72. Val. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 169. [e] Cassiod. l. xii. ep. 24. p. 199. [f] Jorn. ibid. p. 673. [g] Idem, p. 674—685. [h] Phot. c. 242. p. 1040, 1041. [i] Jorn. p. 674, 675.

kingdom, by two of his brothers. *viz.* *Theodoric* and *Frederic*, and ſucceeded by a
the former, on whom *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who was intimately acquainted with him,
beſtows great encomiums, extolling him even above his father, and ſtyling him the
protector and bulwark of the empire [k].

The council of Chalcedon.

While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, the council of *Chalcedon* was held in the
eaſt by *Marcian*'s orders, who nevertheleſs ſeems to have aſſiſted in perſon only at
the ſeſſion of the twenty-fifth of *October*. The council began on the eighth of
October, of the year 451. and ended on the firſt of *November* [l]. The ſame year the
emperor enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, any one to ſacrifice to the gods,
or even to adorn their temples with flowers, and condemning the governors and
officers, who ſhould wink at ſuch wicked practices, to pay fifty pounds weight of b
gold [m]. The following year, the *Saracens*, the *Nubians*, and the *Blemmyes*, broke
into the empire; but were defeated by the troops of *Marcian*, and forced to ſue for
peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the
empire, as *Priſcus* aſſures us, who attended the *Roman* embaſſadors to *Damaſcus*,
where the treaty was concluded [n].

Several barbarous nations ſettle in Thrace *and* Illyricum.

The following year, 453. *Attila* dying, ſeveral
nations, formerly ſubdued by that conqueror, revolting from his children, begged
and obtained leave of *Marcian* to ſettle in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, almoſt intirely diſ-
peopled by the frequent incurſions of the *Hunns* and other barbarians. Among theſe
mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who, under the conduct of
Candax, their king or leader, ſettled in *Leſſer Scythia*, and *Lower Mæſia*: to the c
Rugians, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum* near a place
called *the caſtle of Mars*: to the *Goths*, commonly called *Oſtrogoths* or *Eaſtern Goths*,
to diſtinguiſh them from the *Viſigoths* or *Weſtern Goths*, who afterwards became maſters
of *Spain*, *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmiſh*, in *Sclavonia*, to
Vindobona, at preſent *Vienna*, in *Auſtria*, a large tract, compriſing many cities. Theſe
Goths were then governed by three brothers, *viz.* *Valemir*, *Theodomir*, the father of
Theodoric the Great, afterwards king of *Italy*, and *Vidimir*, who divided that exten-
ſive country among them, *Valemir* ſettling in the eaſtern part of it, *Theodomir* in
the weſtern, and *Vidimir* between the other two [o]. The *Goths*, as well as the other
barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the *Conſtantinopolitan* emperors, and were d
ſubjects of the empire; but at the ſame time their princes claimed an uncontrolled
authority over their own people, and frequently waged war with each other. Even
one of the ſons of *Attila*, named *Ernac*, and ſeveral other *Hunns*, ſubmitted to the
Romans, who granted them lands on the moſt diſtant borders of *Leſſer Scythia*, in
Dacia, and amongſt the *Sarmatians* in *Illyricum* [p]. The ſame year died, in the month

The empreſs Pulcheria *dies.*

of *July*, the empreſs *Pulcheria*, daughter to *Arcadius*, ſiſter to *Theodoſius* II. and wife
to *Marcian*. She left by her will, which was confirmed and executed with great
fidelity by *Marcian*, the immenſe wealth of which ſhe was poſſeſſed, and her rich
moveables, to the poor [q]. She was a woman of moſt extraordinary parts, and is,
on account of her exemplary piety, honoured both by the *Greeks* and *Latins* with e
the title of *ſaint*.

The diſgrace and death of Aetius.

The following year, 454, when *Aetius* was conſul the fourth time with *Studius*, is
remarkable for the downfal and death of that great commander, owing chiefly to
the malice and inſinuations of an eunuch, by name *Heraclius*, who having gained an
abſolute aſcendant over the emperor, eaſily perſuaded the weak prince, that *Aetius*
aſpired at the empire, and maintained a private correſpondence with the barbarians,
in order to raiſe himſelf by their means to the imperial dignity. *Aetius*, on his ſide,
gave ſome occaſion to the accuſations of the eunuch, by preſſing the emperor with
too much eagerneſs to perform the promiſe he had made of marrying his eldeſt
daughter *Eudocia* to *Gaudentius*, the general's ſon. His importunity gave weight to f
the calumnies of *Heraclius*, and confirmed the weak and jealous emperor in his
ſuſpicions, which, according to *Gregory* of *Tours* [r] and all the writers of thoſe times,
were altogether groundleſs. But after all, his treachery towards count *Bonifacius*,
and ſeveral others, plainly prove, that he did not on all occaſions ſcruple ſacrificing
his conſcience and honour to his preferment and grandeur. Some pretend, but
without any poſitive proof, and probably without foundation, that he was at the
bottom

[k] Sid. car. vii. p. 347. et ep. ii—vi. p. 4. car. xiii. p. 400. [l] Concil. tom. iv. p. 574, 576.
[m] Cod. Juſt. l. i. tit. 11. leg. 7. p. 105, 106. [n] Evagr. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. Pris. p. 40. Niceph.
l. xv. c. 9. p. 61. [o] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 50—52. p. 688, 689. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Marc. chron.
[r] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Fran. l. ii. c. 8. p. 277. Vales. p. 175.

a bottom of all the disturbances that happened during his administration [s]. *Petronius Maximus* is said to have greatly contributed to the death of *Aetius*, by prompting the eunuchs of the court to persuade the emperor, that he aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty. The view of *Maximus* therein was to remove out of the way the only person, who screened the prince from the vengeance he was resolved to take upon him for a late affront [t], of which anon. However that be, the death of *Aetius* being resolved on, *Valentinian* ordered him one day to attend him in the palace, pretending to have some affair of the utmost importance to impart to him. *Aetius* obeyed the summons, repairing without delay to the emperor's apartment, attended by *Boëtius*, the *præfectus prætorio*, his intimate friend, and several others. But *Aetius*
b alone was admitted into the prince's chamber; which he had no sooner entered, than *Valentinian* ran him through with his sword; and with the assistance of the officers about him, namely, of *Heraclius*, dispatched him in a most barbarous and inhuman manner [u]. Thus fell the best general of his age, the terror of *Attila*, the bulwark of the western provinces, says *Sidonius*, by the hand of the greatest coward in the whole empire [w]. We are told, that *Valentinian* having one day asked a *Roman* whether he had done well in dispatching *Aetius?* the *Roman* answered, that he could not tell whether he had done well or no, but thought he had cut off his right hand with his left [x]. The prefect *Boëtius*, and all those who had attended *Aetius* to the palace, were likewise dispatched, being called one after the other into the emperor's cham-
c ber [y]. This bloody tragedy was acted, according to *Theophanes*, at *Rome* [z]. *Valentinian* immediately dispatched embassadors to the *Suevians*, and other foreign nations, to acquaint them with the death of *Aetius*, and confirm the treaties that general had concluded with them [a]. But the news of that great man's death encouraged, it seems, some of them to make irruptions into the empire. For in the beginning of the following year, the *Armorici*, that is, the inhabitants of the present *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, were under daily apprehensions of seeing the *Saxons* on their coasts; the *Alemans* passed the *Rhine* near *Basle*, and the *Franks* laid waste the territories of *Mentz* and *Rheims* [b].

Who is treacherously murdered by Valentinian.

The following year, 445. when *Valentinian* was consul the eighth time with *An-*
d *themius*, son-in-law to the emperor *Marcian*, the western empire was involved in endless calamities. The emperor *Valentinian* was murdered on the seventeenth of *March*, and the empire seized by *Petronius Maximus*, grandson to *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, who having usurped the sovereignty in 383. was taken and put to death by *Theodosius the Great* in 388. Authors give us the following account of the unhappy end of *Valentinian*, and usurpation of *Maximus*. The latter having married a lady, equally famous for her beauty and chastity, *Valentinian*, taken with her charms, fell passionately in love with her; but her virtue being proof against all his presents, menaces, and promises, he had recourse to the following artifice: He sent
e one day for *Maximus* to play with him at dice; and having won of him a considerable sum, obliged him to leave his ring as a pledge for the payment of it. This ring he sent privately to the wife of *Maximus*, desiring her in her husband's name to repair to the palace, and wait upon the empress. The lady, knowing the ring, hastened to the palace, in compliance with the supposed orders of her husband; but was conducted by some persons employed for that purpose to a remote apartment, where *Valentinian*, without any regard to her tears and intreaties, robbed her by force of that which was infinitely more dear to her than her life. Upon her return home, she burst into a flood of tears, reproaching, in most bitter terms, her husband, whom she believed privy to her dishonour, and his own infamy. *Maximus*, on the other hand, then first apprised of the emperor's wicked artifice, acquainted
f his wife with it, and resolved at all events to be revenged on *Valentinian* [c]. Pursuant to this resolution, he applied to the friends of *Aetius*, whom the emperor had caused lately to be murdered, especially to *Traustila* and *Optila* or *Occylla*, two barbarians, who had served under that general, and had been distinguished by him with particular marks of kindness and esteem. These readily undertook to revenge the death of their old commander, and at the same time the dishonour offered to *Maximus*; and accordingly falling upon *Valentinian*, while he was diverting himself in the *campus Martius*

Valentinian *falls in love with the wife of* Maximus.

Maximus, *to revenge the violence offered her, causes* Valentinian *to be murdered.*

[s] Val. p. 176. Buch. Belg. p. 318. [t] Jorn. reg. Sue. p. 654. [u] Idat. p. 30. Prosp. Marc. chron. Theoph. p. 92. Sid. car. v. p. 318. [w] Sid. car. vii. p. 342. [x] Persec. Vand. hist. l. i. c. 4. p. 187. [y] Prosp. Idat. Marc. Cassiod. &c. [z] Theoph. p. 92. [a] Idat. Cassiod. &c. [b] Sid. car. vii. p. 542. [c] Procop. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4. p 186 187.

Martius at *Rome*, they firſt killed his favourite eunuch *Heraclius*, who courageouſly a interpoſed, and endeavoured to ſave his maſter, and then diſpatched, with many wounds, the emperor himſelf in the ſight of the whole court [d]. *Procopius* and *John* of *Antioch*, who evidently copies from him, are the only authors who mention the indignity offered to *Maximus*. *Sidonius* and *Idatius*, without taking the leaſt notice of that outrage, aſcribe the death of *Valentinian* to the unbounded ambition of *Maximus*, not to be ſatisfied with any thing leſs than the empire itſelf [e]. *Valentinian* was murdered on the ſeventeenth of *March* of the preſent year 455. after having lived thirty-four years, and reigned twenty-nine and about five months, reckoning from the twenty-third of *October* 425. when he was firſt declared *Auguſtus* [f]. His tomb is b thought to be ſtill extant at *Ravenna* [g]. As he had but very ſlender parts, he was intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, who diſpoſed, at their pleaſure, of all the great offices, ſacrificing the good of the public, and the honour of the prince, to their private intereſt and ambition. He had not courage enough to head his armies in perſon: and beſides was, by his effeminate education, become altogether incapable of bearing the toils of a military life. The only journies he undertook were from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, and from *Rome* back again to *Ravenna*, keeping himſelf in both places locked up in his palace with a herd of eunuchs, and indulging, without reſtraint, his moſt brutal inclinations, tho' married to one of the moſt beautiful women of that age [h]. The day after his death, *Maximus*, the author of it, c aſſumed the purple; and being ſaluted by the *Roman* people with the title of *Auguſtus*, he immediately raiſed his ſon, by name *Palladius*, to the dignity of *Cæſar*. *Maximus* was ſprung from an illuſtrious family in *Rome*, and had diſcharged with great applauſe and reputation the firſt offices in the ſtate. He was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, which he ſhared and enjoyed with his friends, leading an eaſy and quiet life, and indulging himſelf in all the diverſions and recreations, which his plentiful eſtate could afford him. Hence he no ſooner began to feel the anxieties inſeparable from a crown, eſpecially when acquired by unlawful means, than he repented the ſtep he had taken, panting after his former condition. *Sidonius* writes, that the very firſt night he lodged in the palace, he was heard crying out, d *Happy* Damocles, *whoſe reign began and ended with a dinner*; nay, he had ſome thoughts of abandoning *Rome*, of quitting the enſigns of majeſty, and reſuming in ſome corner of *Italy* his former method of life [i]. But being diverted from that reſolution by his friends, he appointed *Avitus*, then in *Gaul*, commander in chief of the *Roman* armies, who immediately diſpatched *Meſſianus* to acquaint *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, with the acceſſion of *Maximus* to the empire. That general went ſoon after to confer in perſon with the *Gothiſh* king, and entered *Toulouſe*, attended by *Theodoric* himſelf on his right hand, and one of the prince's brothers on his left. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with *Theodoric*, when he unexpectedly received the diſagreeable tidings of the death of *Maximus*, which put him upon other e meaſures [k]. The wife of *Maximus* dying ſoon after the outrage ſuppoſed to have been offered her, the uſurper, that he might have ſome title to the crown, obliged *Eudoxia*, the deceaſed emperor's widow, to marry him, contrary to her inclination, a few days after the murder of her huſband; and at the ſame time married her daughter *Eudoxia* to his ſon *Palladius*. *Eudoxia*, who had loved *Valentinian* with great tenderneſs, highly provoked in ſeeing herſelf married againſt her will to the very perſon who had deprived him both of his life and empire, reſolved, whatever it coſt her, to revenge the death of her former huſband, and the affront offered in her perſon to his bed. Blinded therefore with paſſion and thirſt of revenge, ſhe took ſuch meaſures as proved fatal to herſelf, to *Rome*, and all *Italy*. For expecting f no aſſiſtance from *Marcian*, unwilling perhaps to engage in a civil war, ſhe diſpatched a truſty meſſenger to *Genſeric* in *Africa*, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally *Valentinian*, and to reſcue her out of the arms of a tyrant, the murderer of her huſband [l]. Some authors affirm, that ſhe wrote to the king of the *Vandals* with her own hand, aſſuring him, that he would meet with no great reſiſtance in *Italy*, and promiſing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of her power. This meſſage was very acceptable to *Genſeric*, who had long wiſhed for ſuch an opportunity,

The character of Valentinian.

Maximus *aſſumes the purple.*

And appoints Avitus, *commander in chief of all the* Roman *forces.*

Eudoxia, *being forced to marry him, invites* Genſeric *into* Italy.

[d] Marc. Idat. Cassiod. chron. Evagr. c. 7. p. 298. Jorn. reg. Suev. p. 654. Greg. Tur. p. 277. [e] Sid. l. ii. ep. 13. p. 57. Idat. p. 31. [f] Idat. p. 30. [g] Mab. Iteſ. Ital. p. 40. [h] Theoph. p. 93. Zon. p. 40. Const. Manass. p. 51. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 182. [i] Sid. l. ep. 13. p. 57, 58. [k] Idem, car. vii. p. 343, 344. [l] Evagr. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298.

a opportunity, which he embraced with great joy; and putting to ſea without loſs of time, ſteered his courſe ſtrait to *Rome*. When his numerous fleet firſt appeared, the chief citizens, and all perſons of diſtinction, ſtruck with terror and diſmay, inſtead of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence, thought only of conſulting their ſafety by flight [m]. Among theſe was *Maximus* himſelf; but as he was flying with thoſe of his court, the populace, highly incenſed againſt him for thus ſhamefully abandoning thoſe whom it was his duty to protect, riſing all on a ſudden, purſued him with ſhowers of ſtones; which ſome of *Valentinian*'s officers obſerving, they threw themſelves upon him; and a *Roman* ſoldier, by name *Urſus*, gave him the fatal blow [n]. His body was ignominiouſly dragged through the chief ſtreets of b the city; and, after it had lain ſome time expoſed to the inſults of the incenſed multitude, thrown into the *Tiber*. Such was the end of the uſurper *Maximus*, after he had lived about ſixty years, and borne the title of emperor three months wanting five days. His ſon *Palladius* is ſuppoſed to have undergone the ſame fate. Three day after the death of *Maximus*, that is, on the fifteenth of *June*, *Genſeric* entered *Rome* without oppoſition, and abandoned it to the mercy of his *Vandals*, ſtrictly injoining them, however, not to ſet fire to the city, nor ſhed the blood of the inhabitants, purſuant to the promiſe he had made to *Leo the Great*, then biſhop of *Rome*, who had gone out to meet him [o]. They continued in the city fourteen days, pillaging not only the private houſes, but ſtripping the public buildings of all their c rich ornaments, and even the churches of their ſacred veſſels. They took an incredible number of captives, every one ſeized ſuch women as they liked beſt; and amongſt the men, thoſe who they thought would be of moſt uſe to them. *Genſeric* himſelf forced the imperial palace; and having ſeized on the treaſure, and all the rich moveables he found there, he cauſed them to be put on board a veſſel, with the empreſs *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gaudentius*, the ſon of *Aetius*, and carried them all into captivity. Amongſt the ſpoils, mention is made of a great many ſtatues with which a veſſel was loaded; of half the covering of the capitol, which was of braſs plated over with gold; of ſacred veſſels of gold, enriched with precious ſtones; and of thoſe which had been formerly taken by *Titus* out of d the temple of *Jeruſalem*, and brought to *Rome*. *Genſeric*, having thus ſtripped the city of all its wealth and valuable ornaments, returned with his fleet to *Africa*, but loſt in his paſſage the ſhip that carried the ſtatues [p]. *Marcian*, ſenſibly affected with the misfortune of *Eudoxia* and the two princeſſes her daughters, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Genſeric*, earneſtly intreating him to ſet them at liberty; but he, deſpiſing both his intreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462. when he ſent back *Eudoxia*, with her ſecond daughter *Placidia*, to *Leo*, the ſucceſſor of *Marcian*. As for *Eudocia*, he married her to *Hunneric*, his eldeſt ſon, who had by her *Ailderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa* [q]. In the eaſt *Marcian* enacted this year a famous law, dated, according to ſome, the firſt of *May*, according to others, the e twenty-ſecond of *April*, wherein he allowed every one to bequeath to the eccleſiaſtics and monks what they pleaſed, and revoked the laws of the other emperors his predeceſſors, forbidding widows and diaconeſſes to leave any thing by will to the church [r]. This law is addreſſed to *Palladius*, the *præfectus prætorio*, to whom is likewiſe addreſſed another againſt the *Eutychians*, dated from *Conſtantinople* the firſt of *Auguſt* [s]. Of the few writers who flouriſhed under *Valentinian* III. we ſhall ſpeak in note (T).

Maximus *murdered.*

Rome *taken and plundered by* Genſeric.

Eudoxia *and her daughters carried into captivity.*

Avitus,

[m] Sid. p. 174. [n] Procop. p. 186. Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 45. 677. [o] Theoph. p. 93. Vict. Prosp. chron. [p] Theoph. p. 93. Evagr. p. 98. Procop. p. 189. [q] Theod. l. i. p. 552. Prisc. p. 41. [r] Cod. Theod. nov. l. iii. tit. 5. [s] Concil. tom. iv. p. 886, 888.

(T) The chronicle of *Idatius* has been of great uſe to us in writing the hiſtory of *Valentinian*'s reign. He was a native of *Lamego*, in the province of *Beira*, belonging then to *Galicia*, but at preſent to the kingdom of *Portugal*. His parents dying when he was very young, he left *Spain*, and retired to the eaſt, where he ſaw St. *Jerom*, *Eulogius* of *Cæſarea*, *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*. He owns himſelf to have been but indifferently verſed in polite literature, and ſtill leſs in the ſtudy of the holy ſcripture (1). But as to the latter, *Leo the Great*, biſhop of *Rome*, ſeems to have been of a different opinion, ſince he employed him againſt the *Priſcillianiſts* (2). He was ordained biſhop in the third or fourth year of the reign of *Valentinian* III. that is, about the year 427. for he reckons from the time that prince was created *Cæſar* (3). *Sigibert*, and ſome other writers, ſuppoſe him to have been biſhop of *Lamego*. And truly the words of his preface leave it doubtful, whether he was biſhop, or only a native, of that city: but in his chronicle he tells us, that the biſhop *Idatius* was taken in the

(1) *Idat. chron. p.* 2—10. (2) *Leo. ep.* xxxii. *c.* 17. *p.* 162. (3) *Idem, p.* 4.

Avitus, or *Flavius Mæcilius Avitus*, as he is ſtyled on an ancient medal [t], had a been appointed by *Maximus* commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces, and was at the court of *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, when news was brought him of the death of the uſurper. He immediately acquainted *Theodoric*, with what had happened, who thereupon preſſed him to aſſume the purple, and even cauſed him to be proclaimed emperor by the *Goths* in *Toulouſe*, on the tenth of *July* of the preſent year, promiſing to ſupport him in his new dignity with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom [u]. However, he did not, it ſeems, take upon him the title of emperor till he was proclaimed ſome time after, that is, on the eighth of *Auguſt*, by the *Roman* army at *Arles*, and by all the chief men in *Gaul*. *Theodoric* went immediately, attended by his brothers, to *Arles*, to congratulate the new prince on his acceſſion to the empire, and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed [w]. From *Arles* the new emperor ſet out ſoon after for *Rome*, where he was received by the populace with great demonſtrations of joy. *Marcian*, who had nothing ſo much at heart as the public welfare and tranquillity, readily approved of his promotion, and acknowledged him for his collegue [x]. The following year, when

Avitus *proclaimed emperor at* Toulouſe, *and after at* Arles.

Is received as ſuch at Rome, *and acknowledged by* Marcian.

[t] Goltz. p. 135. [u] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 11. p. 280. [w] Idat. p. 31. Isidor. chron. [x] Idat. p. 32.

church of *Aquæ Flaviæ*, and returned after three months captivity to *Flaviæ* (4). As he evidently ſpeaks in that place of himſelf, father *Labbé* concludes him to have been a native of *Lamego*, and biſhop of *Aquæ Flaviæ* (5); which laſt city *Sanſon* places in the territory of *Braga*, on the confines of *Portugal*, calling it *Aquæ Leæ Turodorum*. *Leo*, biſhop of *Rome*, only writes, that *Idatus* was biſhop in *Galicia* (6). *Dupin* will have him to have been archbiſhop of *Lugo* (7), not reflecting, that *Idatius* was ordained bihop in 427. and that ſix years after the ſee of *Lugo* was held by *Aſterius* (8). In the year 431. *Idatius* was ſent by the natives of *Galicia* to implore the aſſiſtance of *Aetius*, then in *Gaul*, againſt the *Suevians*, who, contrary to the articles of a late treaty, pillaged the country. He returned from *Gaul* the following year with count *Cenſorius*, ſent by *Aetius* to treat with the *Suevians*. He was taken by the *Suevians* in the church of *Aquæ Flaviæ* on the twenty-ſixth of *July* 462. but after three months captivity was ſet at liberty. Notwithſtanding the wars and diſturbances that reigned in his time all over the empire, eſpecially in *Spain*, he wrote a chronicle, which is, properly ſpeaking, a continuation of that of St. *Jerom*. What he wrote from the death of *Valens*, where his chronicle begins, to the third year of *Valentinian*'s reign, and his own epiſcopacy, he either copied, as he aſſures us, from the beſt writers, or learnt of perſons of unqueſtionable veracity: of all the reſt, he was himſelf an eye-witneſs. He writes, that he had the misfortune to ſee the *Roman* empire reduced within narrow bounds, and in great danger of loſing the little it retained; that the diſcipline of the church was utterly neglected in *Galicia*, and the liberties of the people intirely loſt, the barbarians, who prevailed there, acknowledging no other law but their arbitrary will and caprice. He carries his chronicle down to the third of *Anthemius*'s reign, that is, to the year 469. the forty-firſt of his epiſcopacy. The chronicle of *Idatius* gives great light to the hiſtory of thoſe times, eſpecially to that of *Spain*; whence *Iſidore* and ſome others have copied almoſt word for word. However, it is not quite free from faults, eſpecially in point of chronology, either the author himſelf, or his tranſcriber's reckoning ſometimes the end of one emperor's reign, and the beginning of another's, as two diſtinct years, which is a very groſs miſtake. The years of the emperors are marked all along with the olympiads, and, in imitation of St. *Jerom*, the years of the ſupputation of *Euſebius* from the birth of *Abraham*. The æra of *Spain*, which is thirty years anterior to ours, is marked in the beginning on the margin. Father *Sirmond*, to whom we are indebted for this chronicle, has annexed to it a book of conſular tables, which he believes to have been done by the ſame author. Father *Sirmond* publiſhed only part of theſe tables. But father *Labbé* inſerted the whole in his *Bibliotheca nova*, and *Du Cange* in his *Chronicon Paſchale* (9), which extends from the conſulſhip of *Brutus*, the firſt conſul, to the ſecond conſulſhip of *Anthemius* in 468. ſo that the conſular tables end about a year after the chronicle. In the tables no other æra is marked but that of *Spain*, which gives us room to believe that they were done by a native of that country (10). They are reckoned very exact; but yet ſome faults have crept into them, which, in all likelihood, is owing to the ignorance of the tranſcribers. In the time of *Charlemagne*, a *French* chronologer publiſhed an epitome of the chronicle of *Idatius*, which is to be found in *Caniſius* (11). The work intituled *Notitia imperii* is ſuppoſed to have been written in the reign of *Valentinian* III. and *Theodoſius* II. but by ſome in the very beginning, by others in the latter end, of the reign of *Theodoſius*. This *notitia* contains a ſuccinct account of the ſtate of the empire in thoſe times, *viz.* of the provinces and their governors; of the other magiſtrates, both civil and military, their titles and officers; of their land and ſea-forces; of their foot and horſe; of their troops, both *Roman* and foreign, and the places where they were quartered, *&c.* This *notitia* was publiſhed by *Guidus Pancirolius* in 1593. with copious comments, of which father *Labbé* ſpeaks with great contempt, ridiculing the cuts with which they are adorned, repreſenting, as *Pancirollus* imagines, the habits and ornaments peculiar to each office and dignity. To the *notitia* is added the deſcription of *Rome* by an anonymous author, who is ſuppoſed to have wrote under *Valentinian* III. To this deſcription of *Rome*, father *Labbé* adds one of *Conſtantinople*, done likewiſe by an anonymous writer, either in the reign of *Arcadius*, or of *Theodoſius* the younger. The treatiſe *de rebus bellicis*, which *Labbé* adds to it, is ſuppoſed to have been written about the ſame time; but the author, who ſeems to have been a private perſon, and to have profeſſed the ſtudy of philoſophy, is not known.

(4) *Idem, p.* 39. (5) *Labb. ſcript. tom.* ii. *p.* 496. (6) *Leo. tom.* ii. *p.* 827, 828. (7) *Dupin. tom.* iv. *p* 557. (8) *Idat. p.* 20. (9) *Labb. p.* 3. *Cange chron. Paſc. p.* 439. (10) *Vide Wilt.. ad. not p.* 8. *& Noris de Diocleſ. num. p.* 11. (11) *Caniſ. tom.* ii. *p,* 640, 641.

when

a when *Varanes* and *Johannes* were conſuls, a bloody war broke out between the *Sue-vians* in *Spain* and the *Viſigoths* in *Aquitain*. *Requiarius*, king of the former, taking advantage of the diſtracted ſtate of the empire, over-ran the province of *Cartagena*, which ſtill belonged to the *Romans*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Here-upon *Avitus*, diſpatching count *Fronto* to him with the character of embaſſador, put him in mind of the treaties concluded between him and the *Romans*. *Theodoric* likewiſe, whoſe ſiſter *Requiarius* had married, interpoſed his good offices, conjuring his brother-in-law not to diſturb the public tranquillity, and acquainted him with the engagements which he had entered into with *Avitus*. But *Requiarius*, without any regard either to treaties or remonſtrances, purſued his ravages, laying waſte, not b only the province of *Cartagena*, but that of *Tarraco* too, which likewiſe belonged to the empire. Upon this, *Theodoric* ſent him a ſecond embaſſy, to which he an-ſwered with great haughtineſs, that if *Theodoric* found fault with his conduct, he would ſoon give him an account of it at *Toulouſe*. This anſwer piqued *Theodoric* to ſuch a degree, that he immediately entered *Spain* at the head of a powerful army; and being met by *Requiarius* about twelve miles from *Aſtorga*, a battle enſued, in which the *Suevians* were entirely defeated, and their king, who was dangerouſly wounded, obliged to fly for ſhelter to a diſtant corner of *Galicia*. *Theodoric* purſued him cloſe; and entering *Braga* on a *Sunday*, the twenty-eighth of *October*, gave that city up to be plundered by his Soldiers. From *Braga* he advanced with all poſſible c expedition to a place called *Portucal*, whither the fugitive king had retired [y]. Some writers take *Portucal* for the preſent city of *Porto*, on the *Douro*, in the kingdom of *Portucal*, to which it is thought to have given name [z]. *Jornandes* writes, that *Requiarius* put to ſea, in order to ſave himſelf by flight, but was driven back by a ſtorm [a]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken, and delivered up to *Theodoric*, who, after having kept him ſome time in priſon, put him to death in the month of *December* [b]. The *Suevians*, diſheartened by the death of their king, and deſtitute of a leader, ſubmitted to *Theodoric*, who retained for himſelf the coun-try he had conquered, appointed one *Aquiulphus* to govern it. *Aquiulphus*, revolting ſoon after from *Theodoric*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of the *Suevians* in d *Galicia*, but died the following year in the month of *June* at *Porto* [c]. *Jornandes* writes, that a powerful army being ſent againſt him by *Theodoric*, he was overcome in battle, taken, and beheaded [d]. Some *Suevians*, refuſing to ſubmit to the *Goths* retired to a diſtant corner of *Galicia*, and there choſe for their king one of their own nation, named *Maldra* [e]. The ſame year, *Genſeric*, putting to ſea with a nume-rous fleet, and a conſiderable army on board, with a deſign to ravage the coaſts of *Italy* or *Gaul*, was overtaken near *Corſica* by the *Roman* fleet, under the command of *Ricimer*, and utterly defeated [f]. *Ricimer*, ſtyled by ſome *Richimer* or *Richemer*, was ſprung from the royal family of the *Suevians*; but as his mother was the daugh-ter of *Valla*, king of the *Goths* in 418. he is commonly looked upon rather as a e *Goth* than a *Suevian*. He had ſerved from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and and acquired much reputation by his warlike exploits, that *Sidonius* gives him the title of *invincible*, and *Jornandes* ſtyles him the beſt commander of his age [g]; nay, *Sidonius* prefers him for courage to *Sylla*, for prudence to *Fabius*, for good-nature to *Metellus*, for eloquence to *Appius*, for vigour and reſolution to *Fulvius*, and for addreſs to *Camillus* [h]. But theſe good qualities were not without the allay of as many bad ones; for he was a man without faith, honour, or honeſty; ambi-tious to ſuch a degree, that, not ſatisfied with being commander in chief of all the forces in the weſt, patrician, and ſon-in-law to the emperor, he took upon him to raiſe and depoſe emperors at his pleaſure, and, ſince he was excluded by his f birth from wearing the imperial crown himſelf, to command and controul thoſe who wore it. This unbounded ambition, this unbridled luſt of ruling, prompted him to murder four emperors, three of whom had been raiſed by himſelf, and to ſtir up and aſſiſt under hand the avowed enemies of that empire, which he was by the ſtrongeſt ties bound to protect and defend. Elated with his ſucceſs over *Genſe-ric*, inſtead of purſuing it, he returned to *Rome*, and, revolting with *Majorianus*, obliged the ſenate to declare *Avitus* unworthy of the empire; which no ſooner came to

War between the Viſigoths *and* Suevians.

The Suevians *defeated.*

Genſeric *di-feated at ſea by* Ricimer.

Avitus *de-poſed.*

[y] Idat. p. 33. Isidor. chron Jorn. p. 676. [z] Baud. [a] Jorn. ibid. [b] Idat. p. 24 Isidor. chron. [c] Idas. p. 37. [d] Jorn. p. 677. [e] Idat. p. 34. [f] Idem. ibid. [g] Jorn. c. 45 p. 678. Sid. car. ii. p. 301. [h] Sid. cra. v. p. 317.

to the princes ears, who was then in *Gaul*, than he haſtened back to *Italy*; but upon his arrival at *Placentia*, he was ſtopped by *Ricimer*, and ſtripped of all the badges of majeſty [i]. *Theophanes* writes, that *Avitus* was overcome in batle by *Ricimer*, on the ſixteenth of *October* [k]; ſo that he had ſcarce reigned fourteen months. Being thus diveſted of the purple, he cauſed himſelf to be ordained biſhop of *Placentia*, but the ſenate inſiſting upon his being put to death, he withdrew from *Placentia*, with a deſign to take ſanctuary in the church of St. *Julian* at *Brioude* in *Auvergne*, the place of his nativity. *Gregory* of *Tours* adds, that he died on the road, and his body was brought to *Brioude*, and buried near that of the holy martyr St. *Julian* [l]. During his ſhort reign, the *Burgundians*, who had been removed from the banks of the *Rhine* in 438. or, as others will have it, in 443. and had ever ſince that time dwelt amongſt the mountains of *Savoy*, ſeized on part of *Gaul*, and made themſelves maſters of the city of *Lions* [m]. In 463. the city of *Die* in *Dauphiny* was ſubject to them, as appears from a letter of *Gondiac* their king to *Hilarius* biſhop of *Rome* [n]. The next conſuls were *Conſtantine* and *Ruſinus*, belonging both to the eaſten empire, no emperor being yet choſen in the weſt. In the beginning of this year 457. died the emperor *Marcian*, after having reigned ſix years, five months, and two days. His death, which *Theodorus*, ſurnamed the *Reader*, aſcribes to his having aſſiſted at a proceſſion on the twenty-ſixth of *January* [o], muſt have happened about the end of that month; for *Leo*, who ſucceeded him, was proclaimed at *Conſtantinople* on the ſeventh of *February*. *Marcian* is commended by all the writers of thoſe times, for the innocence and ſimplicity of his manners, for his extraordinary piety, and zeal for the purity of religion [p]. *Leo* biſhop of *Rome*, calls him a prince of a bleſſed and venerable memory; and the *Greeks* honour him with the title of *ſaint*, celebrating his feſtival, with that of the empreſs *Pulcheria*, on the ſeventeenth of *February*. He was buried in the church of St. *Zea* at *Conſtantinople*, which he had built [r]. *Priſcus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, wrote the hiſtory of his reign; but of that work only ſome fragments have reached our times [s]. A few days after the death of *Marcian*, *Leo* was proclaimed emperor, with the unanimous conſent of the ſenate, people, and ſoldiery, and crowned by *Anatolius*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople* [u]. This is the firſt inſtance we find in hiſtory of a prince's receiving the cown at the hand of a biſhop. *Leo*, diſtinguiſhed by the *Greeks* with the ſurname *of the Great*, was, according to the moſt probable opinion, a native of *Thrace*, and thence commonly called *Leo the Thracian*. He had ſerved from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and commanded a body of troops encamped at *Selymbria* in *Thrace*, when he was raiſed to the empire. His prudence, moderation, impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, exemplary piety, and zeal for the catholic religion, are greatly extolled by the writers who flouriſhed in thoſe times. *Leo* is ſaid to have owed his promotion to the patrician *Aſpar*, of whom we have made frequent mention, and his ſon *Ardaburius*, who, not daring, tho' very powerful, to aſſume the purple themſelves, as they were *Arians* by religion, and not *Romans* by birth, but *Goths*, or rather *Alans*, conferred it upon *Leo*, in whoſe name they hoped to reign; nay, we are told, that *Leo* promiſed to raiſe one of *Aſpar*'s ſons to the dignity of *Cæſar* [u]. In the very beginning of his reign, great diſturbances were raiſed by the *Eutychians* in *Alexandria*, who, hearing of the death of *Marcian*, roſe in a tumultuous manner, murdered the catholic biſhop *Proterus*, and choſe in his room one of their own ſect, named *Timotheus Elurus*. The tumult was ſoon quelled; but the authors of it putting themſelves under the protection of *Aſpar*, a zealous patron of *Arianiſm*, were by him ſcreened from the puniſhment due to their wickedneſs [w]. In the weſt, after an inter-reign of about three months, during which time *Ricimer* governed with an abſolute ſway, *Majorianus* was proclaimed emperor by the ſenate, the people, and ſoldiery, *Ricimer* propoſing him as a perſon in every reſpect well well qualified for that high ſtation. All we know of his family is, that his father had ſerved with great reputation under *Aetius*, and was afterwards raiſed to the office of treaſurer of the empire. His mother was daughter of *Majorianus*, appointed by *Theodoſius* I. or rather by *Gratian*, in 379. general of the *Roman* horſe and foot in *Pannonia*. From him the emperor took the name of *Majorianus*. He was raiſed to the

The Burgundians *ſeize on part of* Gaul.

Marcian *dies.*

Leo *proclaimed emperor.*

His birth, education, employments, &c.

Majorianus *raiſed to the empire in the weſt.*

i GREG. Tur. l, ii c. 11. p. 280. k THEOPH. p. 94. l GREG. Tur. p. 280. m MARC chron. p. 210. n CONCIL. tom. 4. p. 1043. o THEOD. l. i. p. 650. p Idem. p. 70. EVAGAR. l. ii. p. 269. IDAT. MARC. & chron. Alex. p. 747. q LEO. ep. 12. r CODIN. orig. Conſtant. p. 48. s EVAGR. l. ii. c. 1. p. 283. t THEOPH. p. 95. THEOD. p. 563. MARC. chron. u ZONAR. p. 40. THEOD. p. 568. THEOPH. p. 575. w CEDREN. p. 346. LEO, ep. 118. p. 671.

a the empire in the flower of his age, having already given ſeveral inſtances, not only of his courage and mili ary abilities, but of his good-nature, generoſity, moderation, and other amiable qualities. *Procopius*, ſpeaking of him, ſays, that he ſurpaſſed in every virtue all the princes who had reigned before him [x]. He lived from his childhood in great intimacy with *Ricimer*, and therefore was eaſily prevailed upon by him to revolt from *Avitus*. Soon after the depoſing of that prince, he was raiſed to the poſt of general in the room of *Ricimer*, who was created patrician, probably by *Marcian*, or *Leo* his ſucceſſor; for the emperor of the eaſt is ſuppoſed to have governed the weſtern empire during the inter-regnum [y]. He had not been long general, when he was proclaimed emperor at a place about ſix miles from *Ravenna*, called *The little*

b *pillars* [z]. In the beginning of his reign, *Theodoric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, having almoſt intirely reduced the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, entered *Luſitania*, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities there, and among the reſt of *Meridia*, the metropolis of that country; but receiving diſagreeable tidings from *Gaul*, not mentioned in hiſtory, he ſet out from *Luſitania* the day after *Eaſter*, which fell this year 457. on the thirty-firſt, and not on the twenty-eighth, of *March*, as we read in *Idatius*, and returned in great haſte to *Toulouſe* [a]. He left a body of troops in *Spain*, with orders to reduce the *Suevians* in *Galicia*, who had not yet ſubmitted to him. Theſe forces being, on their march to *Galicia*, admitted as friends into the city of *Aſtorga*, which was held by the *Romans*, fell unexpectedly upon the inhabitants, put moſt of them to the

c ſword, plundered their houſes, and ſetting fire to the place, carried all thoſe, whoſe lives they had ſpared, into captivity, and among the reſt the whole clergy, and two biſhops, who happened to be there at that time. The city of *Palentia* met with the ſame treatment; but the caſtle of *Coviac*, about thirty miles from *Aſtorga*, making a vigorous reſiſtance, the *Goths*, after having loſt great numbers of their men, thought it adviſeable to raiſe the ſiege, and return to *Gaul* [b]. The *Suevians* had, upon the death of *Requiarius* their king, choſen *Maldra* in his room, as we have obſerved above; but ſome of them, revolting from him, ſet up one *Frantan*. A civil war being thus kindled among them, they concluded a peace with the *Romans*, that is, with the natives, who ſtill held ſeveral ſtrong-holds in *Galicia*, and acknowledged

d the authority of the emperor; but, notwithſtanding this peace, the partizans of *Maldra*, entering *Luſitania*, made themſelves maſters of *Liſbon*, after having been admitted into the place as friends [c].

Galicia *almoſt intirely reduced by the* Viſigoths.

Lisbon *taken by the* Suevians.

The following year, when the two emperors, *Leo* and *Majorianus*, were conſuls, the *Vandals* made a deſcent on the coaſt of *Campania*; but *Majorianus*, marching againſt them, defeated them in the neighbourhood of *Sinueſſa*, between the *Garigliano* and the *Volturno*; put great numbers of them to the ſword, among whom was the brother-in-law of *Genſeric* their commander; and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves on board their fleet, which ſailed immediately for *Africa* [d]. *Majorianus*, reſolved

The Vandal *defeated by* Majorianus.

e to purſue them thither, and to attempt the recovery of that wealthy country, applied himſelf to the fitting out of a powerful fleet, and had, before the end of this year, aſſembled a great number of troops, and above three hundred ſhips [e]. But of this enterprize hereafter. *Majorianus*, leaving *Ravenna* in the depth of winter, paſſed the *Alps*, and entering *Gaul*, obliged the *Burgundians*, who had made themſelves maſters of the city of *Lions*, to deliver it up, and retire. From that city, where *Sidonius* pronounced his panegyric, *Majorianus* purſued his march to *Arles*, where he paſſed the remainder of the winter and part of the ſpring; for he was ſtill in that city on the ſeventeenth of *April* of the following year 459 [f]. In *Spain*, *Frantan*, one of the kings of the *Suevians*, dying, thoſe who had followed him ſubmitted to *Maldra*; ſo that the whole nation was again united under one head. An army of *Viſigoths*,

f ſent into *Spain* by *Theodoric*, ravaged the province of *Bætica*, while the *Suevians*, notwithſtanding the peace concluded the preceding year with the natives, over-ran that part of *Galicia*, which borders on the *Douro*, putting all to fire and ſword [g]. In the following conſulſhip of *Ricimer* and *Patricius*, *Theodoric*, taking unexpectedly the field, ſurpriſed ſome cities in *Gaul* belonging to the *Romans*; but *Majorianus*, marching from *Arles* againſt him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged, him to ſue for peace; which was granted him, upon his promiſing to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt

Spain *ravaged by the* Suevians *and* Viſigoths.

the

[x] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. p. 194. [y] Vide Vales. p. 186. [z] Jorn. rer. ſucc. p. 654. Marc. chron. [a] Idat. p. 35. [b] Idem, p. 36. [c] Idem, p. 37. Isidor. chron. [d] Sid. car. v. p 325. [e] Idem, p. 324. Prisc. p. 42. Procop. bell. Vand. c. 7. p. 194. [f] Sid. car. v. p. 576. Cod. Theod. Nov. 9. p. 372. [g] Idat. p. 37.

the *Suevians* in *Spain*, and the *Vandals* in *Africa*[l]. In the eaſt, the city of *Antioch* a
was almoſt utterly ruined by an earthquake, which happened on the fourteenth of
September. Scarce a ſingle houſe was left ſtanding in the *new city*, the moſt beautiful
quarter of that metropolis[m]. The following year 460. when *Magnus* and *Apollonius*
were conſuls, *Majorianus*, leaving *Arles*, bent his march towards *Spain*, which he
entered in the month of *May*, with a deſign to paſs over from thence into *Africa*[n].

Majorianus *reſolves to paſs over into* Africa

Procopius writes, that the better to inform himſelf of the ſtrength of the enemy, the
ſtate of the country, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, he went in diſguiſe to the
court of *Genſeric*, pretending to be an embaſſador ſent by the *Roman* emperor, with
propoſals for an accommodation[o]. This *Procopius* relates with ſuch circumſtances,
as render the whole account altogether incredible. *Genſeric*, alarmed at the vaſt pre- b
parations that were carrying on in all the ports of the empire, ſent deputies to ſue for
peace; but his propoſals being rejected, he diſpatched a ſquadron of his beſt ſhips,
with orders to attack the *Roman* fleet riding in the bay of *Alicant*; which they did
with ſuch ſucceſs, that they took moſt of the *Roman* ſhips, and returned with them

His fleet ſurpriſed by the Vandals.

in triumph to *Africa*. This misfortune, which was chiefly owing to the treachery of
ſome on board the *Roman* fleet, put a ſtop to the enterprize, and obliged *Majorianus*
to return to *Arles*, whence he iſſued out orders for the equipping of a new fleet. But,
in the mean time, *Genſeric*, dreading the arms and valour of *Majorianus*, diſpatched
embaſſadors to him, with new propoſals; which in the end he accepted, as they
were very advantagious to the empire[p]. Thus a peace was concluded between c
Majorianus and *Genſeric*; but the articles of the treaty have not been tranſmitted to
poſterity. In *Spain*, *Maldra*, king of the *Suevians*, being killed, *Remiſmond* his ſon,
and *Frumarius*, probably another of his children, dividing his troops between them,
the latter ſurpriſed *Aquæ Flaviæ*, and took *Idatius*, biſhop of the place, priſoner, on
the twenty-ſixth of *July*, while *Remiſmond* laid waſte the territories of *Orenſo* on the
Minho, and of *Lugo*. *Sunieric* and *Nepotianus*, two of *Theodoric*'s generals, marched
againſt them; and, after having ravaged part of *Galicia*, entered *Luſitania*, and
made themſelves maſters of *Scalabis*, now *Santarein* on the *Tagus*[q]. In the eaſt,
nothing happened this year that deſerves notice, except an earthquake, which over-
turned great part of the city of *Cyzicus*[r]. The following year 461. *Severinus* and d
Dagalaiphus being conſuls, *Ricimer*, who had raiſed *Majorianus* to the empire, think-
ing himſelf neglected by him, and jealous of the great reputation the prince had
gained by his wife and vigorous adminiſtration, reſolved to depoſe him; and accord-
ingly, having got him by treachery into his power, as he was returning from *Gaul*
to *Rome*, he ſtripped him of the imperial ornaments at *Tortona* in the *Milaneſe* on the

Majorianus *depoſed by* Ricimer, *and put to death.*

ſecond of *Auguſt*, and cauſed him, on the ſeventh of the ſame month, to be put to
death at *Iria*, now *Voghera*, after he had reigned three years and ſome months[s]. The
account which *Procopius* gives us of his death ſhews, that we muſt not lay great ſtreſs
upon the authority of that writer[t]. *Majorianus*, in whoſe reign the empire ſeemed in
a manner to revive, being thus removed, *Ricimer* cauſed *Severus* to be proclaimed at c

Severus *made emperor.*

Ravenna, on the nineteenth of *November*, hoping to reign in his name, the new
prince being no ways qualified for that high ſtation. All we know of him is, that he
was a native of *Lucania*[u]. In the eaſt, *Leo* refuſing to pay the uſual penſion to *Vala-*
mir, *Theodomir*, and *Widemir*, kings of the *Oſtrogoths*, whom *Marcian* had allowed to
ſettle in *Pannonia*, as we have related above, they flew to arms, laid waſte great part of
Illyricum, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities; but *Anthemius*, ſon-in-law
to the late emperor *Marcian*, having obliged them to retire into *Pannonia*, they
hearkened to the embaſſadors that were ſent by *Leo* to renew the antient alliance
between them and the empire. A peace was accordingly concluded, and the famous f
Theodoric, afterwards king of *Italy*, then in the eighth year of his age, delivered up
to *Leo* as an hoſtage[w]. But of him we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the
hiſtory of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*.

The following year, when the emperor *Leo* was conſul for the ſecond time, with
Severus emperor of the weſt, who nevertheleſs ſeems to have been acknowledged
by

[l] Idem, p. 38. Vales. p. 191. [m] Evag. l. ii. c. 12. Theoph. p. 95. Niceph. chron. [n] Idat. Marc. chron. Prisc. p. 42. [o] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194. [p] Procop. p. 194. Prisc. p. 42. [q] Idat. p. 39. [r] Marc. chron. [s] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 678. Idat. p. 40. Evag. l. ii. c. 7. p. 299. [t] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194. [u] Jorn. reg. ſucc. c. 46. p. 654. Theoph. p. 97. Idat. p. 40 Onuph. p. 306. Sid. p. 111. Evagr. p. 70. [w] Jorn. p. 690. Prisc. p. 74. Phot. c. 78. p. 172.

a by the *Greeks*, *Genſeric*, pretending not to be bound by the late treaty with *Majorianus*, after that prince's death, ſent a powerful fleet to pillage the coaſts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and made himſelf maſter of *Sardinia*[x]. In *Gaul* *Ægidius*, a native of that country, and commander in chief of the *Roman* forces there, provoked at the death of *Majorianus*, who had raiſed him to that poſt, reſolved to march into *Italy*, and revenge it upon *Ricimer* and *Severus*. But in the mean time, the *Viſigoths*, in all likelihood ſtirred up by *Ricimer*, having made themſelves maſters of *Narbonne*, which was betrayed to them by one *Agrippina*, and beſieged *Arles*, *Ægidius* turned his arms againſt them, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege and retire, tho' they were powerfully aſſiſted by the *Burgundians*, under the conduct of *Gondiac* their king, whom b *Severus* had raiſed to the command of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*, with the title of generaly. The ſame year, *Marcellinus*, or, as *Procopius* calls him, *Marcellianus*, who had ſerved with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, no longer able to bear the haughty behaviour of *Ricimer*, revolted from *Severus*, and retiring into *Dalmatia*, eſtabliſhed there a new ſovereignty, independent of the empire[z]. Hereupon the inhabitants of *Italy*, ſeeing themſelves at the ſame time threatened by *Marcellinus*, by *Ægidius*, and by *Genſeric*, had recourſe to *Leo*, emperor of the eaſt, who immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Genſeric* and *Marcellinus*. The latter, ſatisfied to ſee himſelf acknowleged by *Leo* prince of the country which he had ſeized, promiſed not to moleſt the *Romans*. But *Genſeric* openly declared, that he would hearken to no terms, till the effects of *Valentinian* were delivered up to him; which he claimed, c becauſe his ſon *Huneric* had married *Eudocia*, that prince's eldeſt daughter. He likewiſe demanded the effects of *Aetius*, perhaps becauſe *Gaudentius*, that general's eldeſt ſon, whom he had taken at *Rome* in 455. was then at his court. However, he ſent back to *Leo*, *Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian*, and *Placidia* her ſecond daughter; who being ſoon after married to *Olybrius*, of whom anon, *Genſeric* declared he would wage an eternal war with the weſtern empire, unleſs *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his ſon, was raiſed to the imperial dignity[a]. To this low ebb was the *Roman* grandeur reduced by the death of *Majorianus* and the adminiſtration of *Ricimer*. The following year 463. *Flavius Cæcina Baſilius* and *Vivianus* being conſuls, *Ægidius* d gained a ſignal victory over the *Viſigoths* in *Gaul*. The battle was fought between the *Loire* and the *Loiret*. The latter river, after a ſhort courſe of about ſix miles, falls into the former a little below *Orleans*. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, and among the reſt *Frederic*, the king's brother, who in this action commanded in chief[b]. After this battle, *Ægidius*, laid ſiege to the city of *Chinon* in *Touraine*; but the vigorous reſiſtance he met with obliged him to drop the enterprize[c]. The *Viſigoths* were attended with better ſucceſs in *Spain*, than in *Gaul*; for *Idatius* ſpeaks of them now as maſters of the whole country, except part of *Galicia*, which was ſtill held by the *Suevians*, and the provinces of *Tarraco* and *Cartagena*, which belonged to the *Romans*. Such of the natives of *Galicia*, as had not yet ſubmitted to e the *Suevians*, ſent this very year one *Palegorius*, to implore the protection, not of *Severus*, but of *Theodoric*[d]; which plainly ſhews, that they acknowledged him, and not the *Roman* emperor, for their ſovereign. The next year *Ruſticus*, or *Ruſticius*, and *Olybrius* being conſuls, *Remiſmond*, king of the *Suevians*, ſurpriſed and plundered the city of *Coimbra*; but ſoon after concluded a peace with *Theodoric*[e]. In the beginning of the year, *Beorgor*, king of the *Alans*, having entered *Italy* with a conſiderable army, was met by *Ricimer* in the neighbourhood of *Bergamo*, and, on the ſixth of *February*, cut off with all his men[f]. Whence theſe *Alans* came, is uncertain. This *Fornandes* ſuppoſes to have happened in the reign of *Anthemius*; but we have followed *Idatius*, who lived at that time. The ſame year, died *Ægidius* in *Gaul*, being, according to ſome, ſays *Idatius*, poiſoned, according to others, murdered. That f writer adds, that, upon his death, the *Viſigoths* made themſelves maſters of the far greater part of *Gaul*. However, *Berri*, *Sens*, and *Auvergne* ſtill belonged to the *Romans* in 472. and were governed by one *Paulus*, diſtinguiſhed with the title of counte. *Sygarius*, the ſon of *Ægidius*, held *Soiſſons* and its territory, for ſeveral years, having erected there a petty ſovereignty, according to the *French* hiſtorians, who give him the title of king[h]. At the ſame time, *Childeric*, king of the *Burgundians*, laid ſiege

Marcellinus *eſtabliſhes a new ſovereignty in* Dalmatia.

The Viſigoths *defeated in* Gaul *by* Ægidius.

The Alans *defeated by* Ricimer.

Different nations ſettle in Gaul.

[x] Prisc. p. 74. Procop. bell. Vand. l. iv. c. 6. p. 193. [y] Prisc. p. 42. Idat. p. 41. Cusp. p. 452. [z] Phot. c. 242. Procop. p 191. Idat. p. 43. [a] Idat. p. 32. Prisc. p. 42. Sid. car. ii. p. 349. [b] Idat. p. 41. Du Chesne, p. 211. [c] Idat. ibid. [d] Idem, p. 42. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1062. [e] Idat. ibid, [f] Idem ibid. [g] Greg. Tur. p. 282. [h] Idem, p. 285.

siege to *Paris*, and reduced it; the *Franks* made themselves masters of the provinces a
bordering on the *Rhine*; the *Saxons* settled at *Nantes* and *Bayeux*; the *Alemans* in the
country of the *Helvetii*; and the *Britons*, driven out by the *Angles* and *Scots*, in the
territories of *Vennes* and *Treguier*, which, with the adjacent country, took from them,
according to the most probable opinion, the name of *Bretagne*[i]. In 465. when
Severus *dies.* *Basiliscus* and *Hermenericus* were consuls, died at *Rome Severus*, after having borne the
name of emperor almost four years. He is supposed to have been poisoned by *Ricimer*[k]. His death was followed by an inter-regnum of almost two years, *Ricimer*
ruling, during that time, with an absolute sway; but not daring, as he was by birth
A great fire at Constantinople. a barbarian, to take upon him the title of emperor. The same year, a violent fire
breaking out in *Constantinople*, on the second of *September*, reduced to ashes eight of b
the fourteen quarters into which that city was divided. However, it was at last overcome, after it had raged with incredible fury for the space of six whole days, and as
many nights[l]. The following year, when the emperor *Leo* alone was consul the
third time, *Ricimer* assembled a powerful fleet, with a design to attempt the recovery of *Africa*; but was, by contrary and violent winds, which continued blowing
the whole summer, obliged to drop that enterprize[m]. The same year, *Theodoric*,
Theodoric, *king of the* Visigoths, *murdered by his brother* Euric. king of the *Visigoths*, after having reigned near thirteen years, was murdered by his
brother *Euric*, who immediately took possession of his dominions, and was proclaimed
in *Toulouse*[n]. *Jornandes*, always favourable to the *Goths*, only writes, that *Euric*
was suspected of having contributed to the death of his brother[o]. The new king c
sent embassadors to the emperor *Leo*, to *Remismond* king of the *Suevians*, and to *Genseric* king of the *Vandals*, acquainting them with his accession to the crown[p]. In the
east, the *Huns* broke into *Dacia*; but were defeated, first by *Anthemius*, and afterwards by *Anagastus*, styled general of *Thrace*. They were commanded by *Dengizic*,
one of *Attila*'s sons, who was slain in the engagement. His head was sent to *Constantinople*, and there exposed for some days to public view[q]. In the following consulship
of *Pusæus* and *Johannes*, the inter-regnum ended in the west. *Anthemius* was, with
the consent and approbation of *Ricimer*, declared emperor, notwithstanding the great
Anthemius *raised to the empire.* interest made by *Genseric* in favour of *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his son. *Anthemius*
was a native of *Constantinople*, descended of an antient, illustrious, and wealthy family, d
and was, at the time of his promotion, count of the east. He had some claim to the
empire, having married *Marciana*, the only daughter of the late emperor *Marcian*,
by whom he had three sons and one daughter. He had been consul in 455. and was
soon after, tho' yet very young, raised to the dignity of patrician, and the post of
general. *Sidonius*, his panegyrist, writes, that, upon the death of *Marcian*, no one
thought of conferring the empire on *Leo*, till *Anthemius* had refused it[r]. *Theophanes*
styles him a most christian prince[s]. Soon after his nomination, he left *Constantinople*,
where he then was, and set out for *Italy*, attended by a great number of chosen troops,
and several counts, with other persons of distinction, among whom was *Marcellinus*,
prince of *Dalmatia*, whom *Leo* had persuaded to join the new emperor, and, jointly e
with him, make war upon the *Vandals*[t]. *Anthemius* was received at *Rome* by the
senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, and proclaimed,
And proclaimed at Rome. according to some, on the twelfth of *April*, according to others, in the month of
August, at a place about three miles from *Rome*, called *Bontrota*[u]. A few days after,
he gave his daughter in marriage to *Ricimer*, pursuant to a private agreement between
that general and the two princes[w]. In the mean time, *Genseric*, highly provoked
against *Leo*, for having preferred *Anthemius*, and not *Olybrius*, to the empire, sent a
powerful fleet with orders to ravage *Peloponnesus* and the *Greek* islands; which they
did with great cruelty, destroying all with fire and sword. *Leo* resolved at all events
to revenge the affront offered to the eastern empire; and accordingly the following f
Genseric *ravages the* Greek *islands.* year 468. when *Anthemius* alone was consul, he fitted out the greatest fleet, says *Procopius*[x], the *Romans* had ever had. *Cedrenus* writes, it consisted of one thousand one
hundred and thirteen ships, each ship having one hundred men on board[y]. *Theophanes*[z] and *Nicephorus*[a] will have no fewer than one hundred thousand ships to have
been

[i] Val. rer. Franc. p. 236, 237. Sid. l. i. ep. 7. p. 16. [k] Jorn. p. 654. Sid. car. ii. p. 317. Idat. p. 43. [l] Evagr. l. ii c. 13. p. 307. Theodor. p. 555. Cedren. p. 348. [m] Prisc. p. 75. [n] Idat. Isidor. Marc. chron. [o] Jorn. c. 44. p. 677. [p] Idat. p. 44, 45. [q] Chron. Alex. p. 744. Jorn. c. 56. p. 688. Prisc. p. 44. [r] Sid. p. 295. [s] Theoph. p. 98. [t] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. Jorn. c. 46. p. 654. [u] Idat. p. 44. Marc Cassiod. Cuspin. chron. [w] Sid. l. i ep. 21, 22. [x] Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 192. [y] Cedren. p. 350 [z] Theoph. p. 99. [a] Niceph. l. xv. c. 27. p. 631.

been employed in this expedition, a number altogether incredible. To the forces of *Leo* were joined all the beſt troops of the weſt, under the command of *Marcellinus*, who reinforced them with a choſen body of men raiſed in his own dominions [b]. *Leo* gave the chief command of this formidable fleet to *Baſiliſcus*, brother to his wife *Verina*, who had frequently overcome the barbarians in *Thrace*. Under him commanded one *John*, a perſon of extraordinary courage, and great experience in war [c]. The iſland of *Sicily* was appointed the place of the general rendezvous. From thence *Marcellinus* was to ſail for *Sardinia*, which the *Vandals* had lately ſeized; *Heraclius* of *Edeſſa*, a brave and experienced officer, for *Lybia*; and *Baſiliſcus*, with the greateſt part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to ſteer his courſe ſtrait to *Carthage*. *Marcellinus*, purſuant to this plan, landed in *Sardinia*, and made himſelf maſter of that iſland, while *Heraclius*, landing unexpectedly in *Libya*, defeated the *Vandals*, who attempted to oppoſe him, and reduced with incredible expedition *Tripolis* and all the other cities of that province [d]. *Genſeric*, receiving at the ſame time news of the loſs of *Sardinia* and *Libya*, and of the arrival of the *Roman* fleet at cape *Mercury*, about thirty miles from *Carthage*, began to look upon himſelf as irretrievably loſt, and is even ſaid to have had ſome thoughts of yielding up *Africa* to the *Romans*, and retiring elſewhere; and indeed if *Baſiliſcus* had, during the panic which had ſeized the barbarians, marched directly to *Carthage*, he might have eaſily made himſelf maſter of that city, and put an end to the war at once; but his dilatory proceedings giving *Genſeric* time to recover from his conſternation, he began to deſpiſe the *Roman* admiral, and had even the confidence to ſend deputies to him, begging a truce of five days, to ſettle with him the conditions on which he was to ſubmit to *Leo*. Some authors write, that, with the embaſſadors, *Genſeric* ſent privately an immenſe ſum to *Baſiliſcus*, with whoſe avaricious temper he was well acquainted [e]. Others tell us, that *Aſpar*, who had lately quarrelled with *Leo*, fearing that prince would become too powerful, if he overcame the *Vandals*, had promiſed to raiſe *Baſiliſcus*, who was no leſs ambitious than covetous, to the empire, provided he ſpared *Genſeric* [f]. Be that as it will, *Baſiliſcus* readily conſented to the truce, during which *Genſeric* taking one night advantage of a favourable wind, ſailed unexpectedly out of the harbour with a great number of fire-ſhips, which being by the wind driven full ſail upon the *Roman* navy, let fire to many of their ſhips, and threw the whole fleet into the utmoſt confuſion. The next morning *Genſeric*'s fleet appeared drawn up in line of battle, and falling upon the *Romans* before they could recover themſelves from their terror and conſternation, took ſeveral of their ſhips, ſunk others, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves in the beſt manner they could. *John*, who commanded under *Baſiliſcus*, and was no-ways privy to his treachery, after having killed with his own hand an incredible number of barbarians, threw himſelf, when overpowered, on a plank into the ſea. *Genſon*, the ſon of *Genſeric*, greatly taken with his courage and gallant behaviour, offered him his life and liberty; but the brave commander anſwering, *It ſhall never be ſaid, that* John *owed his life to dogs*, quitted his plank, and was drowned [g]. As for *Baſiliſcus*, *Zonaras* writes, that, in the heat of the engagement, he all on a ſudden tacked about, and, crowding all ſails, betook himſelf to flight; which raiſed the courage of the enemy, and quite diſheartned his own people [h]. *Marcellinus*, after the reduction of *Sardinia*, returned to *Sicily*, with a deſign to paſs from thence over into *Africa*; but, before he ſet ſail, he was aſſaſſinated by an officer, who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was ſuppoſed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power gave no ſmall umbrage [i]. *Heraclius*, who was on full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad ſucceſs of *Baſiliſcus*, thought it adviſeable to turn back, and haſten into the territories of the empire [k]. *Baſiliſcus* returned to *Sicily*, with the few ſhips that had eſcaped, having loſt above fifty thouſand men [l]. From *Sicily*, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, and there, as his treachery was publicly known took ſanctuary in the church of St. *Sophia*. Tho' both the emperor and people were incenſed againſt him, yet, by the mediation of the empreſs *Verina*, his ſiſter, his life was ſpared, and leave granted him to retire to *Heraclea* in *Thrace* [m]. Such was the iſſue of this unhappy expedition, which is ſaid to have

Sardinia and Tripolis recovered from the Vandals.

The Roman fleet in Africa put to flight.

[b] Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. [c] Idem, p. 153. [d] Idem, p. 192. Theoph. p. 101. Sid. car. p. 1199. [e] Theoph. p. 100. Theodor. p. 555. [f] Suid. Phot. c. 242. p. 164. [g] Procop. l. i. c. 6. p. 192. [h] Zonar. p. 42. [i] Procop. p. 193. Phot. c. 242. p. 1048. Marc. chron. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Prisc. p. 193. [m] Idem ibid. Cedren. p. 330. Theoph. p. 100.

have coſt both empires above an hundred and thirty thouſand pounds weight of gold[t], a not only the two princes, but all governors, and other perſons in employments, cheerfully contributing large ſums to defray the charges of an enterprize ſo advantagious to the empire[u]. *Priſcus* the hiſtorian, who flouriſhed at that time, wrote a very minute and exact account of it[w]; but his work has not reached our time. The

Leo *marries his daughter to* Zeno.

ſame year, *Leo* married his daughter *Ariadne* to *Zeno*, deſcended from an illuſtrious family in *Iſauria*. His father's name was *Ruſumbladaſtes*, and his, before his marriage, *Traſcaliſſæus*, or *Taraſicodiſus*[x]. He took the name of *Zeno* from another *Iſaurian*, who had been raiſed to great employments in the reign of *Theodoſius* the younger[y]. *Evagrius* refers us to one *Euſtathius*, a *Syrian* writer, who, he ſays, will inform us as to the motives that prompted *Leo* to prefer *Zeno* to many other perſons b of great merit in the choice of a ſon-in-law[z]; but the works of *Euſtathius* have been long ſince loſt. *Theophanes* and *Candidus Iſaurus* write, that *Leo*, jealous of the too great power of *Aſpar*, and appriſed of his wicked practices, gave his daughter to *Zeno*, hoping by his means to gain over the *Iſaurians* his countrymen, who were deemed the beſt ſoldiers of the empire[a]. However that be, *Leo* immediately raiſed his ſon-in-law to the rank of patrician, appointing him at the ſame time captain of his guards, and commander in chief of all the armies in the eaſt. In the weſt, *Remiſmond* made himſelf maſter of *Liſbon*, betrayed to him by one *Luſides*, a native of

Liſbon *taken by the* Suevians, *and* Merida *by the* Goths.

Luſitania, who commanded in that place. About the ſame time, the *Goths* ſurpriſed *Merida*, and committed dreadful ravages in the neighbouring country, ſparing neither c *Romans* nor *Suevians*[b]. Here *Idatius* ends his chronicle, with telling us, that many prodigies appeared this year in *Galicia*, and among the reſt, that ſeveral fiſhes were taken in the *Minho*, marked with *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* characters[c]. The next conſuls were *Marcianus* and *Zeno*, the two ſons-in-law of the emperor *Leo*, the latter having married *Ariadne*, and the former, who was the ſon of the emperor *Anthemius*, *Leoncia*. Nothing worthy of notice happened this year in either empire; but in the

The Viſigoths *extend their dominions in* Gaul,

following conſulſhip of *Severus* and *Jordanes*, *Euric*, king of the *Viſigoths*, an ambitious and warlike prince, made himſelf maſter of *Auvergne*, *Berri*, and *Gevaudan*, after having defeated a body of twelve thouſand *Britons* dwelling on the *Loire*, who, under the conduct of *Riothim* or *Riotham*, came to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*[d]. At the d ſame time one *Odoacer*, who had commanded a body of *Saxons* under *Ægidius* in 464. made himſelf maſter of *Angers*; but was overcome by *Childeric* king of the *Franks*, who reduced not only the city of *Angers*, but all the neighbouring country[e]. The

And likewiſe the Franks *and* Burgundians.

Burgundians too, taking advantage of the weak and diſtracted ſtate of the empire, reduced the city of *Lions*, and the whole province called *Lugdunenſis Prima*[f].

The following year, when *Leo* was conſul the fourth time with *Probianus*, ſome miſunderſtanding aroſe between that prince and *Aſpar*, who had raiſed him to the empire; but as *Aſpar* was greatly beloved by the army, and commanded a ſeparate and independant body, having one *Quelcal*, by nation a *Hunn*, for his lieutenant, the emperor thought it adviſeable to diſſemble for the preſent; and pretending to be e reconciled with *Aſpar*, gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Patricius Secundus*, that general's eldeſt ſon, and ſoon after created *Aſpar Cæſar*. The inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, knowing *Aſpar* and his whole family to be greatly attached to the doctrine of *Arius*, were highly diſpleaſed at this promotion; but the emperor ſoon delivered them from the apprehenſion they were under of ſeeing an *Arian* raiſed to the empire; for being formed by ſome perſons, privy to all the counſels of *Aſpar*, that a plot was carrying on againſt him by that general and his children, he reſolved to be beforehand with them; and accordingly cauſed *Aſpar*, and his ſon *Ardaburius*, to be mur-

Aſpar *created* Cæſar.

Aſpar *and his ſon* Ardaburius *murdered.*

dered this very year. The antients only tell us, that they fell by the hands of the f eunuchs of the palace, *Leo* having ordered them to be put to death, becauſe they aſpired at the empire[g]. But the modern writers add ſeveral circumſtances, which ſeem inconſiſtent with what we read in the authors who flouriſhed in thoſe times. *Patricius* was dangerouſly wounded, but found means to make his eſcape, as did likewiſe *Aſpar*'s third ſon, named *Hermeneric*[h]. The friends of *Aſpar*, eſpecially the

[t] Procop. p. 191. Evagr. p. 74. [u] Evagr. ibid. [w] Idem, l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. Theoph. p. 100.
[x] Zon. p. 42. Agath. l. iv. p. 149. [y] Theoph. p. 111. [z] Evagr. l. ii. c. 15. p. 308.
[a] Theoph. p. 101. Cand. Isaur. p. 18. [b] Idat. p. 41. [c] Idem, p. 47, 48. [d] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 45. 678. Sid. l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74. Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. p. 282. [e] Greg. Tur. ibid.
[f] Sid. l. vi. ep. 12. p. 168. & car. xv. p. 386. [g] Marc. chron. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 139. Vict. Tun. Jorn. reg. ſucc. p. 664. [h] Niceph. l. xv. c. 27. p. 373. Zonar. p. 39.

a the *Goths* in the emperor's ſervice, attempted to revenge his death, and committed great diſorders in *Conſtantinople*, being headed by one of their countrymen, named *Oſtroui*. But *Zeno*, who was then at *Chalcis*, haſtening with a choice body of troops to the metropolis, the *Goths* were driven out of the city with a great ſlaughter. However, they ravaged *Thrace*, and, being joined by the *Goths*, ſettled in *Pannonia*, made themſelves maſters of *Philippi* and *Arcadiopolis*; which they reſtored ſoon after, laying down their arms, upon the emperor's promiſing to pay them a certain ſum, and to appoint *Theodoric*, ſon to *Triarius*, the brother of *Aſpar*'s wife, commander of the *Goths* in the *Roman* ſervice[i]. Upon the death of *Aſpar*, who had been a zealous patron of the *Arians*, *Leo* publiſhed ſeveral rigorous laws againſt thoſe heretics, depriveb ing them of all their churches, and forbiding them to hold any public or private aſſemblies[k]. The following year, when *Feſtus* and *Marcianus* were conſuls, *Ricimer*, who was no leſs powerful in the weſt, than *Aſpar* had been in the eaſt, dreading the ſame fate, reſolved to be before-hand with the emperor *Anthemius*, who, he ſaw, began to miſtruſt him. Accordingly he openly revolted, and, at the head of the barbarians in the *Roman* ſervice, but under his command, laid ſiege to *Rome*, where the emperor then was. The citizens, who were, generally ſpeaking, well affected to *Anthemius*, made a vigorous reſiſtance, notwithſtanding the famine and plague that raged in the city, depending upon the ſuccours they daily expected out of *Gaul*, under the conduct of *Bilimer*, who commaded the *Roman* troops there, and was greatly
c attached to the intereſt of *Anthemius*. *Bilimer* arrived at length with a conſiderable army, conſiſting partly of *Romans*, partly of barbarians; but having ventured an engagement, he was utterly defeated by *Ricimer*, who, encouraged with this ſucceſs, purſued the ſiege with freſh vigour, and breaking in the end into the city, raged with no leſs fury than *Alaric* or *Genſeric* had done, allowing his men not only to plunder the houſes of the unhappy citizens, but to commit all manner of cruelties[l]. As for the emperor *Anthemius*, *Ricimer* cauſed him to be put to death, and *Olybrius* to be proclaimed in his room[m]. *Zeno*, who ſucceeded *Leo*, reproached the *Roman* ſenate with the death of *Anthemius*[n]. He is ſuppoſed to have died on the eleventh of
d *July*[o]; but authors are quite ſilent as to the circumſtances of his death, contenting themſelves only with telling us, that, by the treachery of *Ricimer*, he loſt both his life and the empire. *Ricimer* did not long outlive *Anthemius*; for being ſeized with violent pains in his bowels, he died on the eighteenth, or rather nineteenth, of *September*[p]; and was followed ſoon after by *Olybrius*, who died a natural death at *Rome*, on the twenty-third of *October*[q]. This year, mount *Veſuvius* in *Campania* threw out ſuch an immenſe quantity of aſhes, as turned night into day, even at *Conſtantinople*, where the people were aſſembled in the circus, when the cloud firſt appeared. All the ſtreets and houſes were covered with aſhes three inches deep[r]. This happened according to *Marcellinus*, on the ſixth, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, on the eleventh, of *November*. The following year 473. when *Leo* alone was
e conſul the fifth time, *Glycerius* took upon him the title of emperor at *Ravenna*, on the fifth of *March*, being ſupported by *Gondibal*, nephew to *Ricimer*, whom he had raiſed, during his ſhort reign, to the rank of patrician. All we know of this new prince is, that he had been *comes domeſticorum*, and was, according to *Theophanes*, a man of ſome merit.[s]. In the very beginning of his reign, the *Goths*, who had been allowed to ſettle in *Pannonia*, reſolved, without the leaſt provocation, ſays *Jornandes*, to make war upon both empires. Purſuant to this reſolution, *Vidimir* broke into *Italy*, while his brother *Theodomir* invaded the eaſtern empire; but the former dying, his ſon, bearing the ſame name, was, by the rich preſents of *Glycerius*, prevailed upon to quit *Italy*; whence he retired into *Gaul*, and there joined
f the *Viſigoths*, who, being thus reinforced, conquered ſoon after both that country and *Spain*[t]. *Theodomir* likewiſe died as ſoon as he entered the territories of the eaſtern empire, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodoric*, ſurnamed *the Great*[u]. The ſame year 473. *Leo*, apprehending, either from his age or infirmities, that his end approached, was for naming *Zeno* to ſucceed him; but both the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople*, who hated *Zeno*, ſtrongly remonſtrating againſt his promotion, the emperor

Rome *beſieged by* Ricimer.

Which is taken and plundered.

Anthemius *put to death, and* Olybrius *proclaimed emperor.*

Ricimer *dies, and the new emperor* Olybrius.

Glycerius *uſurps the empire.*

[i] Marc. chron. Theoph. p. 181. [k] Theodor. l. iv. c. 4. p. 273. [l] Marc. chron. Onuph. p. 57. Concil. tom. 4. p. 1238. [m] Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. [n] Marc. p. 94. [o] Cuspin. p. 457. [p] Onuph. p. 57. [q] Idem ibid. Jorn. p. 67. Theoph. p. 102. [r] Zonar. 4. 42. Theodor. p. 555. Procop. l. ii. c. 4. 398. [s] Theoph. p. 102 [t] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 56. p. 194, 195. [u] Idem de reg. ſucc. c. 47. p. 655.

Leo *the younger created* Cæſar.

emperor raiſed *Leo* the younger, the ſon of *Zeno* by his daughter *Ariadne*, to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and even declared him his partner in the empire, tho' he was then only five, or at moſt ſix, years old [w]. The following year, when *Leo* the younger was conſul alone, the emperor, his Grandfather, was ſeized with a bloody flux, which, being attended with a violent fever, carried him off in a ſhort time. He died at *Conſtantinople*, in the month of *January*, after having reigned ſeventeen years, wanting ſome days [x]. Soon after his death, the empreſs *Verina* prevailed upon the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople* to ſuffer his ſon-in-law *Zeno* to be declared collegue to young *Leo* in the empire. The ceremony was performed in the month of *Februa-ry*, not in the palace of *Hebdomon*, as uſual, but in the circus at *Conſtantinople* [y]. The young prince did not ſurvive his grandfather above ten months; for he died in the month of *November* of the ſame year [z]. *Victor Tununenſis* and *Ado* ſuppoſe, that he was diſpatched by his own father; but neither the antient nor modern *Greek* writers, tho' highly prejudiced againſt *Zeno*, charge him with that unnatural murder. *Leo* the elder, or, as he is commonly ſurnamed, *the Great*, not approving of the promotion of *Glycerius*, had, before his death, named to the empire of the weſt *Julius Nepos*, or, as ſome call him, *Nepotianus*, a native of *Dalmatia*, and nephew, by the mother, to *Marcellinus*, prince of that country, who was murdered in *Sicily*, as we have related above. *Nepos*, who, it ſeems, was then at *Conſtantinople*, ſailed from thence without loſs of time, for *Italy*, and landing at *Porto*, ſurpriſed *Glycerius* there, took him priſoner, and, ſtripping him of the imperial ornaments, cauſed him to be ordained biſhop of *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, after he had borne the title of emperor a year, and ſome months [a]. In the mean time, the *Viſigoths*, under the conduct of *Euric* their king, broke into the territories which the *Romans* had ſtill left in *Gaul*; but he was prevailed upon by *Epiphanius*, biſhop of *Pavia*, whom *Nepos* ſent to him with the character of embaſſador to conclude a peace with the empire, whereof one of the articles was, that the city of *Clermont*, which *Euric* had not been able to reduce by force, ſhould be delivered up to him [b]. Thus the whole country lying between the ocean, the *Rhone*, and the *Loire*, fell under the power of the *Goths* [c], who, it ſeems, had made themſelves maſters of all the open places, before *Clermont* was yielded to them. The following year, when *Zeno* alone was conſul the ſecond time, *Nepos*, having raiſed *Oreſtes* to the poſt of general, appointed him commander of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*; but he, inſtead of haſtening into that country, purſuant to his orders, bent his march towards *Ravenna*, with a deſign to depoſe *Nepos*, who, he knew, was not in a condition to oppoſe him. The emperor, ſuſpecting his deſign, and diſtruſting the few troops he had with him, abandoned the city at his approach, and fled by ſea to *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, where he was entertained by the biſhop *Glycerius*, whom he had lately deprived of the empire [d]. The flight of *Nepos* happened on the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 475 [e]. *Oreſtes* was by birth a *Roman*, that is, he was born a ſubject of the empire [f]. As he lived in *Pannonia*, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the *Huns* in 430. He liſted himſelf among the troops of *Attila*, who, finding him to be a man of parts, made him his ſecretary, and ſent him at leaſt twice to *Conſtantinople* with the character of embaſſador, *viz.* in 448. and 449 [g]. His father, by name *Tatula*, bore likewiſe ſome conſiderable employment at the court of *Attila* [h]. *Oreſtes* married the daughter of count *Romulus*, ſent by *Valentinian* on an embaſſy to *Attila* in 449. and had by her a ſon, called by *Males*, or *Malus*, *Romulus Auguſtus* [i], but, by all other hiſtorians, *Romulus Auguſtulus*, either by way of deriſion, or becauſe he was very young when raiſed to the empire. *Oreſtes*, leaving the *Huns*, ſerved with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, and was raiſed to the rank of patrician, and appointed by *Nepos* general of the troops in *Gaul*; when turning his arms againſt the prince who had entruſted him with them, he drove him from the throne, as we have related above, and cauſed not himſelf, but his ſon *Auguſtus*, or *Auguſtulus*, to be proclaimed emperor in his room, on the twenty-ninth of *October* of the preſent year [k]. The new prince ſtyled himſelf *Auguſtus Romulus Auguſtulus*, *Auguſtus* being both his proper name, and the title of his dignity [l]. As

Leo *dies.*

Glycerius *depoſed, and* Julius Nepos *raiſed to the empire.*

Clermont *yielded to the* Goths.

Oreſtes *revolts.*

Nepos *flies into* Dalmatia.

Oreſtes *cauſes his ſon* Auguſtulus *to be declared emperor.*

[w] Zonar. p. 429. Theodor. p. 555. Evagr. p. 408. Goltz. p. 265. [x] Marc. Theoph. p. 103. [y] Evagr. l. vii. c. 17. p. 309. Theoph. p. 111. [z] Chron. Alex. p. 751. Theoph. p. 103. [a] Phot. c. 78. p. 372. Jorn. rer. Goth p. 654. Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 338. [b] Jorn. c. 45. p. 679. Sid. l. iii. ep. 7. p. 72. [c] Sid. l iii. ep. 1. p. 62, 63. [d] Jorn. c. 45. p. 679. Onuph. p. 67. [e] Onuph Marc. chron. [f] Jorn. ibid. [g] Prisc. p. 37. [h] Idem, p. 57, 60. [i] Mal. leg. p. 93. [k] Jorn. c. 45, 46. p. 679. 690. [l] Jorn. ibid. Evagr. l. ii, c. 16. p. 308. *Auguſtulus*

a *Auguſtus* was very young, his father took upon him the adminiſtration, contenting himſelf with the title of patrician, and governing only as tutor and guardian to his ſon, during his minority [l]. While theſe things paſſed in the weſt, the *Saracens* committed dreadful ravages in *Meſopotamia*; and the *Hunns* in *Thrace* put all to fire and ſword, and afterwards retired unmoleſted, the emperor *Zeno*, a moſt leud and debauched prince, being wholly intent upon his ſcandalous pleaſures and diverſions [m]. However, he concluded a peace with *Genſeric*, which was religiouſly obſerved by the *Vandals*, till the reign of *Juſtinian* [n]. The ſame year the empreſs *Verina*, who had by her intereſt raiſed her ſon-in-law *Zeno* to the empire, highly provoked by his enormous vices and ſcandalous indolence, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, at the head of which was her brother *Baſiliſcus*, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere. *Zeno* was

b privately informed of the whole; but, inſtead of putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, and defeating their meaſures, as he might have eaſily done, he betook himſelf to flight, retiring firſt to *Chalcedon*, and from thence into *Iſauria*, his native country. Upon his retreat, *Baſiliſcus* was proclaimed emperor by the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople*, to the great diſappointment of *Verina*, who deſigned to confer the empire on *Patricius*, *magiſter officiorum* to *Zeno*, with whom ſhe is ſaid to have maintained a criminal correſpondence [o]. *Baſiliſcus* immediately declared his wife *Zenonides Auguſta*, and raiſed his ſon *Marcus* to the dignity of *Cæſar* [p]. The following year 476, when *Baſiliſcus* and *Armatus* were conſuls, the barbarians who ſerved in the *Roman* armies, and were diſtinguiſhed with the title of allies, demanded, as a reward for their ſervices,

c the third part of the lands in *Italy*, pretending that the whole country, which they had ſo often defended, belonged of right to them. As *Oreſtes* refuſed to comply with this inſolent demand, they reſolved to do themſelves juſtice, as they called it; and, openly revolting, choſe one *Odoacer* for their leader. Thus *Procopius* [q]. He is called by *Theophanes* a *Goth* [r]; by *Marcellinus*, king of the *Goths* [s]; and by *Iſidore*, prince of the *Oſtrogoths* [t]. We cannot conceive what could induce *Baronius*, and ſeveral others, to call him king of the *Heruli*. *Jornandes* ſtyles him in one place king of the *Rugians* [u], and in another king of the *Turcilingians* [w]. The *Rugians* inhabited both the banks of the *Danube*, near the city of *Faviana*, a little above *Vienna*. As for the

d *Turcilingians*, we find no account in the antients of them, or their country. *Odoacer*, whether by birth a *Goth*, *Rugian* or *Turcilingian*, was, according to *Ennodius*, meanly born [x], and only a private man in the guards of the emperor *Auguſtulus*, when the barbarians revolting choſe him for their leader [y]. However, he is ſaid to have been a man of uncommon parts, equally capable of commanding an army, and governing a ſtate [z]. Having left his own country, when he was yet very young, to ſerve in *Italy*, as he was of a ſtature remarkably tall, he was admitted among the emperor's guards, and continued in that ſtation till the preſent year; when putting himſelf at the head of the barbarians in the *Roman* pay, who, tho' of different nations, had, with one conſent, choſen him for their leader, he marched againſt *Oreſtes* and his

e ſon *Auguſtulus*, who ſtill refuſed to give them any ſhare of the lands in *Italy*. As the *Roman* troops were inferior, both in number and valour, to the barbarians, *Oreſtes* took refuge in *Pavia*, at that time one of the beſt fortified cities in *Italy*; but *Odoacer*, inveſting the place without loſs of time, took it ſoon after by aſſault, gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, and then ſet fire to it, which reduced moſt of the houſes, and two churches, to aſhes [a]. *Oreſtes* was taken priſoner, and brought to *Odoacer*, who carried him to *Placentia*, and there cauſed him to be put to death on the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, the day on which he had driven *Nepos* out of *Ravenna*, and obliged him to abandon the empire. From *Placentia* *Odoacer* marched ſtrait to *Ravenna*, where he found *Paul*, the brother of *Oreſtes*, and the young emperor *Auguſtulus*.

f The former he immediately put to death; but ſparing *Auguſtulus*, in conſideration of his youth, he ſtripped him of the enſigns of the imperial dignity, and confined him to *Lucullanum*, a caſtle in *Campania*, where he was, by *Odoacer*'s orders, treated with great humanity, and allowed an handſome maintenance to ſupport himſelf and his relations [b]. *Rome* readily ſubmitted to the conqueror, who thereupon cauſed

Zeno *concludes a peace with* Genſeric.

Zeno *driven out by* Baſiliſcus.

The barbarians in the Roman *ſervice revolt in the weſt, and chuſe* Odoacer *for their leader.*

His character.

He beſieges Oreſtes *in* Pavia.

Who is taken priſoner, and put to death.

Auguſtulus *ſtripped of the imperial ornaments, and confined to* Lucullanum.

[l] Procop. p. 308. [m] Evagr. l. vii. c. 1. p. 333. [n] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 195. [o] Mal. p. 94. Agath. l. iv. p. 139. Chron. Alex. p. 750. Jorn. reg. ſucc. c. 47. p. 654. [p] Jorn. ibid. [q] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. p. 308. [r] Theoph. p. 102. [s] Vide Vales. rer. Franc. p. 228. [t] Isidor. chron. [u] Jorn. reg. ſucc. c. 45. p. 659. [w] Idem rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 679. [x] Ennod. Theodor. panegyr. p. 308. [y] Procop. p. 308. [z] Malel. p. 93. [a] Ennod. vit. Epiphan. p. 386. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 679. & reg. ſucc. c. 47. p. 654. [b] Jorn. ibid. Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308.

himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Italy*, but would not aſſume the purple, or any other mark of the imperial dignity [c]. Thus failed the very name of an empire in the weſt. *Britain* had been long ſince abandoned by the *Romans*; *Spain* was held by the *Goths* and *Suevians*; *Africa* by the *Vandals*; the *Burgundians*, *Goths*, *Franks*, and *Alans*, had erected ſeveral tetrarchies in *Gaul*; at length *Italy* itſelf, with its proud metropolis, which for ſo many ages had given law to the reſt of the world, was enſlaved by a contemptible barbarian, whoſe family, country, and nation are not well known to this day. The downfal and ruin of the greateſt ſtate the world ever beheld were, no doubt, owing to the depravity of the people in general, and to the ſloth, luxury, and ambition of their princes; but more immediately to their allowing ſuch ſwarms of barbarians to ſettle within the empire, and to ſerve in the *Roman* armies, under their own officers, in ſeparate and independent bodies. Thus they became more numerous and powerful than the natives; controlled the emperors, diſpoſed of the imperial crown as they pleaſed, and at length became abſolute maſters of thoſe whom they were employed to defend and aſſiſt. This great revolution happened in the weſt in the year 476. of the chriſtian æra, five hundred and ſeven years after the battle of *Actium*, when the *Roman* monarchy was firſt eſtabliſhed, and one thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine ſince the foundation of *Rome*. Moſt writers obſerve, that the empire began with *Auguſtus*, and ended in a prince of the ſame name. Of the ſtate of *Italy* under *Odoacer*, till he was overcome and ſlain by *Theodoric* the *Oſtrogoth*, and under the *Oſtrogoths*, from *Theodoric* to their expulſion by *Narſes*, we ſhall ſpeak in the following volume; and in the mean time purſue the *Roman* hiſtory, that is, the hiſtory of the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* empire, in which were preſerved the ſame marks of ſovereignty, the ſame ceremonies, titles, and employments, that had been firſt eſtabliſhed at *Rome*.

Italy *and* Rome *ſubmit to* Odoacer.

The end of the weſtern empire.

[c] John. rer. Goth. c. 46. Candid. Isaur. c. 19. Evagr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the diſſolution of the weſtern empire, to the death of* Juſtinian the Great.

AT the ſame time that the *Roman* empire failed in the weſt, it was uſurped in the eaſt by *Baſiliſcus*, who, upon the flight of *Zeno*, the lawful prince, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and his ſon *Marcus* to be acknowledged *Ceſar*. *Zeno* fled into *Iſauria*, whither he was purſued by *Illus* and *Trocondes*, two of the uſurper's generals, who having eaſily defeated the few troops he had with him, forced the unhappy prince to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle, which they immediately inveſted. But in the mean time, *Baſiliſcus* having by his cruelty, avarice, enormous extortions, and, above all, by his unſeaſonable zeal for the doctrine of *Eutyches*, highly diſobliged the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople*, as well as the ſoldiery, the two generals, informed of what paſſed in the metropolis, and privately encouraged, as ſome write, by the ſenate, inſtead of purſuing the ſiege, openly declared for *Zeno*; and joining him with all their forces, bent their march to *Conſtantinople*. *Baſiliſcus* no ſooner heard of their revolt, than he diſpatched *Harmatius* or *Armatus*, his kinſman, with a very numerous army againſt them, after having obliged him to ſwear, by his baptiſm, that he would not betray him. But, notwithſtanding this oath, he had no ſooner paſſed the *Boſporus*, than he joined *Zeno*, encamped with *Illus* and *Trocondes*, in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, upon that prince's promiſing to appoint him general of the troops of his houſhold, and to continue him in that office during his life; to raiſe his ſon, by name *Baſiliſcus*, who was yet very young, to the dignity of

Zeno beſieged in a caſtle of Iſauria.

Baſiliſcus *diſobliges the people and ſoldiery.*

of *Cæsar*, and to leave him the empire after his death [d]. *Zeno*, thus reinforced, marched directly to *Constantinople*, which he entered without opposition, the usurper flying for refuge, with his wife *Zenonides* and his children, to the great church, where he is said to have laid down his crown upon the altar. *Zeno* ordered them to be immmediately stripped of all the marks of the imperial dignity; and having soon after got them into his power, being either betrayed a second time by *Harmatius*, as *Candidus Isaurus* writes [e], or delivered up, as we read in *Procopius* [f], by *Acacius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, he confined them to a castle in *Cappadocia*, named *Limnos*, where they perished in a short time with hunger and cold [g]. Thus ended the usurpation of *Basiliscus*, after it had lasted, according to most writers, twenty months, that is, from *October* 475. to *June* of the present year 477. *Zeno*, pursuant to his promise, raised *Harmatius* to the post of general of the troops of his household, and his son *Basiliscus* to the dignity of *Cæsar*; but soon after, distrusting the father, on account of his treachery and ingratitude to *Basiliscus*, who had preferred him to the first employments in the state, he caused him to be murdered in the palace, employing for that purpose one *Onoulus* or *Onoulphus*, by birth a barbarian, but brought up in the family of *Harmatius*, and by his interest raised from a mean condition to the dignity of count, and the post of general of *Illyricum* [h]. As for *Basiliscus*, the son of *Harmatius*, he was deposed from the dignity of *Cæsar*, and made reader in a church near *Constantinople*. He was afterwards ordained bishop of *Cyzicus*, the metropolis of *Hellespont*, which church he governed with great prudence and piety, and assisted in 518. at the council of *Constantinople* [i]. During the usurpation of *Basiliscus*, a dreadful fire happened at *Constantinople*, which consumed great part of the city, with the library, containing a hundred and twenty thousand volumes, and the works of *Homer*, written, as it is said, in gold characters on the great gut of a dragon, an hundred and twenty foot long [k]. In the following year, 478. when *Illus* alone was consul, *Theodoric*, the son of *Triarius*, who had espoused the cause of *Basiliscus*, broke into *Thrace* with a numerous army of *Goths*, and advanced within four miles of *Constantinople*; which so terrified the emperor, that he concluded a peace with him upon his own terms; whereof one of the articles was, that *Theodoric* should be appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* horse [l]. The next year, *Zeno* being consul the third time, *Marcian*, the son of *Anthemius*, who had reigned in the west, claiming the empire in right of his wife *Leontia*, the eldest daughter of the late emperor *Leo*, attacked unexpectedly the imperial palace in *Constantinople*, at the head of some malecontents prepared for any desperate attempt. The emperor's guards, endeavouring to make head against them, were either dispersed or cut in pieces, and *Zeno* himself shut up with a small number of officers in the palace. Had *Marcian* pursued his design, and without loss of time forced the gates of the palace, which in that consternation he might have easily done, the emperor must have fallen into his hands. But the attack being with the utmost imprudence put off till the next morning, *Zeno* in the mean time gained over, what with presents, what with promises, most of *Marcian*'s men, who, thereupon distrusting the rest, withdrew all on a sudden, and took sanctuary in the church of the apostles, whence he was dragged by the emperor's orders, ordained priest, and confined to a monastery in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* [m]. As *Zeno* had not for some years paid the *Ostrogoths* in *Pannonia* their annual pension, *Theodoric*, their king, no sooner heard of the revolt of *Marcian*, than he broke into *Macedon*; and from thence advancing into *Epirus*, made himself master of *Duras* on the *Adriatic* sea, that important place being betrayed to him by a *Goth* named *Sidimont*. But *Sabinianus*, an officer of great experience and address, having surprized and cut in pieces a strong reinforcement that was marching to the assistance of *Theodoric*, under the conduct of his brother *Theudimont*, and taken all their baggage and two thousand waggons loaded with provisions, the *Goths*, abandoning *Duras*, retired in great haste into *Pannonia* [n]. The following year 480. when *Basilius*, surnamed *the younger*, was consul, *Zeno*, not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance with *Huneric*, the son and successor of *Genseric*, dead three years before [o]. In 481. when *Placidius* or *Placitus* was consul,

Zeno *restored.*

Basiliscus *taken, and confined to a castle in* Cappadocia, *where he perishes.*

Harmatius *murdered by* Zeno's *orders.*

A great fire at Constantinople.

Marcian *revolts;*

But is abandoned by his own men, and forced to take refuge in a church.

[d] Candid. p. 19. Theoph. p. 106. Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 295. Evagr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354.
[e] Candid. p. 19. [f] Procop. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194. [g] Evagr. l. iii. c. 8. p. 341 Procop. ibid.
[h] Candid. p. 19. Evagr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354. Procop. p. 195. [i] Evagr. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354.
[k] Cedr. p. 35. Zonar. p. 43, 44. [l] Jorn. c. 57. p. 696. [m] Candid. p. 20. Evagr. p. 335.
Theoph. p. 109. [n] Mal. p. 78—81. [o] Marc. ad ann. 481. Malel. p. 95.

consul, *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, renewed his ravages, laying waste the provinces of *Macedon* and *Thessaly*; which obliged *Zeno* in the end to comply with his demands, that is, to yield to him part of *Lower Dacia* and *Mœsia*; to give him the command of the troops of the household, and to name him consul for the ensuing year 483. Upon these terms he withdrew in 482. when *Severinus* and *Trocundus* were consuls, out of *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, restored *Larissa*, the metropolis of the latter province, which he had taken, and promised to employ, when required, all his forces in defence of the empire [p]. The following year, when *Theodoric* was consul at *Constantinople*, and *Venantius* at *Rome*, (for *Odoacer* made no change in the government or magistrates of the city) *Leontius*, a native of *Chalcis* in *Syria*, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, some say at the instigation of the empress *Verina*, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Against him *Zeno* immediately dispatched *Illus*, captain of his guards. But he, instead of opposing *Leontius*, joined him; and having ravaged the provinces of *Syria* and *Isauria*, advanced to *Antioch*, with a design to seize on that metropolis. *Longinus*, the emperor's brother, met them in that neighbourhood, at the head of a considerable army; but his troops were all to a man cut in pieces by the rebels, and he himself taken prisoner. After this victory, *Leontius* and *Illus* entered *Antioch* in triumph. *Zeno*, upon the defeat and captivity of his brother, dispatched *John*, an officer of great valour, and experience in war, into *Syria*, with what troops he could assemble, and prevailed upon *Theodoric*, the *Ostrogoth*, to join him with a numerous army of *Goths*. These two commanders were attended with better success; for meeting *Leontius* and *Illus* in the neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, they gained a complete victory, and the following year, when *Symmachus* was consul, obliged the two ringleaders of the revolt to fly for refuge to the strong castle of *Papyra* in *Cilicia*, which *John* immediately invested, while *Theodoric* returned, as the war seemed now ended, with his troops to *Constantinople* [q]. *Trocundus*, the brother of *Illus*, taken prisoner by *John*, as he was attempting to make his escape out of *Syria*, in order to stir up the barbarians, was, by his orders, beheaded [r]. The same year, *Theodoric*, upon some disgust, withdrew from *Constantinople*, and returned to *Pannonia*. *Evagrius* writes, that *Zeno*, jealous of the glory he had acquired by his late victory, and of the great esteem persons of all ranks shewed him, attempted privately to dispatch him [s]. However that be, it is certain, that *Theodoric*, after having spent the following year, when *Longinus* and *Decius* were consuls, in raising troops and making other military preparations, as if he designed to make war upon the barbarians, broke suddenly into *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army; and putting all to fire and sword, advanced within fifteen miles of *Constantinople*; but, instead of laying siege to that metropolis, as was apprehended, he marched back to *Pannonia*, in virtue of a private treaty between him and *Zeno*, by which the emperor yielded to him, as some authors write, all the provinces of *Italy*, held then by *Odoacer*, encouraging him to rescue them out of the hands of that barbarian, and promising to acknowledge him king of *Italy* [t]. The *Romans* afterwards pretended, that *Zeno* had sent *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, not for himself, but for the emperor of the east, to whom of right it belonged. On the other hand, the *Goths* maintained, that *Zeno* had yielded it to be held for ever by the *Goths*. Some authors write, that, in virtue of this treaty, *Theodoric* was to hold *Italy* during his life-time, but that upon his death it was to be reunited to the empire. However that be, *Theodoric*, in the beginning of the autumn of this year 487. when *Boetius* was consul, returned to *Novæ* in *Mœsia*, which city he had chosen for a place of his residence; and having spent the winter in military preparations, he set out the following year, when *Sifidius* and *Dinamius* were consuls, at the head of a powerful army for *Italy*, and entering that country, overcame *Odoacer* in several battles, and established a new monarchy there, as we shall relate at length in the following volume. About the end of this year, *Leontius* and *Illus*, after having defended with incredible bravery the castle of *Papyra* for the space of four years, were in the end taken by treachery, and put to death. Their heads were sent to *Constantinople*, and there exposed for several days together to public view [u]. In the following consulship of *Anicius Probinus* and *Chromion Eusebius*, *Zeno* caused several persons of great distinction to be put to death, and banished others, confiscating

Lower Dacia *and* Mœsia *yielded to* Theodoric, *king of the* Ostrogoths.

Leontius *revolts.*

Is joined by Illus.

They are both defeated, and besieged in Papyra.

Theodoric *the* Ostrogoth *breaks into* Thrace.

Turns his arms against Odoacer, *king of Italy.*

Leontius *and* Illus *taken, and put to death.*

[p] Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 57. p. 696. Marcell. ad ann. 483. Theoph. p. 142. Liberat. c. 18. p. 125. [q] Theoph. p. 112. [r] Theoph. ibid. [s] Evagr. l. iii. c. 27. p. 356. [t] Jorn. rer. Goth. l. ii. c. 57. p. 696. [u] Theoph. p. 114. Phot. c. 242. p. 1072. Theodor. p. 558.

confiſcating their eſtates, under pretence that they had favoured *Leontius* and *Illus* [u]. The following year, when *Longinus* was conſul the ſecond time with *Fauſtus*, *Zeno*, raging with more cruelty than ever, cauſed *Pelagius*, a patrician of great diſtinction, to be ſtrangled, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had been told by an aſtrologer, that he was to ſucceed *Zeno* [w]. The emperor did not long ſurvive him; for in the month of *April* of the following year 491. when *Olybrius* was conſul, he was ſeized with violent pains in his bowels, which carried him off in a few days, after he had lived ſixty-five years and nine days, and reigned ſeventeen years and three months [x]. The more modern *Greek* writers, and amongſt the reſt *Cedrenus*, tell us, that being ſeized with an epileptic fit, he was buried alive, his wife *Ariadne*, who hated him, and was in love with *Anaſtaſius*, whom ſhe immediately married, not ſuffering him to be relieved, tho' he made a dreadful noiſe in his tomb; which being afterwards opened, he was found to have devoured the fleſh off his own arms, and even his buſkins [y]. But of this tragical end no mention is made by the more antient writers. He is painted by the antients as one of the moſt wicked and debauched princes recorded in hiſtory, as a perſon deſtitute of every good quality requiſite in a prince, and equally incapable of governing a ſtate and commanding an army [z]. Of the writers, who flouriſhed about this time, we ſhall ſpeak in note (U).

Zeno's cruelty.

His death.

Upon the death of *Zeno*, his brother *Longinus* laid claim to the empire; but, he being univerſally abhorred on account of his lewdneſs and cruelty, *Ariadne*, widow to the deceaſed emperor, eaſily prevailed upon the ſenate to acknowledge *Anaſtaſius* for emperor, who was accordingly crowned on the eleventh of *April* in the circus, according to ſome by *Ariadne* [a], according to others [b], by *Euphemius*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who abſolutely refuſed to place the imperial crown upon his head, till he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to protect the catholic church, and to hold the doctrine of the two councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. He was no ſooner proclaimed emperor, than he married *Ariadne*, being then in the ſixtieth-year of his age [c]. He was a native of *Duras*, the metropolis of *New Epirus* in *Illyricum* [d]. All we know of his family is, that his father was born in the ſame city; that his mother was a *Manichee*, and *Clearchus*, her brother, an *Arian* [e]. As for *Anaſtaſius* himſelf, he is by ſome ſtiled a *Manichee*, by others an *Eutychian* [f]. *Magna*, whom ſome will have to have been the emperor's ſiſter, others to have been wife to his brother, named *Paul*, was a zealous catholic [g]. *Anaſtaſius* had not yet attained to the rank of ſenator, when he was raiſed to the empire, being at that time one of the great chamberlain's officers, named *Silentiarii*, whoſe province it was to cauſe due ſilence to be obſerved in the palace [h]. He is ſaid to have led, while a private man, a very abſtemious life, and to have given ſignal inſtances of his integrity, whence, upon his receiving a purple and diadem in the circus, the people, applauding his promotion, cried

Anaſtaſius *declared emperor.*

He marries Ariadne.

His birth, education, employments, &c.

[u] Theoph. p. 116. Cedr. p. 354. [w] Zonar. p. 44. [x] Chron. Al. p. 758. Evagr. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. [y] Cedren. p. 355. [z] Procop. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308. Marc. p. 1232. [z] Evagr. l. iii. c. 3. p. 334. [a] Theoph. p. 117. Cedren. p. 357. [b] Evagr. p. 361. Theoph. Zonar. p. 45. [c] Evagr. p. 357. Theoph. p. 117. [d] Evagr. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. Theoph. p. 117. [e] Theodor. p. 558. Theoph. ibid. [f] Evagr. l. iii. c. 37. p. 361. Theoph. p. 115. [g] Niceph. chron. p. 305. Theoph. p. 131. [h] Evagr. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. Procop. bell. Perſ. l. ii. c. 25. p. 138.

(U) *Theodulus*, a native of *Syria*, publiſhed in the reign of *Zeno* ſeveral pieces againſt the *Manichees* and other heretics, a comment on the epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, and a poem on the miracles related in the old teſtament, and on the fables of the poets (1). His comment has reached our times (2). *John* the grammarian publiſhed a book againſt the *Eutychians*, which has been long ſince loſt (3). He was ſtill alive, according to *Gennadius*, in 494 (4). *Malus* or *Males*, by profeſſion a ſophiſt, wrote the hiſtory of *Zeno* and *Baſiliſcus*; but of that work only ſome fragments have reached us (5). *Candidus* by birth an *Iſaurian*, compriſed in three books a very particular and diſtinct account of what happened from the election of *Leo* to that of *Anaſtaſius*. A ſhort abſtract of his work has been conveyed to us by *Photius* (6). *Evagrius*, in ſpeaking of *Zeno*, often quotes and highly commends one *Euſtathius*, a native of *Philadelphia*, who wrote an abridgment the *Roman* hiſtory, from *Æneas* to the twelfth year of of *Zeno*'s reign (7). The ſame hiſtorian is mentioned by *Nicephorus* (8). *Photius* ſpeaks of one *Victorinus*, who wrote ſome orations in commendation of the conſuls, and of the emperor *Zeno* (9). He was a native of *Antioch*, and the ſon of *Lampadius*. *Photius* commends the elegance, clearneſs, and propriety of his ſtyle (10).

(1) *Marc. chron. Gennad. c.* 91. *Sixtus Senenſ.* l. iv. *p.* 381. *Poſſevin. p.* 469. *Sigebert. c.* 134. (2) *Biblioth. patr. tom.* i. *p.* 495. (3) *Trith. p.* 40. *Marc. chron. ad ann.* 486. (4) *Gennad. p.* 93. (5) *Phot. c.* 78. *p.* 172. *Zonar. p.* 44. *Evagr. p.* 78. (6) *Phot. c.* 78. *p.* 172. (7) *Evagr. l.* iii. *c.* 15. *p.* 308. *c.* 37. *p.* 367. & *l.* v *c.* 24. *p.* 442. *Suid. p.* 1096. (8) *Niceph. l.* xiv. *c.* 57. *p.* 579. (9) *Phot. c.* 101. *p.* 276. (10) *Idem ibid.*

cried out with one voice, *Reign*, Anaſtaſius, *as you have lived* [i]. And truly the a
beginning of his reign was not undeſervedly applauded by perſons of all ranks; for
he immediately remitted whatever to that time was due to the exchequer, and ut-
terly aboliſhed the infamous tax called *chryſargyrum*, which was levied every fifth
year upon thoſe, even common beggars not excepted, who ſold any thing, of how
little value ſoever, whence it was called the gold of tribulation. To pay it, parents
were often obliged to ſell their children, after they had been ſtripped of every thing
elſe. It was not only raiſed on all traders, in what kind ſo ever of merchandize they
dealt, but on the public proſtitutes, who, by paying to the prince a conſiderable
ſhare of what they earned by their infamous profeſſion, ſeemed to have purchaſed a
right to purſue with impunity their ſcandalous practices [k]. *Alexander Severus* being b
aſhamed, tho' a pagan, to ſuffer the money thus raiſed to be lodged in the exche-
quer, ordered it to be kept apart, and to be employed in repairing the public edi-
fices [l]. *Theodoſius* the younger utterly ſuppreſſed this infamous tribute in 439. but
it was ſoon after revived through the avarice of his ſucceſſors. *Zoſimus* will have
the tax to have been firſt eſtabliſhed by *Conſtantine the Great* [m]; which is denied by
Evagrius as a calumny, without any other foundation but the implacable hatred
which that pagan writer bore to the deliverer of the chriſtian religion [n]. And indeed
it is evident from the antient writers, that long before *Conſtantine*'s time a tax was
laid on all traders, as well as infamous women; but that *Conſtantine*, to ſave charges, c
cauſed it to be levied, not annually, as it had been till his reign, but every fourth
or rather fifth year. However that be, *Anaſtaſius*, looking upon it as no leſs bur-
denſome to the people than ſhameful in the prince, not only utterly aboliſhed it,
with the conſent and approbation of the ſenate, but, to prevent its ever being revived,
cauſed all the papers relating to it to be publicly burnt in the circus [o]. This abo-
lition of the *chryſagyrum* is recorded by all the hiſtorians, who ſpeak of *Anaſtaſius*,
as an action truly great, heroic, and almoſt divine, worthy of being tranſmitted to
the lateſt poſterity, and capable of covering the many faults, which are but too
deſervedly laid to that prince's charge [p]. *Timotheus* of *Gaza* wrote a tragedy on
the *chryſargyrum*, which he aſcribed to *Anaſtaſius*. *Cedrenus*, who ſtyles that writer d
a man of univerſal knowledge, tells us, that the emperor was in great meaſure induced
by the reading of that piece to propoſe to the ſenate the ſuppreſſing of ſuch an infa-
mous tax [q]. The ſame writer adds, that *Anaſtaſius* aboliſhed two kinds of *chryſargy-*
rums, one of which was raiſed on the poor, on the beggars, ſlaves, freemen, har-
lots, and divorced women, who, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, paid
every fourth year a certain ſum for themſelves, and another for their horſes, mules,
dogs, aſſes, oxen, *&c* [r]. At the ſame time, the new prince drove all informers out
of *Conſtantinople*, and put a ſtop to the enormous abuſe introduced by *Zeno* of expoſing e
to ſale all public offices, and beſtowing, to the great oppreſſion of the unhappy peo-
ple, the beſt governments on the higheſt bidders [s]. *Anaſtaſius* having, by theſe and
ſeveral other acts of generoſity and good-nature, gained the affections of the people,
they all to a man joined him againſt *Longinus*, the deceaſed emperor's brother, who
in the beginning of the following year 492. when the emperor *Anaſtaſius* and *Rufus*
were conſuls, raiſed ſome diſturbances in *Conſtantinople*, but was immediately ſeized,
deprived of all his employments, and ſent back into *Iſauria*, his native country, with
orders to continue there. With him were driven out of *Conſtantinople* all the *Iſaurians*,
who had borne great ſway in the late reign. The *Iſaurians*, thus baniſhed the city,
eſpouſed the cauſe of *Longinus*, and, openly revolting, kindled a civil war in the bowels
of the empire. They were headed by *Longinus*, the late emperor's brother, by another
Longinus, ſurnamed *Selinontius*, no doubt from the city of *Selinus* in *Iſauria*, the place f
of his nativity, by *Indus*, *Theodorus*, *Nililinghus*, and ſeveral other *Iſaurians* of great
diſtinction, who had been raiſed by *Zeno* to the firſt employments in the ſtate. *Conon*,
biſhop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, abandoning his flock, joined his countrymen, for he was
by birth an *Iſaurian*, and became one of the ringleaders of the revolt [t]. Under theſe
heads the rebels ſeized on an immenſe quantity of arms, and vaſt ſums lodged by
Zeno in a ſtrong hold of *Iſauria*, which enabled them to raiſe and arm above an
hundred and fifty thouſand men. The emperor, alarmed at the progreſs they made,
diſpatched

He aboliſhes the chryſargyrum.

The nature of this tax.

Informers driven out of Conſtantinople.

Longinus *and the* Iſaurians *revolt.*

[i] Niceph. chron. p. 398. Cedron. p. 357. [k] Theoph. p. 566. Evagr. l. iii. c. 39. Zos. l. ii. p. 691. [l] Lamprid. in Al. p 212. [m] Zos. l. ii. p. 691. [n] Evagr. l. iii. c. 40. p. 370. [o] Evagr. l. iv. c. 39. p. 368. Cod. Theod. 2, 5. p. 2, 4. [p] Evagr. p. 370. Const. Manass. p. 63. Suid. p. 913. [q] Cedren. p. 357. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem, p. 358. [t] Evagr. l. iii. p. 366. Theoph. p. 118.

a diſpatched the flower of his troops againſt them, under the conduct of two of the moſt renowned generals of that age, *viz.* of *John the Scythian*, and *John*, ſurnamed *Gibbus*, or the *hunch-backed*, who coming up with the rebels in the neighbourhood of *Cotycea* in *Phrygia*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to take refuge amongſt the inacceſſible mountains of *Iſauria*, where they maintained themſelves for the ſpace of ſix years, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the beſt generals of the empire [u]. *Ninilinghus*, one of the chief leaders, was killed in the above-mentioned battle. The following year, when *Euſebius* was conſul the ſecond time with *Albinus*, ſurnamed the younger, the emperor, who, notwithſtanding the generoſity he affected on his acceſſion to the empire, was naturally of a moſt avaricious
b temper, laid a heavy tax on the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, called by *Evagrius chryſotelia*, which, as it was no-ways expected, incenſed them to ſuch a degree, that, riſing all on a ſudden, they pulled down the emperor's ſtatues, and dragged them through the chief ſtreets of the city with thoſe of the empreſs *Ariadne*, uttering moſt injurious invectives both againſt her and *Anaſtaſius* [w]. How this tumult ended, we are no-where told. The ſame year *Theodoric* the *Goth*, having completed the conqueſt of *Italy*, by the reduction of *Ravenna* after a three years ſiege, as we ſhall relate more at length in the following volume, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of that country, without waiting the return of the embaſſadors, whom he had ſent to *Conſtantinople* for the enſigns of royalty. However, he diſpatched *Feſtus*, or *Fauſtus*,
c and *Ireneus*, two perſons of rank, to ſolicit the emperor's approbation, and excuſe the liberty he had taken. *Anaſtaſius* received his excuſes, promiſed not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of the country he had conquered, and ſent him the enſigns of the royal dignity [x]. Hence it appears, that he acknowledged in ſome degree, as *Odoacer* had done, the authority of the emperor. Beſides, he ſuffered the *Romans* to receive the conſulſhip from the emperor of the eaſt. 'Tis true he named in 511. one *Felix* to that dignity; but at the ſame time he wrote to *Anaſtaſius*, begging him to confirm what he had done [y]. In 494. when *Aſterius* and *Præſidius* were conſuls, *Diogenes*, one of the emperor's generals, having ſurpriſed the city of *Claudiopolis* in *Iſauria* held by the rebels, he was cloſely beſieged in it by the biſhop *Conon*,
d and reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that he muſt have ſoon either periſhed with hunger, or been cut in pieces with all his men, had not *John*, ſurnamed *Gibbus*, opening himſelf a way over mount *Taurus*, and falling unexpectedly upon the rebels, obliged them to retire with great ſlaughter. The biſhop, fighting with great reſolution and intrepidity at the head of his men, received a wound, of which he died ſoon after [z]. The two following years, in the firſt of which *Viator*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Victor*, was conſul, and in the other *Paul*, the emperor's brother, ſome inconſiderable advantages were gained over the *Iſaurian* rebels, who were utterly defeated the following year, when the emperor *Anaſtaſius* was conſul the ſecond time, by *John* the *Scythian*. *Longinus*, brother to the late emperor *Zeno*, and *Theodorus*, or *Athenodorus*, being
e taken priſoners, they were both put to death by that general's orders, and their heads ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where they were expoſed to public view in the ſuburbs called *Sycæ*. The head of *Athenodorus* was afterwards ſent to *Tarſus*, and ſet up on a pole before the gate of that city [a]. The other ringleaders of the rebellion, namely *Longinus Selinontius* and *Indus*, were taken the following year, when *John* the *Scythian* was conſul with *Paulinus*, and ſent loaded with chains to *Conſtantinople*. *Longinus* was afterwards racked to death at *Nice*. As ſeveral cities in *Iſauria* were utterly ruined during this war, which had laſted ſix years, the inhabitants of *Iſauria* were removed into *Thrace*, and the annual penſion of five thouſand pieces of gold, paid to them by *Zeno*, taken away for ever [b]. This year the emperor narrowly
f eſcaped being murdered in the circus by the populace, upon his refuſing to cauſe ſome priſoners to be ſet at liberty, who had been concerned in a late riot. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the guards ſcreened him from the fury of the enraged multitude, and the ſhowers of ſtones diſcharged againſt him. When the multitude found themſelves repulſed by the ſoldiery, they ſet fire to the hippodrome, which conſumed that and ſeveral other ſtately edifices, with a ſquare of *Conſtantinople*, in which not a ſingle building was left ſtanding [c]. The ſame year, the *Arabs* and *Saracens*,

They are defeated, but continue in arms.

A tumult in Conſtantinople.

Theodoric *acknowledged king of* Italy.

The Iſaurians *defeated a ſecond time by* John *the* Scythian.

Longinus, *and the other heads of the rebels, taken and put to death.*

A tumult in Conſtantinople.

[u] Evagr. Theoph. ibid. Marc. chron. Jorn. p. 655. [w] Marc. chron. p 401. [x] Ammian. anonym. p. 408. Concil. tom. iv. p. 1181. [y] Procop. p. 402. Cassiodor l. ii. ep. 1. [z] Marc. chron. Theoph. p. 119. [a] Evagr. l. iii. 35. p. 366. Theoph. p. 120. Vict. Tun. p. 127. [b] Cassiod. l. i. ep. 23. l. ii. ep. 3. Evagr. l. iii. c. 35. p. 366. Marc. chron. [c] Chron. Al. p. 760.

cens, named *Scenitæ*, broke into *Paleſtine Syria Euphrateſiana*; but in *Syria* they a
were defeated by *Eugenius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops here, and in *Pale-*
ſtine by *Romanus*, governor of that province, who on that occaſion recovered to the
empire the iſland of *Jotape* in the *Red Sea*, which the *Arabs Scenitæ* had ſeized, and
re-eſtabliſhed there the *Roman* merchants trading to *India* [d].

In 499. when *Joannes Gibbus* and *Aſclepion* were conſuls, the *Bulgarians* breaking
into *Thrace*, *Ariſius*, commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, marched againſt them at
the head of fifteen thouſand men, engaged them on the banks of the *Zurta* or *Zorta*;
The Romans *defeated by the barbarians.* but was defeated with the loſs of four thouſand men, amongſt whom were the counts
Nicoſtratus, *Innocentius*, and *Aquilinus*, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The
barbarians, after having plundered all the open places in *Thrace*, returned of their b
own accord beyond the *Danube* [e]. The ſame year, *Neocæſarea* and ſeveral other
cities in *Pontus* were almoſt utterly ruined by an earthquake [f]. The year 500.
when *Patritius* and *Hypatius* were conſuls, is quite barren of events. In the following
conſulſhip of *Pompeius* and *Avienus*, the blue and green factions quarrelling in the
A tumult in the circus at Conſtanti-nople. circus of *Conſtantinople*, above three thouſand of the former were killed [g]. The fol-
lowing year, *Probus* and *Avienus* being conſuls, the *Bulgarians* breaking anew into
Thrace, and the *Saracens* into *Paleſtine*, committed dreadful ravages in thoſe two
provinces [h]. The ſame year *Cabades*, king of *Perſia*, being highly provoked at the
emperor's refuſing to lend him a certain ſum, which he owed to the king of the
The Perſians *break into the empire,* *Nephthalite* or *Epthalite Huns*, entered unexpectedly *Armenia* at the head of a nume- c
rous army; and having eaſily reduced the cities of *Theodoſiopolis* and *Martyropolis*,
laid cloſe ſiege to *Amida*, which the inhabitants (for there was no garriſon in the
place) defended with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the king, deſpairing of being
ever able to reduce it, had already ordered his troops to retire; but the inhabitants,
eſpecially ſome women, probably common proſtitutes, reviling and rallying him
from the walls in a manner not to be expreſſed by a modeſt writer, he reſolved at
And take Amida. all events to purſue the ſiege, which he did accordingly, and in the end made him-
ſelf maſter of the place, after having lain before it eighty days, or, as others write,
four months [i]. Moſt of the inhabitants were put to the ſword, and the town pil-
laged. In the mean time, *Anaſtaſius* diſpatched a powerful army againſt the enemy, d
commanded by *Patritius*, *Hypatius*, and *Areobindus*, who had married *Juliana*, the
daughter of the emperor *Olybrius*. Under them commanded *Celer*, *Juſtin*, after-
wards emperor, his ſon *Vitalianus*, *Patriciolus*, *Romanus*, and ſeveral other officers
of diſtinction. But the *Perſians* having reduced *Amida* before they reached that place,
they divided the army into two bodies, the one, under the command of *Patritius*
and *Hypatius*, attempting to make an irruption into the enemy's country on the ſide
of *Amida*, and the other marching, under the command of *Areobindus*, to *Niſibis*, with
a deſign to ſurprize that important place. In the mean time, *Cabades*, having drawn
The Roman *generals defeated and put to flight.* his troops together, went to meet *Areobindus*, who, upon his approach, abandoning
his camp and baggage, fled in the utmoſt confuſion to *Conſtantina*, after having e
preſſed in vain *Hypatius* and *Patritius* to join him, and with their mutual forces to oppoſe
the enemy, who was far ſuperior in number to either of the parties they commanded.
Areobindus being thus put to flight, *Cabades*, without loſs of time, marched againſt
Hypatius and *Patricius*; and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut their whole army
in pieces, the two generals having with much ado eſcaped by a timely flight the
common ſlaughter. *Cabades*, having now no enemy to oppoſe him, over-ran *Meſo-*
potamia, extending his ravages to the very borders of *Syria*, till he was obliged, by
the approach of winter, to return into *Perſia* [k]. The following year, when *Cethegus*
was conſul, *Celer*, entering the province of *Arzanene*, belonging to the *Perſians*, at
the head of a conſiderable army, laid it waſte far and near, while the other generals f
undertook the ſiege of *Amida*, the *Perſians* being diverted by a ſudden irruption of
the *Huns*. The place held out till both the *Romans* and *Perſians* being quite
tired out with the fatigues of a ſiege in the depth of winter, it was agreed, that
Amida *reſtored to the* Romans. the *Perſians* ſhould deliver up the city to the *Romans*, upon their paying to the
king of *Perſia* fifty talents, which was immediately done. Thus the *Romans* reco-
vered the important city of *Amida*, in the conſulſhip of *Sabinianus* and *Theodorus*,
after

[d] Theoph. p. 21. Evagr. l. iii. c. 36 p. 366. [e] Marc. chron. Zonar. p. 47. [f] Theoph. p. 123 Marc. chron. [g] Marc. chron. [h] Idem, ibid. Theoph. p. 153. [i] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 7. p. 20, 21. Theoph. p. 124, 125. Evagr. l iii. c. 37. p. 367. [k] Procop. p. 22. Theoph. p. 125.

a after it had been held two years by the *Perſians* [l]. Upon their entring the place, they found that the enemy had not ſufficient proviſions to ſupport them ſeven days longer, though they had lived very ſparingly during the ſiege. Not long after, a truce for ſeven years, which laſted about twenty, was concluded between the two empires, *Cabades* being engaged in a war with the *Caducæans*, *Huns*, and other barbarians [m]. The ſame year one *Mondon* or *Mondo*, by nation a *Goth*, having ſettled with ſome of his countrymen in ſuch places beyond the *Danube* as he found uninhabited, ſeized on a ſtrong hold called *Herta*; and thence, by frequent incurſions into the *Roman* territories, continued for ſome time haraſſing the ſubjects of the empire, giving himſelf the title of king. *Anaſtaſius* diſpatched againſt him *Sabinianus*, the

b ſon of the famous general of that name, at the head of ten thouſand choſen men, which obliged *Mondon* to have recourſe to *Theodoric*, the *Goth*, king of *Italy*, who the year before had reconquered *Pannonia*, and recovered *Sirmium* out of the hands of the *Gepidæ*. As *Mondo* had entered into an alliance with *Theodoric*, *Pitzia*, one of that prince's generals, marched to his aſſiſtance, defeated *Sabinianus* in a pitched battle near *Margus* in *Lower Dacia*, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of *Nato* [n]. This occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between *Theodoric* and *Anaſtaſius*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*. The next conſuls were *Arcobindus* and *Meſſala*, who were ſucceeded in 507. by the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, the third time conſul, and *Venantius*. This year *Anaſtaſius*, to defend not only the city of

c *Conſtantinople*, but the adjacent country, againſt the ſudden irruptions of the barbarians, built the famous wall, called the *Long-wall*, and the wall of *Anaſtaſius*, of which frequent mention is made by the *Byzantine* hiſtorians. It was diſtant from *Conſtantinople* two hundred and eighty furlongs, extended from ſea to ſea, being four hundred and twenty furlongs round, and incloſed not only the metropolis, but the city of *Selymbria*, and the neighbouring country, which was a continued garden, with an incredible number of ſtately villa's and houſes of pleaſure, richly furniſhed and adorned. The wall was twenty foot in breadth, and defended by towers at ſmall diſtances from each other; by which means the inhabitants, upon the ſhorteſt warning, had an opportunity of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence, and repulſing

d with great eaſe the barbarians [o]. In the following conſulſhip of *Celer* and *Venantius*, ſtyled the younger, *Anaſtaſius* cauſed the city of *Daras*, a frontier-town towards *Perſia*, to be repaired and fortified, in order to prevent the *Perſians* from breaking into the empire on that ſide. *Daras* ſtood on the *Cardus*, about fifteen miles from *Niſibis*, and three from *Carrhæ* [p]. The ſame year *Clovis*, king of the *Franks* in *Gaul*, having gained a complete victory over *Alaric*, king of the *Viſigoths* in *Languedoc* and *Aquitain*, *Anaſtaſius*, who was at variance with *Theodoric*, whoſe daughter *Alaric* had married, ſent embaſſadors to the king of the *Franks*, to congratulate him upon his victory, and to preſent him with the conſular ornaments, and a diadem, which he received in the church of St. *Martin* at *Tours*, taking upon him thence-

e forth the title of conſul, and likewiſe that of *Auguſtus*. He removed ſoon after from *Tours* to *Paris*, where he fixed his reſidence, declaring that city the metropolis of his kingdom [q]. Nothing remarkable happened the two following years 509, 510. in the firſt of which *Importunus* was conſul, and in the ſecond the famous *Boëtius*, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of the kingdom of *Italy*. In 511. when *Secundinus* and *Felix* were conſuls, the *Heruli*, after having long roved about from one country to another, paſſed the *Danube*, and were received the following year, when *Paulus* and *Muſchianus* were conſuls, into *Thrace*, where lands were allotted to them, upon their promiſing to ſerve with fidelity in the *Roman* armies, when required [r]. In the next conſulſhip of *Probus* and *Clementinus*,

f the emperor, at the inſtigation of the *Eutychians*, whom he favoured, drove *Macedonius*, the orthodox patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, from his ſee, and preferred one *Timotheus*, an avowed follower of *Eutyches*, in his room, who, by attempting to introduce novelties in the public worſhip, raiſed great diſturbances in *Conſtantinople*. Many of the inhabitants, ſome ſay ten thouſand, were killed in a tumult between the catholics and *Eutychians*, and ſeveral houſes burnt, amongſt the reſt that of the prefect

A truce with the Perſians.

The Romans *defeated by* Mondo *the* Goth.

Anaſtaſius *builds the* Long-wall.

Daras *repaired and fortified.*

Clovis *fixes his reſidence at* Paris.

The Heruli *admitted into* Thrace.

Great diſturbances in Conſtantinople.

[l] Idem, p. 127. & 25, 26. [m] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 9. p. 27. Theoph. p. 127. [n] Jorn. rer. Goth. p. 599. Ennod. in panegyr. Theodoric. p. 309. [o] Evagr. l. iii. c. 38. p. 367. Procop. ædif. l. iv. c. 9. p. 86. Gyl. de Conſtantinop. l. i. c. 21. p. 83. Zonar. p. 48. [p] Procop. ædif. l. ii. c. 2. p. 31. Evagr. l. iii. c. 37. p. 367. [q] Greg. Tur. hiſt. Franc. l. ii. c. 38. p. 291. [r] Procop. bel. Goth. l. ii. c. 14. p. 42.

prefect *Martinus*, with its rich furniture, he himself having narrowly escaped being a consumed in the flames [s]. The following year 514. when *Cassiodorus Senator* was consul, *Vitalianus*, one of the emperor's generals, espousing the cause of *Macedonius*, and the other orthodox bishops, persecuted by *Anastasius*, approached *Constantinople*, at the head of a numerous army, raised in three days time, threatening to depose the emperor, if he did not restore the banished bishops to their sees, and drive out the *Eutychians*. *Anastasius*, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of *Eutyches*, refusing to comply with his request, he made himself master of *Mæsia* and *Thrace*, took *Cyril*, governor of the latter province, prisoner, defeated *Hypatius*, the emperor's nephew, who likewise fell into his hands; and returning before *Constantinople* with his victorious army, *Anastasius*, who was no-ways in a condition to oppose him b solemnly promised to comply with his demands, *viz.* to put an end to the persecution, which he had raised against the catholics, to restore *Macedonius*, and the other orthodox bishops, to their sees, and to call an œcumenical council, and stand to the decisions of the prelates of the church. *Anastasius* had no sooner signed these articles, than *Vitalianus* withdrew from the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*; and disbanding his troops, sent *Hypatius*, whom he had taken prisoner, back to his uncle, and retired to his government in *Thrace* [t]. *Anastasius*, thus delivered from his fears, pursued the persecution against the catholics with more cruelty than ever, as the reader will find related at length by the ecclesiastic writers. In 515. when *Anthemius* and *Florentius* were consuls, and 516. when *Petrus* alone bore that dignity, nothing happened which c historians have thought worthy of notice. In 517. when *Anastasius* was consul the fourth time with *Agapetus*, the northern barbarians, called by *Marcellinus Getæ*, breaking into *Illyricum*, laid waste *Macedon* and *Epirus*, defeated *Pompeius*, the emperor's nephew, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*; and penetrating as far as *Thessaly*, returned from thence beyond the *Danube* unmolested, with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives [u]. The following year, when *Magnus* alone was consul, the emperor *Anastasius* was found dead in his chamber on the ninth of *July*. Authors vary as to the circumstances of his death: some write, that a violent storm arising, the dread and terror with which he was seized, as being conscious to himself of many cruel and unjust murders, put an end to his life [w]; others suppose him d to have been killed by a flash of lightning [x]. He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having reigned twenty-seven years, and three months, wanting two or three days [y]. No prince perhaps was ever more beloved in the beginning, nor more hated in the end of his reign. He gave at first several instances of generosity good-nature, moderation, and application to public affairs, seeming to have nothing so much at heart as the welfare of his subjects. But he soon abandoned himself to all manner of wickedness, selling the public offices, and sharing with the governors of provinces the spoils of the unhappy people, whom he suffered them to oppress with most enormous exactions. The ecclesiastic writers paint him in the blackest colours imaginable; but as he persecuted the catholics, and countenanced, to the e utmost of his power, the *Eutychians*, they were perhaps so far prejudiced against him as to overlook the few good qualities, which other authors allow him, and take notice only of his vices.

Vitalianus *espouses the cause of the catholics against the* Eutychians.

The emperor promises to comply with his demands.

The Getæ *break into* Illyricum.

Anastasius *dies.*

Anastasius being dead, *Justin*, then *præfectus prætorio*, was by the soldiers of the household proclaimed emperor in his room. He was descended of an obscure and mean family in *Thrace*, having been in his youth employed in keeping cattle. He afterwards listed himself among the troops that guarded *Thrace*; and having on several occasions given signal proofs of an extraordinary valour, and address, he was raised from the low station of a common soldier to the post of a tribune, and from that soon after to the office of *præfectus prætorio*, which he held when he was f preferred to the empire. *Evagrius* writes, that *Amantius*, the deceased emperor's great chamberlain, having intrusted *Justin* with large sums to purchase the votes of the soldiery in favour of *Theocritus*, his intimate friend, *Justin* distributed the money in his own name; and having by that means secured the army to his interest, he was by them saluted with the title of *Augustus*, as soon as the death of *Anastasius* was known [z]. Thus *Evagrius*, whose account does not at all agree with what we read

Justin *proclaimed emperor.*
His birth, education, &c.

[s] Surius, p. 173. succ. c. 48. p. 655. Cedren. p. 362.
[t] Marc. chron. Vict. Tununensis, p. 132.
[u] Marc. chron. Jorn. reg.
[w] Theod. p. 505. Marc. chron. Chron. Al. p. 764.
[x] Zonar. p. 47.
[y] Evagr. l. iv. c. 1. p. 381. Chron. Al. p. 764.
[z] Evagr. l. iv. c. 1, 2.

a read in the letters ſaid to have been written by *Juſtin* himſelf to *Hormiſda* biſhop of *Rome* ſoon after his promotion; wherein he tells him, that he had been preferred, contrary to his expectation, and againſt his will, to the imperial dignity [z]. But by what means ſoever he attained the purple, he governed with great equity and moderation; and by his ſteady adherence to the orthodox faith, and prudent adminiſtration healed in great meaſure the diviſions which had long rent the church, as well as the ſtate, into factions and parties. He was ſcarce warm in his throne, when *Amantius*, *Theocritus*, and ſeveral of the deceaſed emperor's relations, perſons of great intereſt and authority in the empire, conſpired againſt him; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered by ſome who were privy to it, the chief authors of it, and
b among the reſt *Amantius* and *Theocritus*, were publickly executed, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who hated them as the avowed patrons of the *Eutychians*, and the chief promoters of the late perſecution againſt the catholics [a]. The following year 519. *Juſtin* being conſul with *Eutharic*, the ſon-in-law of *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, all the orthodox biſhops, who had been baniſhed by *Anaſtaſius*, were by the emperor's orders reſtored to their ſees, and ſeveral ſynods aſſembled, in which the doctrine of the church was eſtabliſhed, and that of *Eutyches* condemned [b]. The following year, *Vitalianus*, of whom we have made mention above, was raiſed to the conſulſhip with *Ruſticus*, but was ſoon after diſpatched in the palace by the emperor's orders, upon his attempting to gain over ſome of the chief officers, with
c a deſign to depoſe *Juſtin*, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in his room. He had eſpouſed the catholic cauſe in the reign of *Anaſtaſius*; but his caballing againſt *Juſtin*, and zealous patron of the true faith, and his courting the *Eutychians*, convinced the world, that it was not merely on account of religion he had taken arms againſt his ſovereign [c]. The following year, *Juſtinian*, the emperor's nephew, being conſul with *Valerius*, *Cabades*, king of *Perſia*, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Juſtin*, offering to conclude a laſting peace with him, provided he would adopt *Coſrhoes*, the *Perſian* king's youngeſt ſon, whom, to the prejudice of his eldeſt ſon *Caoſes*, he had declared his ſucceſſor. This he looked upon as the only means of engaging the *Roman* emperor to eſpouſe his cauſe, and of firmly eſtabliſhing him in the kingdom.
d The propoſal was received at firſt with great joy both by *Juſtin* and his nephew *Juſtinian*; but *Proclus*, the quæſtor, a man of great integrity, and well ſkilled in the laws, demonſtrating, that, in virtue of that adoption, *Coſrhoes* might claim the *Roman* empire as his inheritance, it was rejected; which ſo piqued *Cavades*, that he immediately entered *Iberia*, with a deſign to invade from thence the *Roman* territories. *Gurgenes*, king of the *Iberians*, had recourſe to *Juſtin*, who diſpatched a body of troops to his aſſiſtance, under the conduct of *Sittas* and the famous *Beliſarius*, who was then but a youth, and ſerved in the guards of *Juſtinian*, lately declared commander in chief of all the forces of the empire. *Sittas* and *Beliſarius* broke into that part of *Armenia* which belonged to the *Perſians*, and laid it waſte; but being
e met by *Narſes* and *Aratius*, they were by them put to flight, and obliged to retire into the *Roman* dominions. *Narſes* and *Aratius* revolted ſoon after from the *Perſians*, and ſerved under *Beliſarius* in *Italy*. The emperor, well pleaſed with the conduct of *Beliſarius*, gave him the command of the forces in *Daras*, on the frontiers of *Perſia* [d]. Theſe things happened in the third conſulſhip of *Severinus Boëtius*, and the firſt of *Symmachus*, who were ſucceeded in 523. by *Maximus* alone in the weſt, and he by *Juſtin*, the ſecond time conſul, and *Opilio*, during whoſe conſulſhip we find nothing tranſacted in the empire that deſerves notice. In 525. when *Probinus* or *Probus*, and *Philoxenus*, were conſuls, *Juſtin*, by an edict, deprived the *Arians* of all their churches in his dominions; which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between
f him and *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of *Arius*. But what relates to that prince, we reſerve for the hiſtory of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*. The ſame year the city of *Antioch* was almoſt utterly overturned by an earthquake, and great numbers of the inhabitants buried, with their biſhop *Euphraſius*, under the ruins [e]. The cities of *Epidamnus*, *Corinth*, and *Anazarbus* in *Cilicia*, underwent the ſame fate, but were at a vaſt expence reſtored, as well as *Antioch*, to their former condition by the good-natured emperor, who was ſo affected with their misfortune, that, putting off the purple, and laying aſide the diadem, he appeared for ſeveral

Some conſpire againſt him, but are diſcovered and puniſhed.

Vitalianus *put to death.*

The Perſian *war.*

Beliſarius *commander of the troops in* Daras.

The Arians *deprived of their churches.*

A great earthquake at Antioch.

[z] Vide Baron. ad ann. 518. [a] Jorn. reg. ſucc. c. 48. p. 132. [b] Evagr. l. iv. c. 3. [c] Idem. ibid. [d] Procop. bell. Perſ. c. 11, 12. [e] Evagr. l. iv. c. 5. 6.

several days in ſack-cloth [f]. In 526. *Olybrius* alone was conſul, and ſucceeded in a
Juſtin *aſſumes* Juſtinian *for his partner in the empire.* that dignity by *Mavortius*, during whoſe conſulſhip, *Juſtin*, on the firſt of *April*, declared his nephew *Juſtinian* his partner in the empire. He was the ſon of *Sabatius*, by *Bigleniza*, the ſiſter of *Juſtin*, called by the *Romans Vigilantia*. He was a native of *Taureſium*, but brought up at *Bederina*, the birth-place of his uncle *Juſtin*, both cities on the confines of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; whence he is by ſome ſtyled a *Thracian*, by others an *Illyrian*. He was ſent, when yet a youth, by *Juſtin*, then commander in chief of the *Roman* army, as an hoſtage to *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, who, upon the news of his uncle's preferment, ſuffered him to return to *Conſtantinople*, where he was immediately honoured with the title of *nobiliſſimus*, and upon the death of *Vitalianus*, raiſed to the chief command of the army in his room [g]. Some b
authors write that *Juſtin*, at the requeſt of the ſenate, took him for his partner in the empire; whereas others pretend, that the ſenate were awed by threats and menaces. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Juſtinian* was this year declared emperor; and upon his entering the circus with the purple, and other enſigns of the imperial dignity, the populace received him with loud acclamations: he was then as *Zonaras*
Juſtin *dies.* obſerves, in the forty-fifth year of his age. The emperor *Juſtin* died about four months after, that is, in the latter end of *September*, or the beginning of *Auguſt*, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, after having reigned nine years, one month, and ſome days. His death is generally aſcribed to a wound received in battle many
His character. years before. He could neither read nor write, having been employed by his parents c
in keeping cattle, till he liſted himſelf in the army; but was nevertheleſs a man of extraordinary penetration, and uncommon addreſs, in the management of the moſt difficult affairs, well ſkilled in the art of war, and in every reſpect equal to the high ſtation to which he was raiſed.

What gave riſe to the Perſian *war.* *Juſtinian*, now ſole maſter of the empire, made it his firſt and chief buſineſs to ſecure the frontiers towards *Perſia*. With this view he ordered *Beliſarius*, commander of the troops in *Daras*, to build a fort in the neighbourhood of *Mindon*, which might be as a curb upon the *Perſians*, and prevent them from breaking into the empire on that ſide. *Beliſarius* had no ſooner begun the work, than *Cabades*, who ſtill reigned in *Perſia*, after having attempted in vain, by threats and d
menaces, to divert him from it, diſpatched a body of troops againſt him. On the other hand, *Juſtinian* ordered the two brothers *Curtzes* and *Buzes*, who commanded the troops quartered in the neighbourhood of mount *Libanus*, to join *Beliſarius*. But
The Romans *defeated,* notwithſtanding this reinforcement the *Romans*, in the battle which enſued, were utterly defeated, and great numbers of them taken priſoners, and among the reſt *Curtzes*, to whoſe raſh and imprudent conduct the defeat was chiefly owing. After this victory, the *Perſians*, finding the fort abandoned by the *Romans*, levelled it with the ground [h]. War being thus declared, *Juſtinian* appointed *Beliſarius* general of the eaſt, ordering him to make an inroad into *Perſia*. *Perozes*, the *Perſian* general, met him at the head of a very numerous and powerful army in the neighbourhood e
And the Perſians *in their turn by* Beliſarius. of *Daras*; whereupon a battle enſuing, the *Perſians* were defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men. As the *Perſians* fled in great confuſion, the *Romans* would, in all likelihood, have cut moſt of them in pieces, had not *Beliſarius*, apprehending they might rally, and return to the charge, ſounded a retreat [i]. The like ſucceſs attended the *Roman* arms in *Armenia*, where *Mermeroes*, who commanded another
And by Dorotheus *in* Perſarmenia. army, conſiſting of *Perſarmenians*, *Sunites* and *Hunns*, was ſurpriſed and defeated by *Dorotheus*, the *Roman* governor of *Armenia*, and *Sittas*, general of the forces quartered in that province. *Mermeroes*, being put to flight, the *Romans* made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſtrong holds in *Perſarmenia*, and among the reſt of *Pharangium*, which commanded the royal mines, and was betrayed to them by one *Simeon*. About f
Narſes *and* Aratius *revolt to the* Romans. this time, *Narſes* and *Aratius*, two brothers, who, in the latter end of *Juſtin*'s reign, had commanded the *Perſian* army in *Armenia*, and gained ſome advantages over *Beliſarius* and *Sittas*, as we have related above, revolting from the *Perſians*, came over to the *Romans*, who were now maſters of the greateſt part of *Perſarmenia*, their native country. *Narſes*, the emperor's quæſtor in thoſe parts, who was likewiſe a *Perſarmenian*, received them with extraordinary marks of kindneſs and eſteem, making them rich preſents in the emperor's name; which encouraged their younger brother

[f] Idem ibid. c. 8. [g] Vide not. ALAM. in Procop. ſecret. hiſt. [h] PROCOP. bell. Perſ. c. 13. [i] Idem, c. 15.

a brother, by name *Iſaac*, to follow their example, after having held a private correſpondence with the *Romans*, till he found an opportunity of delivering up to them a ſtrong-hold in the territory of *Theodoſiopolis*, named *Bolus*[k]. *Juſtinian*, notwithſtanding the advantages gained by his troops in *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Cabades*, with propoſals for an accommodation; but the treaty being ſoon broken off, the *Perſians*, early in the ſpring of 530. invaded the *Roman* territories under the command of *Azarethes*, who was joined by an incredible number of *Saracens*, commanded by *Alamundarus* their king, who, as he was a perſon of great experience in war, and well acquainted with the country, adviſed the *Perſians* to
b break into the *Roman* territories, not by the way of *Meſopotamia* and *Oſrhoene*, as they uſually did, but to march directly into *Syria*, which country they might lay waſte, and plunder *Antioch* itſelf, before the army in *Meſopotamia* could receive the leaſt intelligence of their motions. The *Perſian* generals approving the ſcheme, the army began to march; but *Beliſarius*, appriſed of their deſign, flew with a ſtrong detachment to the frontiers of *Syria*, where the *Perſians* finding him, to their great ſurprize, ready to diſpute their paſſage, they reſolved to proceed no farther, but rather to retire, thinking it dangerous to hazard a battle. On the other hand, *Beliſarius*, judging it imprudent to provoke a flying enemy, far ſuperior to him in numbers, was for ſuffering them to retire unmoleſted. But his men upbraiding him with cowardice, he led them on againſt the enemy, by whom, after a moſt obſti-
c nate diſpute, they were put to the rout, *Beliſarius*, with a ſmall body of horſe, who were aſhamed to forſake him, keeping the field, and by that means preventing the enemy from purſuing the fugitives. The next day the *Perſians*, who had loſt in the engagement the flower of their army, not thinking it adviſeable to venture a ſecond battle, retired in good order, the *Romans*, who were greatly diſheartened by their defeat, not daring to attack them[l]. The following year 531. *Juſtinian* being deſirous of concluding a peace with the *Perſians*, that he might be at leiſure to make war upon the *Vandals*, and reunite to the empire the many rich provinces they had ſeized, diſpatched *Hermogenes* to the king of *Perſia*, with very reaſonable propoſals. But *Cabades*, inſtead of hearkening to them, ſent early in the ſpring a freſh army
d into *Meſopotamia* under the command of *Chanaranges*, *Aſpendes*, and *Mermeroes*, who, after having ravaged the country, putting all to fire and ſword, ſat down before *Martyropolis*, a city about thirty miles north of *Amida* on the river *Nimphius*, which parted the *Perſian* and *Roman* dominions. The place was no-ways in a condition to maintain a ſiege, being deſtitute both of ſoldiers and proviſions. The emperor had recalled *Beliſarius* to adviſe with him about a war with the *Vandals*, on which he was chiefly bent; and *Sittas*, who had ſucceeded him in the command of the troops in the eaſt, had not ſufficient ſtrength to attempt the relief of the place. While affairs ſtood thus, the emperor was informed, that a numerous army of *Maſſagetes* was marching into *Perſia*, with a deſign to invade from thence the *Roman*
e dominions. This intelligence *Juſtinian* turned to his great advantage, by perſuading the *Perſian* deſerter, who brought it, to ſpread a report in the army before *Martyropolis*, that the *Maſſagetes* were in the *Roman* pay, and their true deſign was to fall upon the *Perſians*, and raiſe the ſiege. This report, with the news that was ſoon after brought of the death of *Cabades*, inclined the *Perſian* generals to hearken to the overtures that were made them by *Sittas* and *Hermogenes*, with whom they firſt concluded a truce, retiring from before *Martyropolis*, and ſoon after a peace upon the following terms: 1. That the *Roman* emperor ſhould pay to *Coſrhoes*, who had ſucceeded his father *Cabades*, a thouſand pounds weight of gold. 2. That both princes ſhould reſtore the places they had taken during the war. 3. That the com-
f mander of the *Roman* forces in *Meſopotamia* ſhould no longer reſide at *Daras*, but at *Conſtantina*, as he had formerly done. 4. That the *Iberians*, who had ſided with the *Romans*, ſhould be at liberty to return to their own country, or ſtay at *Conſtantinople*[m]. Upon theſe terms the *Romans* and *Perſians* concluded an eternal peace, as it was ſtyled, in 532. the ſixth year of *Juſtinian*'s reign, which, as it was without conſuls, as the preceding year had been, is thus marked in the faſti; *The ſecond year after, the conſulſhip of* Lampadius *and* Oreſtes. About this time happened at *Conſtantinople* the greateſt tumult we find mentioned in hiſtory. It began amongſt the

The Perſians, *attempting to break into* Syria, *are prevented by* Beliſarius.

The Romans, *engaging againſt the opinion of* Beliſarius, *are defeated.*

The Perſians *beſiege* Martyropolis.

A perpetual peace concluded between the Romans *and* Perſians.

A great tumult at Conſtantinople.

[k] Idem, c. 15, 16. [l] Idem, c. 18. [m] Evagr. l. iii. c. 38. Agath. l. iv. c. 13. Niceph. l. xvii. c. 10. Theoph. ad ann. Juſt. 5, 6. Cedren. p. 366. Hiſt. miſcell. l. xvi. Procop. bell. Perſ. ibid.

the different factions in the circus, but ended in an open rebellion, the multitude, highly dissatisfied with the conduct of *John* the *præfectus prætorio*, and of *Trebonianus*, then questor, forcing *Hypatius*, nephew to the emperor *Anastasius*, to accept the empire, and proclaiming him with great solemnity in the forum. As the two above-mentioned ministers were greatly abhorred by the people, on account of their avarice, the emperor immediately discharged them, hoping by that means to appease the tumult; but the populace growing more outrageous, and most of the senators joining the rebellious multitude, the emperor, alarmed and disheartened, would have abandoned the city, and made his escape by sea, had not the empress *Theodora*, with a manly courage, persuaded him to part with his life, rather than with the empire, by seasonably putting him in mind of the old saying, *How glorious a sepulchre is a kingdom!* b

The manly courage of the empress Theodora

Justinian, thus encouraged, resolved to continue in the palace, and, with the assistance of the few senators who had not yet abandoned him, defend it to the last. In the mean time the rebels, having attempted in vain to force the gates, carried *Hypatius* in triumph to the circus; where while he was beholding the sports from the imperial throne, among the shouts and acclamations of the people, *Belisarius*, who had been recalled from *Persia*, entering the city with a considerable body of troops under his command, and apprised of the usurpation of *Hypatius*, marched strait to the circus, fell sword in hand upon the disarmed multitude; and being seasonably joined by *Mundus*, governor of *Illyricum*, at the head of a band of *Heruli*, cut above thirty thousand of them in pieces, took *Hypatius* the usurper, and *Pompeius*, another of the nephews of *Anastasius*, prisoners, and carried them to the emperor, by whose orders they were both beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea. Their estates were confiscated, and likewise the estates of such senators as had joined them; but the emperor caused great part of their lands and effects to be afterwards restored, together with their honours and dignities, to their children [m]. *Marcellinus* supposes that this tumult was raised by *Hypatius*, *Pompeius*, and *Probus*, all three nephews to the emperor *Anastasius*, each of them setting up for himself; by which means the city was rent into factions, an incredible number of citizens was murdered, and many stately buildings laid in ashes [n]. The tumult being thus appeased, and a peace concluded with the king of *Persia*, the emperor applied his thoughts wholly to the war in *Africa*, which he had been long bent upon. But of the wars that were by the renowned *Belisarius* carried on with amazing success in the reign of *Justinian*, first with the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and afterwards with the *Goths* in *Italy*, we shall speak at length in the following volume. These two wars lasted from 533. to 541. a year remarkable for the triumphant return of *Belisarius* to *Constantinople*, and no less on account of its being the last that is marked by consuls, time being thenceforth computed, not by consulships, tho' consuls were still created for some time, but by the years of the emperor's reign. During the war with the *Goths* in *Italy*, the *Hunns*, probably stirred up by them, passed the *Danube*, and entering *Illyricum*, laid waste the whole country, took above thirty-two castles, destroyed *Cassandria*, and returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty, and an hundred and twenty thousand captives. At the same time the *Armenians*, shaking off the *Roman* yoke, gained some advantages over the emperor's forces in that province; which, with a groundless report spread abroad, that the emperor, grown jealous of *Belisarius*, would no longer trust him with the command of his armies, encouraged *Cosrhoes* to invade the *Roman* dominions with a very powerful army, in defiance of the treaty solemnly concluded a few years before. *Buzes*, who commanded in the east, instead of assembling his forces, and providing for the defence of the provinces, disappeared all on a sudden, and retired, no one knew whither, leaving the enemy at full liberty to plunder the country at their pleasure. As *Cosrhoes* met with no opposition, he bent his march to *Syria*; and having taken and plundered *Beræa*, *Hierapolis*, and several other cities, he laid siege to *Antioch* itself, which he soon mastered, and gave up to be plundered by his soldiers, who, without distinction of sex or age, put all they met to the sword. The king himself seized on all the gold and silver vessels belonging to the great church; caused all the valuable statues, pictures, and other pieces of art, to be taken down, and conveyed into *Persia*: and having thus stripped the proud metropolis of the east of all its wealth and ornaments, he ordered his men to set fire to it, and lay it in ashes; which was done accordingly, none of the buildings,

The tumult quelled with the death of 30000 *persons.*

The Hunns *commit great ravages in* Illyricum.

Chosrhoes *invades the* Roman *dominions.*

Antioch *besieged, taken, and laid in ashes.*

[m] PROCOP. bell. Pers. l. i. p. 265. [n] MARC. chron.

ings, even without the walls, being ſpared by the outrageous and inſulting enemy. Thus periſhed the moſt wealthy, beautiful and populous city of the eaſt. Such of the inhabitants as eſcaped the common ſlaughter, and afterwards fell into the enemy's hands, were carried into captivity, and ſold in *Perſia* to the higheſt bidder [o]. *Juſtinian*, upon the firſt news of the *Perſians* entering the *Roman* territories, had diſpatched embaſſadors to *Coſrhoes*, to put him in mind of the articles of the treaty concluded a few years before. The king alledged ſeveral frivolous pretences for the hoſtilities he had committed, in order to lay the whole blame on *Juſtinian*; but after he had waſted *Syria*, and enriched himſelf and his army with the ſpoils of that province, and its wealthy metropolis, he began to hearken to an accommodation; and accordingly a peace was concluded on the following terms: 1. That the *Romans* ſhould, within two months, pay to the *Perſian* king five thouſand pounds weight of gold, and an annual penſion of five hundred. 2. That the *Perſians* ſhould relinquiſh all claim to *Daras*, and maintain a body of troops to guard the *Caſpian* gates, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire. 3. That, upon the payment of the above-mentioned ſum *Coſrhoes* ſhould immediately withdraw his troops out of the *Roman* territories. The treaty being ſigned, and the ſtipulated ſum paid, *Coſrhoes* began to march back; but in his retreat plundered, as if the war had ſtill continued, the cities of *Apamea* and *Chalcis*; and croſſing the *Euphrates*, laid waſte *Meſopotamia*, carrying with him from thence an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives. Hereupon *Juſtinian*, now well appriſed, that with *Coſrhoes* no treaties were binding, reſolved to purſue the war with the utmoſt vigour, and with that deſign ſent for *Beliſarius*, then employed againſt the *Goths* in *Italy*, and, upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, appointed him general againſt the *Perſians*. While that brave commander was making the neceſſary preparations to take the field early in the ſpring of the enſuing year 542. the *Lazians*, no longer able to brook the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the commander of the *Roman* troops in that country, revolted to the *Perſians*, and delivered up to them all their caſtles and ſtrong-holds. *Lazica*, formerly part of *Colchis*, lay between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, and was governed by its own kings, who were under the protection of the *Roman* emperor, and received at his hands the enſigns of royalty. Their preſent king's name was *Gubazes*, who had ſerved the *Romans* with great fidelity, and continued attached to their intereſt, till *Joannes Tzibus*, commander of the *Roman* troops quartered in his dominions to awe the neighbouring *Iberians*, by erecting a fort, as a curb upon the *Lazians*, and exacting exorbitant contributions for the payment of his ſoldiers, forced, in a manner, both the prince and his ſubjects, tho' otherwiſe well affected to the empire, to have recourſe to the king of *Perſia*, who, upon the firſt invitation, entered their country, and being aſſiſted by the natives, drove out the *Romans*, and placed every-where *Perſian* gariſons in their room [q]. In the mean time *Beliſarius*, not appriſed of the revolt of the *Lazians*, entered *Perſia* at the head of a powerful army; and having made himſelf maſter of a ſtrong-hold called *Siſibranum*, laid waſte *Aſſyria*; but was obliged, by the violent heats, and the diſtempers that began to rage in his army, to return, before the end of the ſummer, into the *Roman* dominions. *Coſrhoes* was no ſooner informed of the invaſion of *Beliſarius*, than quitting *Lazica*, he haſtened into *Aſſyria*; but being informed on his march, that the *Romans* were retired, he put his army into winter quarters, and withdrew to *Cteſiphon* [r]. The ſpring following, he invaded anew the *Roman* territories, bending his march through *Comagena*, with a deſign to enter *Paleſtine*, and enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of that fertile and wealthy province. *Beliſarius*, who was returned to *Conſtantinople*, upon the firſt news of this invaſion, flew to *Europus* on the *Euphrates*, and there drew together what forces he could ſome time after *Coſrhoes* had paſſed that river; which ſo alarmed the *Perſian* king, dreading an enemy at his back, that he thought it adviſeable to drop his intended expedition into *Paleſtine*, and return to his own dominions, before *Beliſarius* was in a condition to cut off his retreat. The emperor being ſoon after obliged to recal *Beliſarius*, and ſend him into *Italy*, where the *Goths* had gained great advantages over the *Romans* as we ſhall relate hereafter, *Coſrhoes* reſolved once more to invade the *Roman* territories, notwithſtanding the dreadful plague that raged in *Perſia*, being encouraged thereunto by the magi, and by a ſhameful overthrow of thirty thouſand

A peace concluded with the king of Perſia,

Who nevertheleſs ravages Meſopotamia.

The Lazians *revolt to the* Perſians.

Beliſarius *enters* Perſia, *and ravages* Aſſyria.

Coſrhoes *attempts to invade* Paleſtine.

But, dreading Beliſarius, *drops that enterprize.*

[o] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. ii. c. 12. Evagr, Agath. ibid. [p] Procop. l. ii. c. 2. [q] Idem ibid. & 15, 29. [r] Idem ibid.

thouſand *Romans*, who, attempting to break into *Perſarmenia*, had been defeated by four thouſand *Perſians*. Upon this ſucceſs he invaded *Meſopotamia*, and ſat down before *Edeſſa*; but not being able to maſter the place, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he agreed to raiſe the ſiege, and ſoon after concluded a truce for five years, upon the emperor's paying him two thouſand pounds weight of gold, and ſending him a celebrated phyſician, by name *Tribanus*, who had formerly cured him of a dangerous diſtemper [r]. Not long after the concluſion of the truce, *Coſrhoes*, obſerving the *Lazians* no-ways pleaſed with their late change, and apprehending they would ſoon revolt from him to the *Romans*, reſolved to prevent a ſecond revolution, by cauſing *Gubazes* their king to be murdered, by tranſplanting the natives into *Perſia*, and peopling the country, which opened him a paſſage into the *Euxine* ſea, with *Perſians*, and other nations well affected to his intereſt. But his deſign being diſcovered to *Gubazes*, by thoſe who were to put it in execution, that prince had recourſe, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner imaginable, to *Juſtinian*, who, forgetting his paſt conduct, received him anew under his protection, and, without loſs of time, diſpatched eight thouſand men, under the command of *Dagiſtæus*, to his aſſiſtance, who being joined by a numerous body of *Lazians*, laid ſiege to *Petra*, one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Lazica*, defended by a *Perſian* gariſon, and ſtored with all manner of proviſions. *Coſrhoes*, alarmed at this ſudden revolution, ſent a powerful army, under the conduct of *Mermeroes*, to the relief of the place. At their approach, *Dagiſtæus*, who was a young unexperienced officer, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmoſt conſternation towards the *Phaſis*. Upon his retreat, *Mermeroes* advanced to *Petra*, the gariſon of which place, conſiſting at firſt of fifteen hundred men, was now reduced to three hundred and fifty, of whom an hundred and fifty were quite diſabled, and unfit for ſervice. *Mermoroes* repaired with great expedition the breaches in the walls, gariſoned the place with three thouſand men, and returned with the reſt of his army into *Perſarmenia*, not thinking it ſafe to continue in *Lazica*, whither, he was informed, freſh forces were marching, under the conduct of *Recithangus*, by birth a *Thracian*, who had ſerved in the army from his childhood, and was deemed one of the beſt commanders of his age. At his departure, he left a body of five thouſand men encamped on the banks of the *Phaſis*, to watch the motions of the *Romans* and *Lazians*. Of these *Gubazes* and *Dagiſtæus* ſurpriſed one thouſand, as they were ſtraggling about in queſt of booty; and having cut them all off to a man, fell unexpectedly in the dead of the night upon the main body, put moſt of them to the ſword, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. The *Romans* made themſelves maſters of their camp, in which, beſides their enſigns and baggage, they found a great quantity of arms, and a conſiderable number of mules and horſes. They purſued the fugitives to the confines of *Iberia*, intercepted ſeveral other parties that were conveying proviſions into *Petra*; and having blocked up all the avenues leading to the place, returned with their booty and captives. *Coſrhoes* was no ſooner informed of this overthrow, than he diſpatched *Corianes*, with an army of *Alans* as well as *Perſians*, into *Lazica*. But *Corianes* was attended with no better ſucceſs than the other *Perſian* generals; for being met on the banks of the *Hippus* in *Colchis* by *Gubazes* and *Dagiſtæus*, his army was, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, utterly defeated, and he himſelf ſlain [s]. Theſe advantages were chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of *Gubazes*, at whoſe requeſt *Dagiſtæus*, who had ſhamefully abandoned the ſiege of *Petra*, as we have related above, was recalled, and *Beſſas*, an officer of great experience, appointed to command in his room. He immediately inveſted *Petra*, and in the end reduced that important place, tho' defended by the *Perſian* gariſon with ſuch obſtinacy, as favoured of madneſs and deſpair. *Beſſas* ordered *Petra* to be diſmantled; and leaving only twelve thouſand men in *Lazica*, viz. three thouſand in *Archæopolis* the metropolis, and nine thouſand encamped on the banks of the *Phaſis*, under the command of *Odonachus*, he retired with the reſt into *Armenia*, his own government. Upon his retreat, *Mermeroes* entred *Lazica*; and having firſt obliged *Odonachus* to withdraw into the *Roman* territories, he laid ſiege to *Archæopolis*, which however he was forced to raiſe, having, in ſeveral aſſaults, been repulſed with great loſs by the gariſon. Notwithſtanding theſe hoſtilities, the *Perſian* embaſſadors, who had been ſent to *Conſtantinople* the preceding year, continued ſtill there, and ſoon after the reduction of *Petra*, concluded a five years truce with the emperor, upon

The Lazians *revolt to the* Romans.

The Romans *obliged to raiſe the ſiege of* Petra.

The Perſians *put to flight.*

The Perſians *utterly defeated.*

Petra *taken by the* Romans.

A truce between the Romans and Perſians.

[r] Procop. l. ii. c. 12. Evagr. l. iv. c. 27. [s] Idem, l. iv. c. 25, 26. Procop. l. ii. c. 18.

a upon his paying to the *Perſian* king an immenſe ſum, which raiſed great complaints among the people, who were rather for purſuing the war, than ſubmitting to pay a tribute, as they ſtyled it, to the king of *Perſia* [t]. But *Juſtinian* was glad to come to any agreement with the *Perſians* upon any terms, that he might not be diverted from purſuing the advantages he had gained over the *Goths* in *Italy*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. The truce was no ſooner expired, than the *Perſians*, invading anew *Lazica*, took by ſtratagem the ſtrong caſtle of *Telepſis*; and then falling upon the *Roman* army, which lay encamped at a ſmall diſtance, put them to flight at the firſt onſet. *Gubazes*, king of *Lazica*, provoked at the cowardice of the *Roman* generals, acquainted the emperor with their ſhameful behaviour; which incenſed b them to ſuch a degree, that they agreed to diſpatch him: and accordingly, having accuſed him at court of treachery, as if he privately correſponded with the *Perſians*, by wreſting the inſtructions ſent them by the emperor, they murdered him, giving out, that he deſigned to betray them, and deliver all the *Romans* into the hands of the *Perſians*. The *Lazicans*, highly incenſed againſt the authors of his death, would have revolted from the *Romans*, and joined the *Perſians*, had not *Juſtinian* appeaſed them, by cauſing all thoſe, who were any-ways acceſſory to the murder, to be publicly executed, and the deceaſed king's brother to be immediately proclaimed in his room. In the mean time the *Perſians*, to the number of ſixty thouſand men, advanced, under the command of *Nachoragan*, into *Lazica*, and laid ſiege to *Phaſis*, but *Juſtin*, who commanded the *Roman* troops, falling upon him unexpectedly, cut twelve thou- c ſand of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt, with their general, to ſave themſelves within the *Perſian* dominions. This defeat ſo diſheartened *Coſrhoes*, that he immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* to ſue for a peace; which was accordingly concluded upon terms equally honourable to both princes [u]. The public rejoycings for the peace with *Perſia*, after ſuch a long and deſtructive war, were diſturbed by a dreadful earthquake, which continued for ſeveral days, and overturned a great many ſtately edifices, and ſeveral churches, in which periſhed an incredible number of people, who had crowded to them during the public confuſion. About the ſame time the plague, which had raged a few years before with great fury all over the empire, broke out anew at *Conſtantinople*, and ſwept off many thouſands of people. d The ſame year 558. the *Hunns*, paſſing the *Danube* in the depth of winter, marched in two bodies directly for *Conſtantinople*, and laying waſte the countries through which they paſſed, came, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of the city. But *Beliſarius*, tho' now weakened by old age to ſuch a degree, that he was ſcarce able to hold a ſhield, or brandiſh a ſword, marching out againſt them with a handful of men, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them [w]. However, the emperor, to prevent them from breaking anew into the *Roman* dominions, agreed to pay them an annual penſion, upon their promiſing to defend the empire againſt all e other barbarians, and to ſerve, when required in the *Roman* armies [x]. This was the laſt exploit performed by *Beliſarius*, who upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, was diſgraced, ſtripped of all his employments, and confined to his houſe. *Agathias* aſcribes his diſgrace to the malice of his enemies at court, who, envying him the great reputation he had deſervedly acquired, and the favour he was in with the people, perſuaded the emperor, whoſe jealouſy increaſed with his years, that *Beliſarius* aſpired at the ſovereignty; that the people, who preferred him to the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity, were all to a man ready to ſecond him in his ambitious views; that the ſoldiery were ſtill more attached to him than the people, *&c.* Upon theſe malicious and groundleſs inſinuations, the emperor, forgetting the paſt ſervices of the moſt f deſerving of all his ſubjects, of one who had been the bulwark of the empire, and the reſtorer of the antient military diſcipline, recalled him, according to *Agathias*, without ſo much as ſuffering him to purſue his late victory over the *Hunns*; and upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, which he deſerved to enter in triumph, confined him to his houſe, after having, with the utmoſt ingratitude, diveſted him of all his authority, honours and employments [y]. The more modern writers pretend, that *Juſtinian* cauſed his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to ſuch poverty, that he was forced to beg from door to door in the ſtreets of *Conſtantinople*. But the antient authors aſſure us

The king of Lazica *barbarouſly murdered by the* Romans.

The Perſians *defeated.*

A Peace concluded.

The Hunns *break into* Thrace.

Are put to flight by Beliſarius.

Beliſarius *diſgraced.*

[t] Idem. l. ii. c. 17, 28, 29. [u] Idem ibid. & bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 8, 9. AGATH. l. iii. p. 81—90.
[w] AGATH. l. v. p. 155. [x] Idem, p. 156, 157. [y] AGATH. hiſt. Juſtin. c. 9.

us, that the year following, the emperor, fully convinced of his innocence, reſtored a
him to all his employments, which he enjoyed, without any farther diſgrace, to
his death. About this time, three of the emperor's chief officers, *viz. Ablavius*,
A conſpiracy againſt Juſtinian. *Marcellus*, and *Sergius*, conſpired againſt him, upon what provocation we know not;
but the plot being diſcovered by ſome perſons, whom *Ablavius* had attempted to
draw into it, the conſpirators were ſeized, before they could put their deſign in
execution. *Marcellus*, after having defended himſelf with great reſolution againſt
the officers who were ſent to arreſt him, ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword. *Abla-*
vius and *Sergius* were publicly executed, and the reſt of the conſpirators baniſhed [z].
The emperor eſcaped the conſpiracy; but did not long outlive it, being ſoon after
Juſtinian *dies.* carried off by a natural, but ſudden death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, that b
is, according to the moſt probable opinion, after he had reigned thirty-eight years,
and ſeven months. His public works, the wars which were, in his reign, carried
on with ſurpriſing ſucceſs by his two renowned generals *Beliſarius* and *Narſes*, and the
new form which he gave the *Roman* juriſprudence, have deſervedly procured him
the ſurname of *Great*. Of his public buildings, the reader will find a diſtinct account
in *Procopius*, who aſſures us, that there was ſcarce a city in his dominions, in which
he did not erect ſome ſtately edifice, nor a province, wherein he did not build or repair
ſome city, fort, or caſtle [a]. In war he recovered, and reunited to the empire, *Africa*
and *Italy*, after they had been long held, the former by the *Vandals*, and the latter by
the *Goths*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of theſe two nations. In peace he ſignalized c
His code. his reign by many excellent laws, but chiefly by the famous code, called from him
the *Juſtinian code*. In the very beginning of his reign he publiſhed an edict, directed
to the ſenate of *Conſtantinople*, for the compiling of a new code. For this work he
choſe the moſt famous and learned men of his age, at the head of whom was the cele-
brated civilian *Tribonianus*, who were to collect into one volume all the conſtitutions
contained in the *Gregorian*, *Hermogenian*, and *Theodoſian* codes, and join to them ſuch
as had been publiſhed by *Theodoſius* the younger, and the other lawful emperors his
ſucceſſors, down to *Juſtinian* himſelf. Whatever in thoſe laws ſeemed ſuperfluous
was to be retrenched, with the prefaces; their ſenſe and meaning was to be rendered
more clear, and the names of the princes who publiſhed them, the place, the time, d
and the perſons to whom they were directed, to be prefixed to each conſtitution. In
this form and method was the new code compiled in little more than a year; ſo that
it was publiſhed in the beginning of the third year of *Juſtinian*'s reign, with an edict,
commanding that code alone to be quoted by pleaders at the bar, and declaring all
laws that were not contained in it to be of no force or authority. It was divided into
twelve books, and contained the conſtitutions of fifty-four emperors, from *Adrian* to
Juſtinian; whereas the *Theodoſian* code began with *Conſtantine the Great*. *Juſtinian*,
not ſatisfied with the code alone, undertook ſoon after a more noble, and far more
difficult work, which was to collect, and digeſt into order, the opinions and anſwers
of all the celebrated civilians, their remarks and comments on the *Roman* laws, eſpe- e
cially on the *edictum perpetuum*, their different treatiſes, *&c.* in all above two thouſand
volumes. This hard and crabbed taſk was completed in the ſpace of three years by
Tribonianus and ſixteen other able civilians, and called by the *Latins digeſta*, becauſe
the opinions of the antient civilians were there digeſted into order, and by the *Greeks*
His pandects. *pandectæ*, as containing all the antient juriſprudence. When this great work was near
completed, *Juſtinian* ordered *Tribonianus*, *Theophilus* and *Dorodeus* to compile, for the
His inſtitutes. benefit of the youth, the *inſtitutes*, or firſt principles of the law, which were publiſhed
about a month before the pandects [b]. As many things were found to be wanting in
the code, and *Juſtinian* himſelf had, after the publication of it, enacted ſeveral laws, f
in the eighth year of his reign, that is, in 534. he ordered a ſecond code to be made,
in which were inſerted all the conſtitutions, about two hundred in number, which he
had enacted ſince the publication of the firſt, and ſeveral others contained in the former
code, either corrected or annulled. This ſecond code, ſtyled *de repetita prælectione*,
His code de repetita prælectione. was publiſhed five years after the firſt, and at the ſame time a decree, declaring the
firſt to be of no force, and forbidding any conſtitutions or laws to be quoted in the
courts of juſtice, that were not contained in the new code de *repetita prælectione* [c]. Thus
was the firſt code, in a manner, aboliſhed, and all authority given to the ſecond,
viz.

[z] Procop. hiſt. ſecr. 3. 13. [a] Idem, de ædif. [b] Vide Balduin. in Juſtinian. p 497.
Ritters. in jure Juſtin. in proœm. c. 1. num. 4. Edmund. Meril. ad 50 deciſ. Juſtin. [c] Baldvin.
Ritters, ibid.

viz. to that which has reached our times, divided into twelve books, and ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix articles, containing the conſtitutions of fifty-four emperors, from *Adrian* to *Juſtinian*. After the publication of the *inſtitutes*, *pandects* and *code*, *Juſtinian* enacted ſeveral laws, which were joined together in a diſtinct volume, called the *novellæ conſtitutiones*. Theſe were publiſhed from time to time by *Juſtinian*, not in the *Latin*, excepting ſome few, but in the *Greek* tongue, and collected into one volume after his death [d]. *Juſtinian* is not only commended for his indefatigable care in reforming the *Roman* juriſprudence, but for his piety, prudence, juſtice, clemency, and every virtue becoming a perſon in his high ſtation. As for the ſecret hiſtory, filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt *Juſtinian*, and the empreſs *Theodora*, it is, by the ableſt critics, looked upon as not the work of *Procopius*, but as a ſcandalous libel fathered upon that writer. It is true, he loaded the people with heavy taxes; but the money thus raiſed was neither hoarded up by him, nor applied to the gratification of any unlawful paſſion, but employed in paying his numerous forces; in carrying on the many wars in which he was engaged; in repairing the public buildings, and embelliſhing with ſtately edifices the cities of the empire. In the latter end of his reign, he ſeemed to countenance the *Eutychians*, no doubt, at the inſtigation of the empreſs *Theodora*, who held their doctrine; which has given occaſion to many bitter invectives againſt her memory. *Juſtinian* may deſervedly be called the laſt *Roman* emperor; for in his reign the majeſty of the empire ſeemed to revive, but ſoon vaniſhed again, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the preſent hiſtory.

His novellæ.

[d] Cujac. l. viii. obſ. c. ult. Balduin. Juſtin. p. 573. Ritters. in proœm. c. 4. num. 9.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Juſtinian the Great, *to the depoſing of* Irene, *and the promotion of* Nicephorus.

JUSTINIAN dying without iſſue, *Juſtin*, the ſon of his ſiſter *Vigilantia*, whom, in his life-time, he had deſigned for his ſucceſſor, was by the ſenate proclaimed emperor, and crowned, with great ſolemnity, by *John* patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. As the people were highly diſpleaſed with the deceaſed emperor, for aboliſhing the office of conſul, the only mark they had left of their antient liberty, *Juſtin* promiſed to reſtore it; and accordingly took upon him that title on the firſt of *January* of the year 566. diſtributing on that occaſion large ſums amongſt the people, according to the antient cuſtom. During his conſulſhip, the *Avari*, or *Abari*, a *Scythian* nation, ſent embaſſadors to demand the penſion formerly paid them by *Juſtinian*; but the *Maſſagetes*, who at this time began to be called *Turks*, and inhabited the country bordering on the *Tanais* to the eaſt, preſſing the emperor not to comply with the demands of the *Avari*, their declared enemies, nor take them under his protection, *Juſtin*, not only refuſed to pay them the uſual penſion, but threatened to make war upon them, if they offered to diſturb the peace of the empire. The courage and reſolution which the emperor exerted on this occaſion, gave ſo great ſatisfaction to the people, that they began to prefer him even to *Juſtinian*, who, they ſaid, had, with the ſpoils of his own ſubjects, enriched the barbarians, the avowed enemies of the empire. But *Juſtin* ſoon forfeited, by his cruelty, and inſatiable avarice, the good opinion which the people entertained of him; for the following year, he cauſed *Juſtin* his kinſman to be ſeized in his houſe, and conveyed to *Alexandria*, where he was, by his orders, inhumanly murdered, for no other crime but becauſe he was beloved by the people. The empreſs *Sophia*, niece to the late empreſs *Theodora*, a woman of a cruel, haughty and ſuſpicious temper, is thought to have put him upon this,

Juſtin *proclaimed emperor.*

He refuſes to pay the uſual penſion to the Avari.

He cauſes Juſtin *his kinſman to be murdered.*

this, and ſeveral other bloody executions [e]. The following year 569. is remarkable a
The Lombards *invade* Italy. for the irruption of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, where they founded a new kingdom, which continued for the ſpace of two hundred years, and upwards. But of their wars with *Juſtin* and his ſucceſſors, till the total reduction of *Italy*, and of the kings of the *Lombards* who reigned there, from *Alboin* to *Deſiderius*, taken priſoner by *Charlemagne*, we ſhall ſpeak at length in the following volume. *Italy* was a new diſmembered from the empire, and great part of it loſt in the reign of *Juſtin*; but ſome amends was made for ſo great a loſs by the acquiſition of *Perſarmenia*, the inhabitants, who were
The Perſarmenians *revolt to the* Romans. cruelly perſecuted by the *Perſians*, on account of the chriſtian religion, which they profeſſed, ſhaking off the yoke, and recurring to the protection of the *Roman* empe- b
ror, to whom they ſubmitted, upon certain articles ſworn to by both parties. *Coſrhoes*, informed of their revolt, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, to divert the emperor from eſpouſing their cauſe, which, he ſaid, was contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two empires. *Juſtin*, deſpiſing their menaces, reſolutely anſwered, that the truce was expired, and that he could not deny his protection and aſſiſtance to a brave nation, who, profeſſing the ſame religion with himſelf, were on
The Perſians *invade the* Roman *dominions.* that ſcore cruelly perſecuted and oppreſſed. Hereupon *Coſrhoes*, having with incre- dible expedition raiſed a powerful army, divided it into two bodies, ordering the one to march directly into *Syria*, under the conduct of *Artabanus*, while he himſelf with the other invaded *Meſopotamia*. *Juſtin* in the mean time, utterly neglecting the neceſ- c
ſary preparations to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy, wallowed in his uſual pleaſures, till news was brought him, that the *Perſians* had already broken into his dominions. He then diſpatched *Martianus*, captain of his guards, into the eaſt, but without men, money or arms; ſo that he was forced to inrol ſuch vagabonds, thieves and robbers, as offered themſelves to him in his way. With theſe however he ſurprized and put to flight a ſmall body of *Perſians*, and, elated with that advantage, however incon- ſiderable, he had the confidence to ſit down before *Niſibis*, the inhabitants, who ſcorned to ſhut their gates, rallying him from the walls, and aſking him, Whether he had been placed there with his men to watch ſheep, or beſiege the town? The emperor neverthleſs, highly incenſed againſt him for protracting, as he ſaid, the ſiege, deprived d
him of his command, and ſent one *Acacius* to ſucceed him; which ſo diſpleaſed the officers, who were well acquainted with the haughty and imperious temper of *Aca-*
The Romans *abandon the ſiege of* Niſibis. *cius*, that they abandoned the ſiege, and retired into *Syria*. In the mean time *Arta-*
The Perſians *take ſeveral places.* *banus*, having paſſed the *Euphrates*, advanced to *Antioch*; but not being able to reduce that metropolis, he ſat down before *Heraclea*, which he took by aſſault, and laid in aſhes. From *Heraclea*, he marched to *Apemea*, which ſubmitted upon terms; but was nevertheleſs by his orders pillaged and burnt. After the reduction of *Apamea*, he joined the king, who had undertaken the ſiege of *Daras*, which being now carried on with freſh vigour, the garriſon was in the end obliged to ſubmit, after having held out with great reſolution and intrepidity for the ſpace of five months. The loſs of e
Daras, a place of the utmoſt importance, and the wonderful progreſs of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, affected the emperor, now convinced of his imprudent conduct, to ſuch a degree, that he was ſeized with a kind of madneſs, which rendering him altogether
Juſtin *ſeized with a kind of madneſs.* incapable of managing the public affairs, *Tiberius*, by birth a *Thracian*, who had diſcharged, with great reputation, the firſt employments in the ſtate, was, by the advice and intereſt of the empreſs *Sophia*, with the unanimous conſent of the ſenate,
Tiberius *governs in his room.* appointed to govern in his room. *Tiberius* immediately diſpatched *Trajan*, a perſon highly eſteemed for his wiſdom and addreſs, to *Coſrhoes*, with a letter from the empreſs *Sophia*, wherein ſhe acquainted him with the misfortune that had befallen her huſband, laid before him the deplorable ſtate of the empire, and conjured him by f
all that was ſacred, to forbear inſulting a helpleſs woman, or invading a weak and defenceleſs ſtate. She ended her letter by putting him in mind of the humanity for-
The generoſity of Coſrhoes. merly ſhewn him by the emperor *Juſtinian*, who, upon his being ſeized with a dan- gerous malady, ſent the beſt phyſicians of the empire to attend him. *Coſrhoes* was ſo ſenſibly affected with this letter, that looking upon it as highly ungenerous to purſue the war, he immediately conſented to a truce for three years [f]. The following year
573. the emperor, who continued ſtill indiſpoſed, by the advice of the empreſs
Tiberius *declared* Cæſar. *Sophia*, raiſed *Tiberius* to the dignity of *Cæſar*, reſigning to him the whole manage- ment of affairs, and reſerving for himſelf the bare name of emperor. *Tiberius*'s firſt care

[e] Evagr. l. ii. c. 14. Phot. c. 113. [f] Evagr. l. v. c. 7—13. Cedren. l. iii. c. 18. Menand. c. 16.

a care was to put himſelf in a condition of making head againſt the *Perſians*, who, he apprehended, would not fail to invade the empire, at ſoon as the truce was expired. With this view he raiſed a very numerous and formidable army; but at the ſame time endeavoured, by means of his embaſſadors, to change the truce into a laſting peace, and to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between the two empires. *Coſrhoes*, deaf, to all propoſals, would not ſo much as admit the embaſſadors to his preſence, being bent upon recovering *Perſarmenia*; which accordingly he over-ran upon the expiration of the truce, committing every where unheard of cruelties, and was already marching to *Cappadocia*, with a deſign to beſiege *Cæſarea*, the metropolis of that province; but *Juſtinian*, the brother of *Juſtin*, who had been baſely murdered at b *Alexandria*, as we have related above, meeting him at the head of a numerous army, obliged him to venture an engagement, in which great numbers of his troops were cut in pieces, and the reſt forced to ſave themſelves by a precipitous and diſorderly flight. *Coſrhoes* was ſo grieved for this overthrow, that he fell ſick, and died, after a long and glorious reign of forty-eight years. *Juſtinian* in the mean time, entering *Perſia* with his victorious army, continued there, putting all to fire and ſword, till the latter end of *June*, when he returned in triumph to the *Roman* territories [g]. The following year, the emperor *Juſtin* died after having reigned ſixteen years, nine months, and ſome days. He is painted by all the writers of that age as a voluptuous prince, ſo addicted to his pleaſures, as utterly to neglect public affairs; whence the ſtate is ſaid c to have ſuffered no leſs from his inactivity and indolence, than from the tyranny and cruelty of any of his predeceſſors [h]. Upon his death, *Tiberius*, who, had for ſome years governed the empire with an abſolute ſway, was by the ſenate and people declared emperor. The new prince immediately conferred the title of *Auguſta* upon *Anaſtatia*, whom he owned for his wife, to the extreme diſappointment of *Sophia*, who, having greatly contributed to his preferment, upon a preſumption that he would marry her, grew his implacable enemy, when ſhe found him married to another, and attempted to raiſe *Juſtinian* to the empire. But the plot being ſeaſonably diſcovered, the emperor cauſed all her treaſures to be ſeized, which was the only puniſhment he inflicted upon her; and depriving *Juſtinian* of the command of the army in the eaſt, d ſent *Mauritius* to ſucceed him. *Mauritius* was deſcended from an antient *Roman* family; but born in *Arebiſſus*, a city of *Cappadocia*, had ſerved in the army from his infancy, and was no leſs eſteemed for his exemplary piety, and attachment to the orthodox faith, than for his courage and experience in war. Upon his arrival in the eaſt, he found *Hormiſda*, who had ſucceeded *Coſrhoes* in the kingdom of *Perſia*, obſtinately bent upon war, and deaf to the advantagious propoſals offered him by the emperor. Hereupon, having drawn together his forces, he marched with incredible expedition to the confines of *Perſia*, and falling unexpectedly upon the *Perſian* army, commanded by the king in perſon, gave them a total overthrow, took their camp, with all the royal plate and treaſure, which he immediately ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and made an incredible e number of priſoners, who were likewiſe ſent to the emperor, by whoſe orders they were richly cloathed, and ſuffered to return to *Perſia*, *Tiberius* hoping, by that generous behaviour, to incline the young prince to an accommodation. But *Hormiſda*, determined to purſue the war at all events, diſpatched his two generals, *Tamochoſroes* and *Aduaſmanes*, to the borders, at the head of the moſt numerous army that had been ſeen for many years in *Perſia*. *Mauritius*, however, according to the ſuccinct and confuſed account which *Evagrius* gives us of this war, gained a complete victory over them, diſperſed their numerous forces, took ſeveral caſtles, ſtrong-holds, and towns, enriched his army with an immenſe booty, and made ſuch numbers of captives, as were ſufficient to people the iſlands and countries that had been long unin- f habited, and to form armies againſt other nations at enmity with the empire [i]. Upon his return to court, he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations imaginable of eſteem and affection by *Tiberius*, who ſoon after gave him in marriage his daughter *Conſtantia*, and raiſed him to the dignity of *Cæſar*; which was declaring him his ſucceſſor [k]. In the mean time, *Hormiſda*, quite diſheartened after the great loſſes he had ſuſtained, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which was in the end concluded; but not long obſerved by that faithleſs prince, as we ſhall ſee anon. The year following the Avari or Abari, dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, made a ſudden irruption into *Pannonia*,

Coſrhoes *breaks into the* Roman *dominions.*

Is defeated; and dies of grief.

Juſtin *dies.*

Tiberius. *declared emperor.*

The empreſs Sophia *conſpires againſt him.*

The Perſians *defeated by* Mauritius.

He gains a ſecond victory, takes ſeveral places, &c.

He marries the emperor's daughter, and is declared Cæſar.

The Avari *break into the empire.*

[g] Evag. l. v. c. 17. Agath. l. iv. c. 13. [h] Paul. Diacon. de geſt. Langob. l. iii. c. 11.
[i] Evag. l. v. c. 9. [k] Zizeph. l. xviii. c. 6. Evag. ibid.

Pannonia, under the conduct of their *Chagan*, or king, and made themselves masters of a
Sirmium. *Chagan*, elated with this success, dispatched embassadors to *Constantinople* to
demand the annual pension, which the emperor had neglected to pay the year before,
and besides an immense sum by way of interest. But *Tiberias*, highly provoked at the
arrogance of the ambassadors, instead of complying with their exorbitant demands,
ordered his troops to take the field. The *Avari*, not caring to venture an engagement,
retired beyond the *Danube*, watching an opportunity of invading anew the *Roman*
territories [l]. The year following, that is, according to the most probable opinion
Tiberius *dies.* in 586, died the emperor *Tiberius*, after having reigned four years alone, and three
years and eleven months with *Justin*. All the antients speaks of him as a prince of
extraordinary abilities, and one who proved a true father to his people. Some time b
Mauritius *succeeds him.* before his death, he had caused *Mauritius* to be declared emperor, in the presence
of *John* the patriarch of *Constantinople*, of all the nobility, and the chief citizens,
as a person the best qualified in the whole empire for that high station. *Hormisda*,
king of *Persia*, no sooner heard of the death of *Tiberius*, than he broke into the
empire at the head of a numerous and powerful army, pretending that the peace
he had lately concluded with *Tiberius* was no longer binding. Against him the em-
peror dispatched one *John* a *Thracian*, who at first gained some small advantages
over the enemy; but being soon after defeated, he was recalled, and *Philippicus*, who
had married the emperor's sister, sent in his room. The new general was attended
with better success; for having engaged the *Persians*, who, encouraged by the pre- c
The Persians *defeated by* Philippicus. dictions of their magi, and confiding in their numbers, advanced to the battle as to a
certain triumph, he obliged them to retire with great loss to their camp. The next
morning the *Persians* renewed the fight, but were again defeated with a far greater
loss than they had sustained the day before. After this victory, *Philippicus* detached
Heraclius, his lieutenant, with part of his army, ordering them to enter and lay waste
the enemy's country. The *Persian* general, named from his office *Cardariga*, being
informed by some deserters that the *Roman* army was divided, rallied his forces;
Who is defeated by him in his turn. and falling in the dead of the night upon *Philippicus*, put him to flight, and took
a great number of prisoners. *Heraclius*, in the mean time, having passed the *Tigris*,
laid waste the country far and wide, made himself master of several strong-holds, d
and then returned loaded with booty, to *Philippicus*, who was drawing all his forces
together with a design to retrieve the reputation of the *Roman* arms with some remark-
able exploit. But in the mean time, the emperor, being informed of his late mis-
conduct, ordered him to resign the command of the army to *Priscus*, and return to
Constantinople. *Priscus* was an officer of great courage and experience; but as he
was universally abhorred by the soldiery, on account of his severity and imperious
A general mutiny in the Roman *army.* temper, a few days after his arrival, they rose up in a general mutiny against him,
plundered his tent, and would have cut him in pieces, had he not saved himself by
a timely flight, and taken refuge in the neighbouring city of *Edessa*. Upon his retreat
the mutineers obliged *Germanus*, governor of *Phœnicia*, to take upon him the com- e
mand of the army, which he had not held long, before the emperor, informed of the
mutiny, sent *Philippicus* again into the east to bring them back to their duty. *Ger-*
manus was for resigning the command to him; but the mutinous soldiery openly
declaring they would obey no other leader, he was forced, both against his own will
and the emperor's, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, to continue in the post to
which they had raised him. In the mean time, the *Persians*, taking advantage of
these disturbances, broke into the empire, destroying every thing with fire and sword.
The Persians *defeated by* Germanus. But *Germanus*, marching against them, engaged them, according to *Evagrius*, with
such success, that scarce one was left alive to carry the news of their defeat into *Per-*
sia [m]. Not long after this victory, the mutiny was at length appeased, after it had
lasted a year and upwards, by *Gregory*, bishop of *Antioch*, a person greatly beloved
and revered by the soldiery for the sanctity of his life, and the kindness he had on
The mutiny appeased by Gregory, *bishop of* Antioch. several occasions shewed them. Moved by his tears and eloquence, they submitted
in the end to *Philippicus*, who, after having published a general act of oblivion,
marched without loss of time against the *Persians*, whom he defeated in a pitched
battle, in which the general himself, by name *Marazas*, and almost the whole army,
were cut in pieces, only two thousand two hundred of so great a multitude having
escaped the general slaughter [n]. The same year, the city of *Antioch* was once more
almost

[l] Menand. c. 23 Theophyl. Simocat. c. 3. [m] Evagr. ibid. Theophylact. c. 8, 9. [n] Evagr. ibid. Theophylact. c. 10, 15.

a almoſt utterly deſtroyed by a dreadful earthquake, in which above thirty thouſand perſons were either buried under the ruins, or ſwallowed up by the earth °. The following year 588. *Sittas*, one of the citizens of *Martyropolis*, having betrayed that important place to the *Perſians*, *Philippicus* early in the ſpring laid ſiege to it; but not being able to reduce it, he was recalled, and *Commentiolus* appointed to command in his room, who falling upon the *Perſians* ſoon after his arrival, gained a complete victory over them, made himſelf maſter of a caſtle called *Ochas*, built on a high rock over-againſt *Martyropolis*, and from thence ſo annoyed the gariſon with his warlike engines, that they were in the end obliged to ſubmit, and deliver up the place. *Hormiſda*, aſcribing the bad ſucceſs of his arms to the cowardice of his general,

The Perſians *defeated by* Commentiolus.

b by name *Barames*, deprived him of his command, ſending him at the ſame time the habit of a woman, as more becoming him than the military attire. *Barames*, to revenge this affront, conſpired againſt *Hormiſda*, who was univerſally hated on account of his cruelty; and having eaſily gained over the greater part of the army, and amongſt the reſt *Ferrochanes*, who had been ſent to command in his room, he fell upon the king with the other conſpirators, and pulling him down from his throne, tore the diadem from off his head, and conveyed him under a ſtrong guard to the public priſon. The next day the nobility, whom he had provoked with his cruelties, ordered his wife, and one of his ſons, to be ſawed aſunder in his preſence; and then putting out his eyes, they threw him into a dungeon, where he was treated

Hormiſda, *king of* Perſia, *depoſed and* Coſrhoes, *his ſon, raiſed to the throne.*

c with great humanity by his eldeſt ſon *Coſrhoes*, whom the rebels had raiſed to the throne. But the depoſed king, not able to bear ſo great a change, inſtead of acknowledging the kindneſs ſhewn him by his ſon, who dared not releaſe him, trampled under foot whatever was ſent him; which provoked *Coſrhoes* to ſuch a degree, that in the tranſport of his paſſion he cauſed him to be beaten to death. Though the *Perſians* abhorred *Hormiſda*, yet the averſion they conceived againſt *Coſrhoes*, on account of this unnatural murder, was ſo great, that the nobility, people, and ſoldiery, conſpiring againſt him, drove him from the throne, and obliged him to take refuge in the *Roman* dominions. *Mauritius*, touched with compaſſion, and reflecting on the uncertainty of all human grandeur, received him at *Conſtantinople* with all

Coſrhoes, *driven out, is reſtored by* Mauritius.

d poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, entertained him in a manner ſuitable to his condition, and having preſented him with immenſe ſums, ſent him back at the head of a powerful army, which, entering *Perſia*, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, obliged *Barames*, their ringleader, to take refuge amongſt the neighbouring barbarians, and, reſtoring the baniſhed prince to the throne of his anceſtors, returned in triumph to the *Roman* territories P. Upon the reſtoration of *Coſrhoes*, a profound peace enſued in the eaſt, ſo that the emperor was at leiſure to purſue the war againſt the *Avari*, who, paſſing the *Danube*, had entered *Thrace*, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſtrong-holds in that province. *Mauritius* marched againſt them in perſon at the head of the army lately returned from the eaſt; but after ſeveral bat-

The Avari *invade the empire.*

e tles fought with dubious ſucceſs, he was in the end obliged to purchaſe a peace, which, however, the king of the *Avari* did not long obſerve: for entering into an alliance with the *Gepidæ*, the *Sclavi*, and other neighbouring barbarians, he returned the following year, bragging that he would utterly aboliſh the *Roman* name, and eſtabliſh a new empire over all people and nations. After he laid waſte *Thrace*, he approached *Conſtantinople* with his numerous army; which ſtruck ſuch terror into the inhabitants, that they were for quitting *Europe*, and retiring with their families and effects to *Chalcedon*, and other places in *Aſia*. But the emperor, unmoved at the impending ſtorm, prevailed upon them not to abandon their native country to the fury of the barbarians, aſſuring them, that heaven would not ſuffer

f the peace, which *Chaghan* had confirmed with the moſt ſolemn oaths, to be thus violated with impunity. The citizens, encouraged by the words and example of the pious prince, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: but at this juncture their preparations proved unneceſſary; for a violent plague breaking out in the enemy's camp, ſwept off daily great numbers of them, and amongſt the reſt ſeven of *Chagan*'s ſons; which ſo terrified the barbarians, that they reſolved to abandon the *Roman* territories, and return beyond the *Danube*. *Chaghan*, when upon the point of departing, offered to ſet at liberty the *Roman* captives, of whom he had twelve thouſand, for a very inconſiderable ſum a head. But the emperor refuſing to ran-

Obliged by a plague to return to their own country.

ſom

° Evagr. l. iii. c. 10.

P Niceph. l. ii. c. 4. Evagr. ibid.

Mauritius *disobliges the people and soldiery.*

som them, because they had been for the most part concerned in the mutiny, which happened in the beginning of his reign, *Chagan*, transported with rage, put them all to the sword. This occasioned a mutiny in the army, and a great tumult at *Constantinople*, where the populace insulted the emperor in a most outrageous manner [q]. The following year, the *Avari*, under the conduct of their warlike king, renewed their ravages, but were in five successive battles overthrown by *Priscus*, with the loss of above thirty thousand men, and obliged to quit the *Roman* dominions. *Priscus* returned to *Constantinople*; but *Peter*, the emperor's brother, who commanded an army on the *Danube*, was ordered to cross that river, and winter in the enemy's country. This order the soldiers, who had conceived an irreconcileable aversion to *Mauritius* ever since he refused to ransom the captives, would by no means comply with, looking upon it as given on purpose to expose them to new hardships. Hereupon a general mutiny ensuing, they declared a centurion, by name *Phocas*, emperor, bestowing upon him, with repeated acclamations, the title of *Augustus*. News of the revolt of the army, and the promotion of *Phocas*, being brought to *Constantinople*, the populace, ever fond of change, rose against *Mauritius*, who finding himself abandoned by his guards, embarqued on a small vessel with his wife and children, proposing to retire in disguise to some place of safety; but being driven back by contrary winds, he took refuge in the church of the martyr *Autonomus*, about an hundred and fifty furlongs from *Constantinople*. In the mean time, *Phocas*, arriving with his army, entered the city amidst the loud acclamations of the populace, and was solemnly crowned in the church of St. *John Baptist*, with his wife *Leontia*, by the patriach, after he had promised to maintain the rights of the church, and to defend the faith of the councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. The following days he exhibited public sports, during which warm disputes arising between the two factions, *viz.* the blue and the green, *Phocas* sent his guards to appease the tumult, who having used roughly a tribune of the blue faction, those of the same party, threatening the emperor, cried out, that *Mauritius*, who would do them justice, was not yet dead. This awakened the jealousy of the tyrant, who thereupon immediately ordered *Mauritius* to be dragged from his asylum to *Chalcedon*, where, by the tyrant's orders, five of his children were first inhumanly murdered in his presence, and then he himself beheaded. He beheld the death of his children with such firmness and christian resignation, as can hardly be matched in history, frequently repeating the words of the royal prophet, *Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy judgments*; nay, he was so far from uttering any complaints, that the woman, who was charged with the care of his little children, having concealed one of them, and placed her own in his room, the emperor would not suffer this kind fraud to take place, but discovered it to the executioners. The head of the emperor and the young princes were for some days left exposed to public view, and then buried with the bodies near the tomb of St. *Mamas* [r]. Such was the end of *Mauritius*, after he had lived sixty years, and reigned sixteen years, three months and some days [s]. The tyrant, not satisfied with the death of *Mauritius*, caused *Peter* his brother, *Commentiolus*, who had the chief command of the army, *George* the son of *Philippicus*,, and *Præsentinus*, an officer of great distinction, and much attached to the family of the deceased emperor, to be inhumanly massacred. *Theodosius*, the eldest son of *Mauritius*, had been sent by his father in the beginning of the troubles to solicit succours from *Cosrhoes*, whom he had restored to the throne of his ancestors; but before the young prince reached the confines of the empire, he was seized, and executed at a place called *Leucatta*, at a small distance from *Nicæa* in *Bithynia* [t].

The army on the Danube *declare* Phocas *emperor.*

Mauritius *retires.*

Phocas *crowned emperor at* Constantinople.

Mauritius, *and five of his children put to death.*

The emperor's brother, and several others, murdered by Phocas.

Phocas, thus proclaimed and acknowledged at *Constantinople*, sent, according to custom, his own image, and that of his wife *Leontia*, to *Rome*, where they were received, in the month of *April* of the present year 603. with loud and joyful acclamations, the people there being highly incensed against *Mauritius*, on account of the cruel exactions of the exarchs, and his other ministers in *Italy*. *Gregory*, surnamed the great, then bishop of *Rome*, caused the images to be lodged in the oratory of the martyr *Cæsarius*, and wrote letters to the new emperor, congratulating him upon his advancement to the throne, which he said was effected by a particular providence to deliver the people from the innumerable calamities, and heavy oppressions, under

[q] Theophylact. l. vii. c. 1.—17. & l. viii. c. 2 Cedren. ann. Maur. 19. Zonar. p. 137. [r] Theoph. l. viii. c. 10. Niceph. l. viii. c. 41. Cedren. Zonar. ibid. l. v. c. 23. [s] Niceph. ibid. Cedrin. annal. an. Phoc. 1.

under which they had long groaned [u]. Had we no other character of *Phocas* and *Leontia*, but that which has been conveyed to us in *Gregory*'s letters, we ſhould rank him amongſt the beſt princes mentioned in hiſtory. But all other writers paint him in quite different colours; and his actions, tranſmitted to us by ſeveral hiſtorians, evidently ſpeak him a moſt cruel and blood-thirſty tyrant. He was of middling ſtature, ſays *Cedrenus* [w], deformed, and of a terrible aſpect: his hair was red, his eye-brows met, and one of his cheeks was marked with a ſcar, which, when he was in a paſſion, grew black and frightful: he was greatly addicted to wine and women, blood-thirſty, inexorable, bold in ſpeech, a ſtranger to compaſſion, in his principles a heretic. His wife *Leontia* was no better than he; in their reign there-
b fore, continues the ſame writer, the unhappy people were overwhelmed with all manner of calamities, both public and private; great numbers of people were ſwept off either by famine or peſtilence; the earth refuſed her fruits in ſeaſon; the winters were ſo ſevere, that the ſeas were frozen, and the fiſh deſtroyed. He endeavoured in the beginning of his reign to gain the affections of the people by celebrating the circenſian games with extraordinary pomp, and diſtributing on that occaſion large ſums amongſt the people; but finding that, inſtead of applauding, they reviled him as a drunkard, he ordered his guards to fall upon them, who wounded ſome, killed others, and ſeizing great numbers of them, dragged them to priſon: but the popu-
c lace riſing, ſet them at liberty, and thenceforth conceived an irreconcileable averſion to the tyrant [x]. The death of *Mauritius* was no ſooner known in the eaſt, than the celebrated *Narſes*, who at that time commanded the troops quartered on the frontiers of *Perſia*, revolted; and ſeizing on the city of *Edeſſa*, eaſily perſuaded *Coſrhoes* to join him, in order to depoſe the tyrant, and revenge the death of a prince, to whom he was indebted for his crown. *Coſrhoes*, upon the firſt invitation, entered the *Roman* territories at the head of a mighty army, and over-ran without oppoſition all *Meſopotamia*. Hereupon *Germanus* was ſent into the eaſt; but *Narſes* meeting him not far from *Edeſſa*, engaged him, and put him to flight. *Germanus* dying a few days after of a wound he received in the engagement, *Leontius*, who was ſent to ſucceed him, having, upon his arrival, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed by *Narſes*,
d was in like manner defeated, and his army diſperſed; which provoked the tyrant to ſuch a degree, that he not only recalled him, but ordered him to be led about in chains, expoſing him thus to the outrages and inſults of the populace. *Phocas*, deſpairing of ſucceſs ſo long as *Narſes* continued in the *Perſian* intereſt, left no ſtone unturned to gain him over; but after he had in the end, with the moſt ſolemn oaths, and repeated aſſurances of indemnity and favour, perſuaded him to return home, he no ſooner had him in his power, than, unmindful of his promiſes and engagements, he cauſed him to be burnt alive, to the great grief and diſſatisfaction of the *Romans*, by whom he was in a manner adored on account of the eminent ſervices he had ren-
e dered the empire, and to the no leſs ſatisfaction of the *Perſians*, who dreaded the very name of *Narſes*, and beſides were highly provoked againſt him for his having lately forſaken them [y]. Though deſtitute of ſo renowned a leader, they purſued the war with great vigour, over-ran this year all *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*; and having committed every-where enormous cruelties, returned home with an immenſe booty, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. *Phocas* finding himſelf univerſally hated by the people on account of his cruelties at home, and the advantages gained by the enemies of the empire abroad, to ſtrengthen and ſecure his authority by alliances with the nobility, in the fifth year of his reign, that is, in 607. married his daughter *Domitia* to *Priſcus*, a patrician, and captain of the guards. But in the magnificent ſhews that were exhibited on occaſion of the nuptials, the people having ſaluted
f the bride and bridegroom with the title of *Auguſti*, the jealous emperor ordered *Theophanes* and *Pamphylus*, who ſuperintended the ſports, and had expoſed the images of *Priſcus* and *Domitia*, without any evil deſign, to be beheaded in the circus; and would have likewiſe put *Priſcus* to death, had not the people interpoſed in his behalf [z]. The jealouſy of the tyrant being thus awakened, one *Peronia*, who was privy to all the ſecrets of *Conſtantina*, the widow of *Mauritius*, informed the emperor, that ſhe maintained a private correſpondence with *Germanus*, a man of great authority in the former reign, with a deſign to raiſe her ſon *Theodoſius*, whom ſhe believed ſtill

Phocas's character.

The calamities of his reign.

He is hated by the people.

Narſes *revolts.*

And defeats Germanus *ſent againſt him.*

Phocas *gains over* Narſes, *who is by his orders burnt alive.*

The emperor's cruelty.

[u] Greg. l. xi. ep. 38. miſc. hiſt. ad ann. Phoc. 3. [w] Cedren. ad Phoc. ann. 1. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Cedren. & [z] Theoph. hiſt. miſcel. l. xvii. c. 40.

ſtill living, to the empire. Hereupon *Conſtantina* was immediately ſeized, and being put to the rack, confeſſed, that *Romanus*, by rank a patrician, was privy to the conſpiracy. *Romanus* diſcovered upon the rack ſeveral others, and among the reſt *Theodorus*, prefect of the eaſt, *Helpidius*, *John*, *Ziza*, and many other perſons of great diſtinction, who were all, by the emperor's orders, put to death, together with *Romanus* and *Germanus*, the tyrant not ſparing even the daughter of the latter. As for *Conſtantina*, ſhe was carried to the place where her huſband had been put to death five years before, and there publicly execu'ed with her three daughters [a]. The jealouſy of the ſuſpicious tyrant being heightened by theſe diſcoveries, incredible multitudes of perſons of all ranks were daily dragged to priſon, which by that means was ſo crouded, that great numbers died daily ſuffocated with the ſtench and noiſomneſs of the place, till a pious matron, touched with compaſſion for the unhappy perſons detained there, yielded her houſe adjoining to it to inlarge it [b]. While *Phocas* thus raged at home, *Coſrhoes* in the eaſt laid waſte without oppoſition *Syria*, *Paleſtine* and *Phœnicia*, putting all to fire and ſword; and the following year having put to flight the troops that were ſent againſt him, he entered *Galatia*, and committing dreadful ravages both in that province, and in *Paphlagonia*, advanced as far as *Chalcedon* [c]. In the mean time *Phocas*, inſtead of protecting his people againſt an implacable and inſulting enemy, raged with greater fury than *Coſrhoes* himſelf; for this year, the ſixth of his reign, he not only put to death all thoſe who were any-ways related to *Mauritius*, but cauſed *Commentiolus*, governor of *Thrace*, and one of the beſt officers of the empire, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, to be inhumanly murdered. Theſe cruelties alarmed *Priſcus*, ſon-in-law to the tyrant, who, apprehending ſooner or later the ſame fate, reſolved by ſome means or other to provide for his own ſafety, and to rid the world of ſo great a plague. Accordingly, being informed that *Heraclius*, governor of *Africa*, was privately carrying on a conſpiracy in that province, inſtead of diſcovering it to his father-in-law, he drew over the chief men in the ſenate to the party of the conſpirators, and at the ſame time diſpatching perſons, in whom he could confide, to *Heraclius*, adviſed him to ſend, without loſs of time, his ſon *Heraclius*, and *Nicetas*, the ſon of *Gregoras* his lieutenant, with what forces he could ſpare, to ſupport the people and nobility, who were ready to revolt [d]. *Phocas*, in the mean while, not apprized of the danger that threatened him, diſpatched *Bonoſus*, whom he had lately appointed count of the eaſt, with a conſiderable army to make head againſt the *Perſians*; but while he was on his march, he received freſh letters from the emperor, injoining him to haſten to *Antioch*, where the *Jews*, riſing againſt the chriſtians, had maſſacred great numbers of them, and among the reſt *Anaſtaſius*, the celebrated patriarch of that city, whoſe dead body they had ignominiouſly dragged thro' the ſtreets, and inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner. *Bonoſus* having attempted in vain to appeaſe the tumult by fair means, fell upon the mutineers ſword in hand, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the reſt out of the city [e]. Thus was the tumult ſuppreſſed at *Antioch*; but at the ſame time far greater diſorders happened at *Conſtantinople*, where the people, reviling the emperor at the public ſhews for his cruelty, drunkenneſs and debaucheries, provoked him to a degree, that, tranſported with rage, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized, who were either beheaded on the ſpot, or by his orders thrown headlong into the ſea; which ſo enraged the reſt, that they ſet fire to the palace, and the public priſon; by which means thoſe who were detained there made their eſcape. The tyrant's own court growing at length tired of him, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by thoſe in whom he moſt confided. The chief authors of it were *Theodorus*, a *Cappadocian*, the *præfectus prætorio*, *Helpidius*, who had the care of the warlike engines, and *Anaſtaſius*, the *comes largitionum*. Theſe, with ſeveral others of great authority near his perſon, agreed to fall upon him in the hippodrome; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered by *Anaſtaſius*, the emperor ordered all thoſe who had been privy to it, *Anaſtaſius* himſelf not excepted, to be put to death [f]. *Phocas* eſcaped this danger; but the following year 610. the eighth of his reign, he was overtaken by the bloody doom he had long deſerved. For *Heraclius* the ſon of the governor of *Africa*, who bore the ſame name, taking upon him the title of emperor, and being acknowledged as ſuch

Conſtantina, with her daughters, and many others, put to death.

Syria, Paleſtine and Phœnicia over-run by the Perſians.

Priſcus conſpires againſt the emperor.

An inſurrection of the Jews at Antioch.

A tumult at Conſtantinople.

A conſpiracy againſt the emperor diſcovered.

Heraclius proclaimed emperor in Africa.

[a] Idem ibid. Nicéph. l. xviii. c. 41. [b] Glic. annal. in Conſt. mag. [c] Glic. in annal. p. 170. Theoph. hiſt. miſc. l. xvii. Cedren. in annal. Phocæ. [d] Glic. Theoph. Cedr. ibid. [e] Hiſt. miſcel. l. xvii. Ann. Phoc. 7. Cedren. ann. 7. [f] Hiſt. miſcel. an. 7. Phoc.

a ſuch by the people of *Africa*, ſailed from thence with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army on board, for *Conſtantinople*, while *Nicetas* marched thither by way of *Alexandria* and the *Pentapolis*. *Heraclius* ſteered his courſe to *Abydus*, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy by ſeveral perſons of rank, who had been baniſhed by *Phocas*. From *Abydus* he ſailed to *Conſtantinople*, where he engaged and utterly defeated the tyrant's fleet. *Phocas* took refuge in the palace; but one *Photinus*, whoſe wife he had formerly debauched, purſuing him with a party of ſoldiers, forced the gates, dragged the cowardly emperor from the throne, and having ſtripped him of the imperial robes, and cloathed him with a black veſt, carried him in chains to *Heraclius*, who commanded firſt his hands and feet, then his arms
b and privy parts, and at laſt his head, to be cut off. The remaining part of his body was delivered up to the ſoldiers, who burnt it in the forum. We are told, that *Heraclius* having reproached him with his evil adminiſtration, he anſwered with great calmneſs, *It is incumbent upon you to govern better* [g]. Such was the deſerved end of this cruel and bloody tyrant, after he had reigned ſeven years and ſome months. Upon his death, *Heraclius* was with loud acclamations proclaimed emperor; and being crowned by *Sergius*, the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, he placed the imperial crown on the head of *Fabia*, thenceforth called *Eudocia*, the daughter of *Rogatus*, an *African*, who had been formerly betrothed to him. *Heraclius* was deſcended of a noble and opulent family in *Cappadocia*, of a majeſtic aſpect, well ſkilled in the art of war,
c courageous, and able to bear the fatigues attending a military life. The people, who had long groaned under the tyrannical yoke of his predeceſſor, were highly pleaſed with the change: but their joy was ſomewhat allayed by diſmal tidings from the eaſt, where the *Perſians* made themſelves maſters of *Edeſſa* and *Apamea*, and penetrating as far as *Antioch*, cut off almoſt to a man a body of *Romans*, who attempted to ſtop them, committing every-where, without controul, moſt dreadful ravages, and unheard-of cruelties. *Heraclius*, to anſwer the expectation the world had conceived of him, cauſed new levies to be made throughout the empire, the old corps being ſo intirely exhauſted, that, of the many thouſands who had ſeven years before revolted from *Mauritius*, and declared for *Phocas*, only two ſoldiers were
d now living, the reſt being cut off, ſays *Cedrenus*, by the avenging hand of providence, for their treachery to their lawful prince [h]. The new raiſed troops were ſent into *Cappadocia* under the command of *Criſpus*, who nevertheleſs could not prevent the *Perſians* from over-running that province the following year, and making themſelves maſters of *Cæſarea*, which they ſacked, and laying waſte both that province and *Armenia*, returned home loaded with booty, and carrying with them an incredible number of captives [i]. On the third of *May* of the ſame year 611. the empreſs *Eudocia* was delivered of a ſon; but ſhe died ſoon after, and was interred with extraordinary pomp. The ſon was called *Heraclius*, and afterwards *Conſtantine the younger* [k]. *Heraclius*, not finding himſelf in a condition to reſtrain the *Perſians* by force of arms,
e diſpatched embaſſadors to *Coſrhoes*, offering to pay him a yearly penſion, and to conclude a peace upon his own terms. But *Coſrhoes*, deaf to all propoſals, ſent the next year a formidable army into *Syria*, under the conduct of *Riſmizus*, who, after having ravaged without oppoſition that country, broke into *Paleſtine*, and took the city of *Jeruſalem*, where they committed unheard of cruelties. They are ſaid to have ſold ninety thouſand chriſtians to the *Jews*, who purchaſed them not with a deſign to uſe them as ſlaves, but to vent their inveterate hatred, and implacable rage againſt the chriſtians, by racking them with all the torments cruelty itſelf could invent. *Zacharias*, the patriarch, was carried into *Perſia*, with an immenſe booty, and part of the croſs, as was believed, on which our Saviour ſuffered [l]. The ſame
f year *Heraclius* married *Martina*, his brother's daughter, and cauſed her to be crowned with the uſual pomp by *Sergius*, the patriarch of *Conſtantinople* [m]. To this inceſtuous marriage *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* aſcribe all the calamities that afterwards befel him. The following year the *Perſians* over-ran all *Egypt*, took and pillaged the city of *Alexandria*, and advancing from thence, as they met with no oppoſition, into *Africa*, laid ſiege to *Carthage*; but not being able to reduce it, they returned unmoleſted into *Perſia*, carrying with them infinite numbers of captives, and the ſpoils of the ſeveral provinces, through which they paſſed [n]. *Heraclius*, who continued all this time

Phocas, *overcome in a ſea-fight, is depoſed and put to death.*

Heraclius *proclaimed emperor.*

The Perſians *make themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities.*

Ravage Cappadocia *and* Armenia.

Over-run Egypt *and* Paleſtine, *And take* Jeruſalem.

[g] Niceph. l. xviii. c. 26. Miſcel. ann. 7. Phoc. [h] Cedren. Heracl. ann. 1. [i] Theoph. hiſt. miſcel. ann. 2. Heracl. [k] Zonar. p. 140. [l] Theoph. ad ann. Heracl. 5. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Hiſt. miſcel. l. iv. Cedren. ann. Heracl. 6. Leont. in vit. Joan. Eleemoſ.

time at *Conſtantinople*, where he created his ſon *Conſtantine Cæſar*, and gave the title of *Auguſta* to his daughter, being well appriſed, that he had not ſufficient ſtrength to make head againſt ſo formidable an enemy, ſent once more embaſſadors to *Coſrhoes*, putting him in mind of the kindneſs formerly ſhewn him by *Mauritius*, and offering to conclude a laſting peace with him upon what terms he himſelf ſhould judge reaſonable. But *Coſrhoes*, elated with his ſucceſs, and aiming at nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of the *Roman* name, returned the embaſſadors the following blaſphemous anſwer; *Let your maſter know, that I will hearken to no terms, till he has, with all his ſubjects, renounced his crucified God, and adored the ſun, the great god of the* Perſians[n]. *Heraclius*, by this impious and inſulting anſwer, awaked as it were from a lethargy, concluded a peace with the *Chagan* or king of the *Avari*; and having, with the conſent of the clergy, coined into money the gold and ſilver veſſels belonging to the churches, as the treaſury was quite drained, he raiſed a powerful army, conſiſting not only of *Romans*, but of *Huns*, *Avari*, and other barbarous nations. With theſe forces he reſolved to march in perſon againſt *Coſrhoes*; and accordingly having appointed his ſon to govern in his abſence, and under him *Sergius* the patriarch, and the patrician *Bonus*, a perſon of great wiſdom and experience, he ſet out from *Conſtantinople* the day after *Eaſter*, training on his march ſuch of his men as were raw and unexperienced. In the mean time *Saes*, the *Perſian* general, who had ravaged all *Cappadocia*, taken by ſtorm the city of *Ancyra*, and penetrated as far as *Chalcedon*, hearing that *Heraclius* was advancing with a mighty army, ſent deputies to him to invite him to an interview, which he hoped, ſaid the treacherous *Perſian*, would end in a laſting peace between the two empires. The emperor complied with his requeſt; and believing him in earneſt, ſent ſeventy perſons of diſtinction on an embaſſy to the king of *Perſia*. But theſe the *Perſian* general, with the utmoſt treachery, loaded with chains, and carried them thus bound into *Perſia*, where they were thrown into priſon, and treated with great inhumanity by *Coſrhoes*. *Saes* met with the puniſhment his treachery deſerved; for the king, highly provoked againſt him for having ſeen the *Roman* emperor, and not brought him away priſoner with the reſt, cauſed him to be flayed alive[o]. One *Sarbaras* was apppointed to command in his room, who entering *Aſia* at the head of a numerous army, made a dreadful havock in that province. *Heraclius*, in the mean time, bent his march to the confines of *Armenia*; and having put to flight a party of *Perſians*, who guarded the ſtreights leading into that province, he purſued his rout towards *Pontus*. As the year was far ſpent, the *Perſians*, imagining he deſigned to take up his winter quarters in *Pontus*, withdrew to theirs; which they had no ſooner done, than *Heraclius* broke into their territories, deſtroying all before him with fire and ſword. This ſudden irruption obliged the *Perſians* to quit *Cilitia*, which they had entered, and haſten to the defence of their own country. *Heraclius*, appriſed of their approach, drew together his men diſperſed about the country, and offered them battle, which they readily accepted, but were intirely defeated, the *Romans* remaining maſters both of their camp and baggage. The emperor being, by the ſeaſon, that was already far advanced, prevented from purſuing the advantages of this victory, put his forces into winter-quarters, and returned himſelf to *Conſtantinople*[p]. The following year *Coſrhoes* ſent early in the ſpring *Sarnabazas* or *Sarmanazaris* to lay waſte the *Roman* provinces, which obliged *Heraclius* to quit *Conſtantinople*, and haſten into the eaſt. Upon his arrival in *Armenia*, he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Coſrhoes* with new propoſals for an accommodation; which being by the *Perſian* monarch rejected with great pride and arrogance, he invaded *Perſia* anew, took ſeveral towns, which he levelled with the ground, and ravaged the country without controul. Being informed, that the king lay encamped with forty thouſand choſen men near the city of *Gazacum* or *Gazacotis*, he directed his march thither with a deſign to ſurprize him. But *Coſrhoes*, receiving timely notice of his approach, inſtead of making the neceſſary preparations to receive him, betook himſelf to a precipitous flight. Upon his retreat, the emperor entered *Gyzacum* without oppoſition, where he is ſaid by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* to have found the immenſe treaſures of *Cræſus*, king of *Lydia*, which he ſeized; and having ſecured it, with the many rich ornaments of a celebrated temple of the ſun, he ſet fire to the city, and

Coſrhoes will hearken to no terms.

Heraclius raiſes a powerful army.

He marches in perſon againſt the Perſians.

The treachery of their general.

Heraclius *invades* Perſia, *and gains a great victory.*

Puts Coſrhoes *to flight.*

Ravages the Perſian *dominions, and takes ſeveral places.*

[n] Hiſt. miſcel. l. xviii. [o] Theoph. ibid. Cedren. annal. ann. 4. [p] Niceph. in Heracl. c. 5. Theoph. & Cedren. ad ann. 15.

a and marching with all poſſible expedition in purſuit of the king, he arrived at *Thebatman*, where *Theophanes* places the above-mentioned temple; and laying waſte the countries through which he paſſed, continued his march to the frontiers of *Media*. But the ſummer being far ſpent, he thought it adviſeable to give over the purſuit. Accordingly having ſet apart three days to return public thanks for the ſucceſs of this glorious campaign, and implore the further protection of heaven, he opened the book of the goſpels, purſuant to a cuſtom which began to obtain about this time, and imagining he was injoined there to winter in *Albania*, he directed his march to that province. In his retreat the *Perſians*, deſirous of recovering the immenſe booty which he carried with him, fell often upon his rear, but were conſtantly
b repulſed with great loſs. As the weather proved very ſevere, and the captives, fifty thouſand in number, were more affected with it than the reſt, as being accuſtomed to a warmer climate, the good-natured emperor ordered them all to be releaſed without ranſom, giving them leave to return unmoleſted to their reſpective countries [q]. *An inſtance of his good nature.*

The following campaign proved no leſs ſucceſsful to the *Romans*, *Heraclius* having defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, and cut off great numbers of them, with their general *Sarablacas*, tho' the *Lazians* and other auxiliaries had ſhamefully abandoned him, and marched home. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, he took the field next year early in the ſpring; and croſſing the *Euphrates*, made himſelf maſter of *Samoſata*, and ſeveral other places. *Sarabazas*, at the head of a numerous army,
c attempted to check the progreſs of his arms, but was utterly defeated on the banks of the *Sanis*. In this laſt battle the emperor gave ſignal proofs of his conduct, and perſonal courage. After this victory, *Heraclius* took up his winter-quarters at *Sebaſtia*, placing his troops in the neighbouring towns. *Coſrhoes*, tranſported with rage on ſeeing his armies thus ſhamefully defeated, ſeized on the wealth of all the churches within his dominions, and, out of hatred to *Heraclius*, raiſed a cruel perſecution againſt the catholics, ſparing none but ſuch as embraced the doctrine of *Neſtorius*. At the ſame time by his embaſſadors, he engaged in his cauſe the *Avari*, the *Hunns*, the *Sclavonians*, and other barbarous nations, who, by invading *Thrace*, and laying ſiege to *Conſtantinople*, were to divert the emperor from purſuing the
d war in *Perſia*. *Heraclius*, appriſed of theſe negotiations, tho' carried on with great ſecrecy, divided his forces into three armies, of which one was appointed to defend the city of *Conſtantinople*; the ſecond under the conduct of *Theodorus*, the emperor's brother, was to watch the motions of *Sais*, who threatened to invade *Aſia*, while the emperor himſelf led the third into *Lazica*, in order to invade from thence the *Perſian* dominions. Purſuant to this plan, *Heraclius* advanced into *Lazica*, and being there joined by forty thouſand *Chazari*, or, as *Cedrenus* calls them, eaſtern *Turks*, he entered *Perſia* in the depth of winter; and meeting with no oppoſition, laid waſte ſeveral provinces. On the other hand the *chagan*, or king of the *Avari*, and the other barbarous nations in alliance with the king of *Perſia*, breaking into *Thrace*,
e committed dreadful ravages there, and in the end laid ſiege to *Conſtantinople*; but being in ſeveral attacks repulſed by the gariſon, and having loſt the flower of their army, they thought it adviſeable to drop the enterprize, and retire. About the ſame time *Sais*, who had under his command the flower of the *Perſian* army received a dreadful overthrow from *Theodorus*, who loſt but a very ſmall number of men. The following year 626. *Heraclius*, invading *Perſia* in the depth of winter, advanced as far as *Nineveh*, where he was met by *Razaſtes*, to whom *Coſrhoes*, diſtruſting his other generals, had committed the whole management of the war. Hereupon a battle enſuing, the *Perſians*, after an obſtinate diſpute, were put to flight, and their general himſelf ſlain, the *Romans* having loſt on that occaſion but fifty men; which
f the eccleſiaſtic writers aſcribe to the miraculous aſſiſtance of heaven. In this battle the emperor behaved with his uſual bravery, having killed three *Perſian* commanders with his own hand [r]. *Coſrhoes*, upon the news of this defeat, fled to *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and there ſhut himſelf up with his wives, children and treaſures, while *Heraclius*, having now no army to oppoſe him, made a dreadful havock of the moſt fertile provinces of the *Perſian* dominions, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. At *Diſtagerda* he found the enſigns and ſtandards, which at different times had been taken from the *Romans*, and in other places reſcued incredible numbers of *Roman* captives. In the mean time *Sarbarazes*, to divert *Heraclius* from ravaging *Perſia*, laid

He gains great advantages over the Perſians.

Coſrhoes *ſtirs up the barbarians.*

Who ſit down before Conſtantinople, *but are forced to raiſe the ſiege.*

The emperor gains other victories.

[q] Theoph. Cedren. Niceph. ibid.

[r] Idem ad ann. Heracl. 17.

laid ſiege to *Chalcedon*; but, after he had continued ſome time before the place, without being able to reduce it, *Coſrhoes* ſent private orders to *Chardarichas*, another officer to murder the general, and lead the army back into *Perſia*. But the king's letter was intercepted, and brought to the emperor's ſon at *Conſtantinople*, by whom it was immediately ſent to *Sarbarazes*, who thereupon revolted with his whole army. About the ſame time the king, being taken ill, declared his younger ſon *Merdaſa* his ſucceſſor; which *Seroes*, his eldeſt ſon no ſooner underſtood, than he joined *Chardarichas*; and being aſſiſted by the *Roman* captives, whom he ſet at liberty purſuant to the advice given him by *Heraclius*, he ſeized on his father, and loading him with chains, threw him into a dungeon, where he was inhumanly murdered with *Merdaſa*, and his other children, after he had been, by the orders of his unnatural ſon, moſt outragiouſly inſulted by all the nobility [s]. *Syroes*, thus raiſed to the throne, concluded a perpetual peace with *Heraclius*, upon terms no leſs honourable than advantagious to the empire; for he reſtored all the provinces that had been ſeized by his predeceſſor, with three hundred enſigns, and the wood which was ſuppoſed to have been part of the croſs on which our Saviour died, and had been carried by *Coſrhoes* in triumph from *Jeruſalem* into *Perſia*. He likewiſe ſet at liberty all the *Roman* captives, and among the reſt *Zacharias* patriarch of *Jeruſalem* [t]. A peace being thus concluded, *Heraclius* returned to *Conſtantinople*, which he entered in a kind of triumph, being met at ſome diſtance by his ſon *Conſtantius*, the patriarch, and almoſt all the nobility and people, who attended him to the palace with ſongs of triumph, and repeated acclamations. And truly no prince ever deſerved better of the empire; for in the ſpace of ſix years he recovered the ſeveral provinces which had been diſmembered from it by the *Perſians*, fully revenged all the indignities offered to the *Roman* name by that haughty nation, obliged their king, and his numerous armies, to fly before him, and brought the moſt potent and formidable of all the enemies of the empire to ſuch a low ebb, that they were never afterwards capable of attempting any memorable exploit. Theſe things *Heraclius* performed, though, upon his acceſſion to the empire, he found it over-run by ſeveral barbarous nations, the exchequer quite drained, the military diſcipline decayed, and the army conſiſting of raw and unexperienced levies, ſcarce deſerving the name of ſoldiers. *Heraclius*, having paſſed the winter at *Conſtantinople*, in the ſpring of the following year 628. took a progreſs to *Jeruſalem*, carrying with him that part of the croſs which had been taken by the *Perſians* fourteen years before. He entered the city in great pomp; and having returned in the chief church ſolemn thanks to the Almighty for the many ſignal victories he had been pleaſed to grant him, and for chuſing him to reſcue that ſacred pledge out of the hands of the enemies of the chriſtian name, he reſtored it with great ſolemnity to its former place. Upon this occaſion was inſtituted the feſtival of *the exhaltation of the holy croſs*, which is celebrated to this day by the church of *Rome* on the fourteenth of *September* [u]. Of the miracles that are ſaid to have happened on this occaſion, the reader will find a particular account in *Cedrenus*, and other eccleſiaſtic writers. When the ceremony was over, the emperor publiſhed an edict baniſhing all the *Jews* from *Jeruſalem*, and forbidding them under ſevere penalties, to come within three miles of the holy city. From *Jeruſalem*, *Heraclius* took a farther progreſs into the eaſtern provinces. Upon his arrival at *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, he received news of the death of *Syroes*, the new king of *Perſia*, murdered, according to ſome, by *Sarbaras*, one of his generals, according to others, by his own ſon *Adeſer*, who ſucceeded him, but was aſſaſſinated in the ſeventh month of his reign by *Barrazas*, whom the *Perſians*, a few months after, depoſed and put to death, raiſing *Barabanes*, the ſon of *Coſrhoes*, to the throne in his room. *Barabanes*, after a ſhort reign of ſeven months, was ſucceeded by *Hormiſda*, the laſt *Perſian* king of the race of *Artaxerxes*; for in his reign the *Saracens* put an end to the *Perſian* monarchy, and eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the *Arabians* in its room, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. From *Hierapolis* the emperor removed to *Edeſſa*, where he received embaſſadors from the king of *India* in the eaſt, and from *Dagobert*, king of the *Franks*, in the weſt, ſent to congratulate him on his late ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians*, and to court his friendſhip and alliance [w]. While the emperor continued at *Edeſſa*, *Athanaſius*, the

One of the Perſian *generals revolts.*

Coſrhoes *depoſed, and his ſon* Syroes *put in his room.*

Who concludes a peace with the Romans.

Heraclius *carries back the croſs to* Jeruſalem.

Perſia *conquered by the* Saracens.

[s] Theoph. hoc ann. & Cedren. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Heracl. 19.
[w] Theoph. ann. 22. Heracl. Aimoin. l. iv. c. 21.

a the patriarch of the *Jacobites*, a man of great addreſs, having inſinuated himſelf into his favour, brought him by degrees to acknowledge but one will in *Chriſt*, which created a dangerous ſchiſm in the church, and gave riſe to warm diſputes, *Heraclius* ever after maintaining it to the utmoſt of his power, and countenancing the *Monothelites*, that is, thoſe who acknowledged but one will in *Chriſt*. This hereſy however did not prove ſo prejudicial to the church as the peſtilent and impious doctrine of the impoſtor *Mohammed*, which was firſt broached in the reign of *Heraclius*, and by him ſuffered to take ſo deep a root, that his ſucceſſors were never able to ſuppreſs it. The impoſtor died this year, the twenty-firſt of the reign of *Heraclius*, and 630th of the chriſtian æra, after having reduced, with the aſſiſtance of the rab-

b ble, whom he had ſeduced, and of the *Saracens*, who had joined him, the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*, and part of *Arabia*, *Heraclius*, in the mean time neglecting the affairs of the ſtate, to promote and eſtabliſh the hereſy of the *Monothelites*, which he had lately embraced. *Mohammed*, who by a double uſurpation, had declared himſelf both the king and prophet of the *Saracens*, was ſucceeded by *Eububezer*, his kinſmán who reduced great part of *Perſia*, and breaking into *Paleſtine* in 632. laid waſte the territory of *Gaza*, after having defeated and cut in pieces the governor of that province, with all his troops. The following year *Eububezer* died, and was ſucceeded by *Haumar*, who made himſelf maſter of *Boſtra*, and ſeveral other cites of *Arabia*, and gained a complete victory over *Theodorus*, the emperor's brother, ſent

c to oppoſe him. Hereupon *Heraclius* appointed *Boanes* to command in the room of his brother, and at the ſame time diſpatched *Theodorus Sacellarius* into *Arabia*. The latter was met near *Emeſa*, by the *Saracens*, under the command of *Haumar*; but he prudently declined an engagement, being informed, that the emperor had injoined *Boanes*, who lay encamped at *Damaſcus*, to join him. In the mean time *Heraclius*, dreading the iſſue of the war, leaving *Edeſſa*, haſtened to *Jeruſalem*, and repaired from thence to *Conſtantinople*, carrying with him the croſs, and whatever elſe was of value in the city, which, he feared, would ſoon fall into the enemy's hands. The following year *Boanes* having engaged the *Saracens*, was by them intirely defeated, Heaven itſelf ſeeming to eſpouſe their cauſe; for a violent wind aroſe in the very beginning

d of the engagement, which blowing the duſt in the faces of the *Romans*, rendered them quite incapable of managing their arms; ſo that they were driven headlong into the *Jerinochta*, in which river moſt of them periſhed. After this victory they made themſelves maſters of *Damaſcus*; and advancing from thence into *Phœnicia*, reduced that province without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. *Haumar*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, took the field early next ſpring; and dividing his numerous army into two bodies, he ſent one to invade *Egypt*, and led the other in perſon againſt *Jeruſalem*. They were met upon the borders of *Egypt* by *Cyrus*, biſhop of *Alexandria*, who, by promiſing in the name of the people to pay them an annual penſion of two hundred thouſand *denarii*, prevailed upon them to ſpare the country,

e and retire. This agreement was obſerved for three years, during which the *Saracens* never offered to moleſt the *Egyptians*. But in the mean time the emperor being adviſed to break the agreement, one *Manuel*, by birth an *Armenian*, was appointed governor of *Egypt*, and ſent thither with a ſtrong body of troops; ſo that the commiſſioners from the *Saracens*, when they came at the year's end to demand the uſual penſion, were received with contempt and diſdain by the governor, who told them, that he was not a prieſt, but a *Roman* general, at the head of an army, and therefore would not ſubmit to ſuch ignominious conditions. The *Saracens*, provoked at this anſwer, flew to arms; and invading *Egypt*, put *Manuel* to flight, and made themſelves maſters of the whole country. The emperor not having ſufficient ſtrength

f to drive them out, ſent *Cyrus* to them, promiſing to ſtand to the former agreement, provided they withdrew out of *Egypt*. But the *Saracens* refuſed to quit upon any terms their new conqueſt [x]. The loſs of *Egypt*, which had continued ſubject to the empire ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*, happened in the twenty-fifth year of *Heraclius*'s reign, and 634th of the chriſtian æra. *Egypt* being thus reduced, the troops which had been employed in that expedition were by *Haumar* ſent into *Syria*; which province they conquered in the ſpace of two years, making themſelves maſters of all the ſtrong holds there, and of *Antioch* itſelf, the metropolis of the eaſt. *Haumar* in the mean time entering *Paleſtine*, marched without oppoſition to *Jeruſalem*, which city

Heraclius *embraces the doctrine of the* Monothelites.

Mohammed *preaches his doctrine.*

He reduces the cities of Mecca *and* Medina.

The Saracens *make themſelves maſters of ſeveral provinces.*

They defeat the Romans, *and take* Damaſcus.

They reduce Egypt *and* Syria.

[x] Theoph. ad ann. Heracl. 24, 25.

Jeruſalem *beſieged and taken by the* Saracens.

city he took in 636. after a two years ſiege. Thus were the moſt wealthy and beautiful provinces of the empire torn from it by the *Saracens*, an upſtart nation, hitherto looked upon with a contempt ſuitable to their original. But of them we ſhall ſpeak at length in a more proper place. *Heraclius* in the mean time, who wanted neither courage nor abilities to check the progreſs of this new enemy, was ſo taken up with unſeaſonable diſputes about religion, with public feſtivals and entertainments, that he had not time, or perhaps was unwilling, to reflect on the dangers that threatened him. The eccleſiaſtic writers look upon his ſupine and unaccountable ſecurity, as a puniſhment inflicted upon him by heaven for countenancing the *Monothelites*, and perſecuting the catholics; for, not ſatisfied with holding the doctrine of thoſe heretics himſelf, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh it in all the provinces of the empire, by the famous edict called *ectheſis*, or *expoſition*. But, before he could put this wicked deſign in execution, he died of a dropſy, which was attended with ſtrange and unaccountable ſymptoms. His death happened in the month of *May*, after he had reigned thirty years, and ſome months [y].

Heraclius *dies.*

Heraclius was ſucceeded by his ſon *Conſtantine*, who died after a ſhort reign of ſeven months, poiſoned, as was ſuppoſed, by his ſtep-mother *Martina*, to make room for her own ſon *Heracleonas*; who was accordingly proclaimed, and crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. But he had not held the empire quite ſix months, when the ſenate revolting, depoſed him; and after having cut off his noſe, and pulled out *Martina*'s tongue, ſent them both into baniſhment. *Pyrrhus*, the heretical patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, ſuppoſed to have been privy to the death of *Conſtantine*, abandoning his ſee, fled into *Africa*. The ſenate having thus delivered the empire from the uſurper *Heracleonas*, advanced *Conſtans*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, and grandſon of *Heraclius*, to the throne. The firſt years of this prince's reign are almoſt quite barren of events; for *Theophanes*, and the other *Greek* writers, only tell us, that, in his ſecond year, *Haumar* began to build a temple at *Jeruſalem*; that in his third happened an eclipſe of the ſun, and violent ſtorms in his ſixth; which were looked upon as the forerunners of more violent concuſſions: for the ſame year the *Saracens*, not ſatisfied with *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, and *Paleſtine*, broke, like a torrent into *Africa*; and having defeated the imperial prefect, by name *Gregory*, made themſelves maſters of that ſpacious and fruitful country. The following year 648. *Mahias* or *Mahuvias*, one of their captains, with a great fleet, fell upon the iſland of *Cyprus*; which he eaſily reduced, and laid in aſhes the city of *Conſtantia*. From *Cyprus* he ſailed to the iſland of *Aradus*, which he took, together with the city; and from thence ſteering his courſe to *Rhodes*, made himſelf maſter of that iſland, deſtroying the famous coloſſus of the *Sun*, one thouſand three hundred and ſixty years after it had been ſet up by *Laches* or *Chares*. It had been overturned ſixty-ſix years after it was erected, by a violent earthquake, which ſhook the whole iſland; and the *Rhodians*, pretending the prohibition of an oracle, had never attempted to erect it anew; yet looking upon the braſs as in a manner ſacred, they had never preſumed to apply it to any other uſe; but *Mahuvias* cauſed it to be broken to pieces, and ſold it to a *Jewiſh* merchant of *Emeſa*, who, with the metal, loaded nine hundred camels. While *Mahuvias* was thus employed in the iſland of *Rhodes*, his countrymen, breaking into *Armenia*, laid waſte that country far and wide, the emperor in the mean time continuing idle at *Conſtantinople*, or buſying himſelf only in matters of religion, and promoting, as his grandfather had done, the doctrine of the *Monothelites*, which he had imbibed from his infancy. His ſupine negligence, and unaccountable indolence, encouraged *Mahuvias* to make an attempt upon *Conſtantinople* itſelf. With this view he fitted out a ſtrong fleet at *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*, and would, in all likelihood, have ſucceeded, had he not been prevented by two brothers, both chriſtians, and the ſons of a *Grecian* trumpeter, who having found means to break open the public priſon, crouded with chriſtian captives, with their aſſiſtance killed the *ameras*, as the *Saracens* called him, or the governor of the place, ſet fire to the fleet, deſtroyed all the naval preparations, and then eſcaped, in a ſhip provided for that purpoſe, into the *Roman* dominions. *Mahuvias*, having with incredible expedition fitted out another fleet, ſailed to *Phœnice* in *Lycia*, where he engaged and defeated the imperial navy, commanded by *Conſtans* in perſon, who with much-ado eſcaped in diſguiſe to *Conſtantinople* [z], whence to retrieve his reputation, he marched the following year againſt the *Sclavi* or *Sclavonians*, who had ſeized on that country, which to this day,

Conſtans *declared emperor.*

Africa *conquered by the* Saracens.

And likewiſe the iſlands of Cyprus, Aradus, *and* Rhodes.

Armenia *laid waſte.*

The emperor's fleet defeated

[y] Theoph. ad ann. Heracl. 31.

[z] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 15—18.

a day is called from them *Sclavonia.* The emperor defeated them in ſeveral encounters; but not being able to drive them quite out, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he found embaſſadors from the *Saracens*, now divided among themſelves, come to ſolicit a peace; which the indolent and unwarlike prince readily granted them, yielding to them the many provinces they had ſeized, upon their paying to him and his ſucceſſors, by way of tribute, a thouſand nummi a year, with a horſe and a ſlave. The following year 659. the emperor, looking with a jealous eye upon his brother *Theodoſius*, who, on account of his virtue and integrity, was the darling of the people, cauſed him to be ordained deacon, and received the holy cup at his hands; but his fears not being yet quite appeaſed, he ordered him ſoon after to be murdered; which b he had no ſooner done, than he was ſeized with dread and terror, imagining that he ſaw his brother conſtantly ſtanding before him, with a cup of blood in his hand, commanding him to quench his inhuman thirſt. Haunted and terrified with this imagination, and the remorſe of his conſcience, he left *Conſtantinople*, where the murder had been committed, and repaired to *Sicily*, reſolving to transfer the ſeat of the empire to *Syracuſe*; but the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, appriſed of his deſign, kept in that metropolis his wife and children. From this time forward he wandered, like a ſecond *Cain*, from place to place; but his guilt purſuing him whitherſoever he went, he became an object of compaſſion even to his moſt inveterate enemies. In the mean time *Mahuvias*, who had cauſed his competitor *Hali* to be murdered, and now c reigned alone, without any regard to the late treaty, ſent his ſon *Izod* to lay waſte the *Roman* territories, who advancing as far as *Chalcedon*, and having made himſelf maſter of *Amorium*, a ſtrong city of *Phrygia*, left a gariſon in the place, and returned with an immenſe booty to his father. *Amorium* however, was ſoon after ſurpriſed, and retaken by *Andreas*, one of the emperor's officers, who put all the *Saracens* he found in the place to the ſword. During the emperors ſtay in *Sicily*, a war broke out between the *Franks* and *Lombards*; which he looking upon as a favourable opportunity of driving the latter out of *Italy*, fitted out a mighty fleet, and landing at *Tarentum*, marched directly to lay ſiege to *Beneventum*, taking *Luceria*, and ſeveral other cities belonging to the *Lombards*, in his way. But *Grimoald*, duke of *Bene-* d *ventum*, marching after a ſignal victory over the *Franks*, to the relief of the place, the emperor, raiſing the ſiege in great haſte, retired to *Naples*. Not long after, a body of twenty thouſand *Romans* was almoſt entirely cut off, with *Saburrus* their general, by *Romoald* the ſon of *Grimoald*[z]. After this defeat, the emperor, laying aſide all thoughts of diſpoſſeſſing the *Lombards* of that part of *Italy* which they held, took a progreſs to *Rome*, which he entered in great pomp, being met ſix miles from the city by *Vitalianus*, biſhop of the place, and his clergy. After he had continued twelve days in *Rome*, and cauſed the moſt remarkable rarities he found there to be removed to *Conſtantinople*, he returned to *Naples*, and from thence to *Syracuſe*, where he reſided for the ſpace of five years, oppreſſing his people with moſt enormous exactions, and e even plundering the churches of their rich ornaments, and ſacred veſſels. Having thus rendered himſelf both odious and contemptible to all his ſubjects, one *Andrew* the ſon of *Troilus*, reſolved to rid the world of ſo great a plague; and accordingly diſpatched him in the bath of *Daphne* at *Syracuſe*, by repeated blows on the head with the veſſel that was made uſe of to pour hot water upon him. Thus periſhed *Conſtans* II. in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, and 668. of the chriſtian æra. Upon his death, the people of *Syracuſe* proclaimed one *Mezizius*, by birth an *Armenian*, who had no other qualifications to recommend him to their favour but the comelineſs of his perſon. The news of his promotion no ſooner reached *Conſtantinople*, than f *Conſtantine*, the ſon of the deceaſed emperor, having, with the utmoſt expedition, equipped a fleet, ſailed to *Sicily*; and having defeated, taken, and put to death the uſurper, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged emperor in his room [a]. He muſt have continued ſome time in the weſt, ſettling the provinces that were ſtill ſubject to the empire there; for we are told by *Zonaras*, that he was, by the people of *Conſtantinople*, ſurnamed *Pogonatus*, becauſe, at his departure from thence, only a little down appeared on his chin; whereas he returned with a beard. The people of *Conſtantinople* received him, on his return from *Sicily*, with loud acclamations; but he had not been long in the city, when ſome, miſled by a ſtrange notion, that as there were three perſons in the trinity, ſo there ought to be three emperors on the throne, preſſed him to take his two brothers, *Tiberius* and *Heraclius*, for his partners in the empire.

A peace with the Saracens.

The emperor murders his brother.

The Saracens *ravage the* Roman *territories.*

The emperor's unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Lombards.

His avarice.

He is murdered

His ſon Conſtantine Pogonatus *made emperor.*

This

[z] Paul. Diac. l. iv. c. 6. [a] Theoph. annal. ad ann. Conſt. 27. Paul. Diac. l. v. prope fin.

This alarmed the young emperor, who, having got the broachers of this new doctrine into his power put them to death, and caused the noses of his two brothers to be cut off, that deformity rendering them incapable of the empire [b]. While these things passed at *Constantinople*, the *Saracens*, entering *Africa*, where the people had insulted some of their garisons committed unheard-of barbarities, and having ravaged the country returned with eighty thousand captives. The following year they made a descent upon *Sicily*, took and plundered the city of *Syracuse*, and over-ran the whole island, destroying every thing with fire and sword. They laid waste in like manner *Cilicia*; and having passed the winter at *Smyrna*, they entered *Thrace* in the month of *April* of the following year 672. and laid siege to *Constantinople* itself; but were received with such vigour and resolution by the emperor, who had already, with indefatigable pains, reformed both the court and army, that they thought it advisable to withdraw in the month of *September* to *Cyzicus*. However, the ensuing spring they renewed the siege, continuing thus to attack the city in the summer, and retire to *Cyzicus* in the winter for the space of seven years, say the *Greek* writers, though from some of them it appears, that in the fourth year of the siege, a peace was concluded between the *Romans* and *Saracens*, as we shall relate anon. In this long siege, the *Saracens* lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships consumed by sea-fire as it was called, because it burnt under water, being the invention of one *Callinicus*, a native of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. The enemy at length despairing of success, abandoned the enterprize; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the *Scyllæan* promontory. About the same time three of the emperor's lieutenants, *viz. Florus*, *Petronius*, and *Cyprianus*, gained a signal victory in *Syria* over *Saphianus* who commanded there a numerous body of *Saracens*; but lost in the engagement thirty thousand of his men [c]. These misfortunes encouraged the *Mardaites*, or *Maronites* to seize on mount *Libanus*, where they fortified themselves; and being joined by multitudes of christian captives flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount *Taurus* and *Jerusalem*, made frequent incursions into *Syria*, and so harrassed and terrified the *Saracens*, that *Mahuvias*, not thinking himself able to contend with them and the *Romans* at the same time, sent embassadors to treat of a peace with *Constantine*; which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That it should be inviolably observed by both nations for the space of thirty years: 2. That the *Saracens* should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. That that they should pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his successors three thousand pound weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many choice horses. This peace was thought as affairs then stood, very advantageous and honourable to the empire [d]. It was scarce concluded, when the *Bulgarians*, leaving their native seats on the banks of the *Volga* or *Bulga*, whence some think they took their name, advanced as far as the *Danube*, which they passed without opposition, to the number of one hundred thousand persons; and entering the territories of the empire, ravaged far and wide the countries through which they passed. The emperor sent a considerable army against them; which being put to flight by the barbarians, he chose rather to conclude a peace, by promising to pay them an annual pension, than to pursue an expensive and doubtful war. The emperor, being now diverted by no wars either foreign or domestic, laboured with indefatigable pains to establish in the church that peace and tranquility which reigned in the state. In order to this, he assembled the sixth general or œcumenical council, which was opened at *Constantinople* on the twenty-second of *November* of the year 680. In this council, the doctrine of the *Monothelites* was condemned, and by that means tranquility, in a great degree, restored to the church, the abettors of that doctrine not daring, under a prince who had so much at heart the purity of the faith, to raise disturbances, as they had done under the preceding emperors. *Constantine* enjoyed the remaining part of his reign in that peace and quiet, which his piety, justice and moderation well deserved, the *Saracens* religiously observing the treaty between them and the empire, and the *Lombards* being, by their intestine broils, diverted from extending their conquests in *Italy*. In the beginning of the year 685. he was seized with a lingering distemper, of which he died in the month of *September*, after having reigned seventeen years, and some months [e].

He was succeeded by his son *Justinian*, a youth but sixteen years old. With him *Abdelmelech*, the new prince of the *Saracens*, confirmed the peace made with the empire,

Several provinces ravaged by the Saracens.

They besiege Constantinople;

But dropt that enterprize.

Their fleet shipwrecked, and their army defeated.

They conclude a peace with the empire.

The Bulgarians *break into* Thrace.

The sixth œcumenical council.

Constantine dies.

Justinian II.

[b] Theoph. Cedren. ad hunc ann. [c] Idem ibid. ad ann. Const. 5. [d] Idem ad ann. Const. 9.
[e] Cedren. ad ann. Const. 17. Niceph. c. 3.

empire, and at the ſame time propoſed by his embaſſadors a new treaty, in virtue of
a which *Juſtinian* was to repreſs the *Maronites*, who by their frequent excurſions from mount *Libanus*, greatly harraſſed the *Saracens*; and *Abdelmelech* to pay him for this ſervice a thouſand nummi a day, a horſe, and a ſlave. To this treaty the young and unwary prince readily agreed, and immediately diſpatched *Magiſtrianus*, with a choſen body of troops, againſt the *Maronites*, whom he overcame, and put out of a condition of moleſting the *Saracens* for a long time after. In the ſecond year of his reign, he marched in perſon againſt the *Bulgarians*, who had been allowed to ſettle in *Lower Mæſia*, from them afterwards called *Bulgaria*, and without any regard to the treaty concluded with them by his father, ravaged their country, and took ſeveral of their ſtrong-holds. But the *Bulgarians*, ſoon recovering from their conſternation,
b drew together their forces; and falling upon the emperor, drove him out of their country, and obliged him to abandon the places, and reſtore the captives he had taken. He was attended with better ſucceſs againſt the *Sclavi* or *Sclavonians*, whom he defeated in ſeveral battles; which encouraged him to break the treaty he had lately concluded with the *Saracens*, tho' *Abdelmelech* had faithfully performed every thing required of him by that agreement, and did all that lay in his power to prevent a rupture. At length, finding the emperor obſtinately bent upon a war, he raiſed a powerful army, and gave the command of it to one of his generals named *Mohammed*; who cauſing the articles of the late treaty to be carried before his men on the point
c of a ſpear, met the emperor in the neighbourhood of *Sebaſtopolis*; but in the engagement that enſued, was obliged to give ground, and retire to his camp, where he muſt have periſhed with hunger, or ſubmitted to the conqueror, had he not in the mean time gained over the commander of the *Sclavi* in the emperor's ſervice; whoſe unexpected deſertion, with twenty thouſand of his men, cauſed ſuch a conſternation in the *Roman* army, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, being purſued with great ſlaughter by the enemy. The emperor with much-ado reached *Leucate*, where tranſported with rage, he cauſed the *Sclavi* or *Sclavini* who had continued with him, to the number of ten thouſand, to be cut in pieces, with their wives and children, and their bodies to be thrown into the ſea. From *Leucate* he
d returned to *Conſtantinople*, where, without betraying the leaſt concern for his late diſgrace, or attempting to reſtrain the victorious *Saracens*, by whom the abandoned provinces were harraſſed in a moſt cruel manner, and *Armenia* intirely reduced, he was wholly taken up in embelliſhing his metropolis with new buildings. Among the reſt he erected a magnificent banquetting-houſe, from him called *Juſtinianeum*, and a theatre near the palace, cauſing a church, dedicated to the virgin *Mary*, to be pulled down, to make room for it. This unchriſtian and unpopular action gained him the ill-will of the people, whoſe averſion to him was heightened by the tyrannical, arbitrary and cruel conduct of his two chief miniſters *Stephen* and *Theodotus*. The former by nation a *Perſian*, cauſed ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to be put to
e death, upon ſuſpicions altogether groundleſs; and in the end came to ſuch a pitch of arrogance, as to threaten in a moſt diſreſpectful manner *Anaſtaſia Auguſta*, the emperor's mother. *Theodotus* was by profeſſion a monk; but being by the emperor taken out of his cell, and intruſted with great power, he exceeded in cruelty *Stephen* himſelf, cauſing under various pretences, ſuch of the nobility as ſeemed to deſpiſe him, to be put to no leſs cruel than ignominious deaths. The emperor, dreading the dangerous effects of the hatred, which the people had on ſeveral occaſions ſhewn to him, and his two favourite miniſters, reſolved to be before-hand with them; and accordingly ordered *Stephen* the eunuch, and *Rufus* one of his generals, to fall upon the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* in the night-time, and maſſacre them in their houſes,
f beginning with the patriarch *Callinicus*. But this bloody and inhuman maſſacre was happily prevented in the following manner: *Leontius*, a patrician, and formerly commander of the forces in the eaſt, after he had been by the jealous emperor kept three years in priſon was at this time ſet at liberty, and appointed governor of *Greece*, with orders to embarque immediately for his government; but while he was waiting for a favourable wind, ſeveral of his friends came to viſit him, and among the reſt two monks, *Gregory* the ſuperior of a monaſtery, and *Paul*, who, as they were ſkilled in aſtronomy, ſays *Cedrenus*, had foretold him, while he lay in priſon expecting every moment his laſt doom, that he ſhould attain to the empire before his death. Theſe, upon his expoſtulating with them for having deceived him with vain pro-
g miſes, encouraged him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity to make good their prediction;

Is put to flight by the Bulgarians.

Makes war upon the Saracens.

He is defeated by them.

He renders himſelf odious to the people.

The cruelty of his miniſters.

He orders a general maſſacre,

prediction; which, they ſaid, he might eaſily do, the emperor being univerſally abhorred, both by the nobility and people, and ready to receive him as their deliverer. *Leontius* hearkned to them; and taking with him his own ſoldiers, that is, thoſe who had been appointed to attend him into *Greece*, he broke open the priſon and being joined by many others, who had been long detained there, he led them to the forum, inviting the people, as he went, to meet him in the church of St. *Sophia*; which being ſoon crouded, the patriarch appearing, cried aloud to the aſſembled multitude, *This is the day which the Lord hath made.* The people, thus animated by the patriarch proclaimed *Leontius* emperor, and haſtening to the palace, ſeized on *Juſtinian*, carried him to the circus, and there, after many other indignities, cut off his noſe, and with one voice baniſhed him to *Cherſona*. At the ſame time *Theodotus* and *Stephen* were dragged to the forum, where they were burnt alive [f]. This revolution happened in the tenth year of *Juſtinian*'s reign, and 694 of the chriſtian æra.

Juſtinian *depoſed.*

Leontius.

THE firſt year of *Leontius*'s reign, was not diſturbed by any foreign wars, or domeſtic troubles. In the ſecond *Sergius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Lazica*, betrayed that province to the *Saracens*, who the following year invaded *Africa*, made themſelves maſters of *Carthage*, and over-ran the whole country; but they were driven out by *John* the patrician, a man of great valour, and experience in war, whom the emperor had ſent againſt them. The *Saracens*, to repair the great loſſes they had ſuſtained equipped another fleet, and returning to *Africa*, obliged *John* to fly to the ſea-coaſt, where he embarqued with the troops under his command for *Conſtantinople*. But the fleet having touched at *Crete*, ſome of the chief officers, apprehending the emperor would call them to an account for thus abandoning *Africa* to the enemy, prevailed upon the ſoldiers to revolt, and proclaim *Apſimar* one of *Leontius*'s generals emperor. *Apſimar*, or, as he was afterwards called, *Tiberius*, readily accepted the imperial dignity, and ſailing without loſs of time to *Conſtantinople*, ſurpriſed the city, took *Leontius* priſoner, and having cauſed his noſe to be cut off, confined him to a monaſtery in *Dalmatia*, after he had reigned ſcarce three years [g]. *Tiberius*, thus raiſed to the empire, ſent his brother *Heraclius* into *Cappadocia*, to watch the motions of the *Saracens*. He, taking advantage of ſome diviſions that reigned among them, penetrated into *Syria* as far as *Samoſata*, waſting all before him, and returned to *Cappadocia* loaded with booty, after having put to the ſword, as we are told, no fewer than two hundred thouſand of the enemy [h]. Notwithſtanding this loſs, the *Saracens* broke into the *Roman* territories the following year, and laid ſiege to *Antaradus* in *Syria*; but not being able to maſter that place, they ſat down before *Mopſueſtia* in *Cilicia*, which they reduced and fortified. In the fourth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, *Boanes*, ſurnamed *Heptadæmon*, betrayed *Armenia* to the *Saracens*. The ſame year *Tiberius* baniſhed *Philippicus* a patrician, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, into *Cephalenia*, for relating a dream, which *Tiberius* interpreted, as portending the empire to him. The following year, the nobility of *Armenia*, taking arms againſt their new maſters, drove them out with great ſlaughter, and ſent to *Tiberius*, demanding his aſſiſtance. But in the mean time *Mohammed*, entering *Armenia* with a mighty army, recovered the country; and having got the authors of the revolt into his power, burnt them alive. Encouraged with this ſucceſs, they invaded *Cilicia* once more, under the conduct of *Nizar*; but were, to the number of ten thouſand either cut in pices by *Heraclius*, or taken priſoners, and ſent in chains to *Conſtantinople* [i]. In the mean time *Juſtinian*, the depoſed emperor, who had been confined to a monaſtery at *Cherſona*, having betrayed a great deſire of recovering his former dignity, the inhabitants of the place, dreading the indignation of *Tiberius*, and the evils attending a civil war, reſolved to prevent them, by either killing *Juſtinian*, or ſending him in chains to *Conſtantinople*; but he, ſuſpecting their deſign, fled privately to the *chagan* or king of the *Chazari*, who received him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, and gave him his ſiſter *Theodora* in marriage. But being ſoon after gained by the rich preſents and large promiſes of *Tiberius*, he undertook either to deliver up to him the unfortunate prince alive, or to ſend him his head. The deſign was revealed by one of the king's domeſtics to *Theodora*, and by her to her huſband, who thereupon fled to *Trebelis* king of the *Bulgarians*, by whom he was received with great demonſtrations of kindneſs. We are told, that being overtaken, on his flight from the country of

Leontius *depoſed, and* Apſimar *made emperor.*

The Saracens *maſters of* Africa.

200,000 Saracens *cut in pieces.*

Armenia *betrayed to the* Saracens.

Who are defeated in Cilicia.

[f] Theoph. Cedren. ann. Just. 10. Niceph. c. 4.
[g] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Leont. 3.
[h] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Tib. Apſ. 2. Niceph. c. 5.
[i] Idem ad ann. Tib. Apſ. 3, 4, 5.

a of the *Chazari*, by a violent ſtorm near the ſtreights of *Danaprium*, *Myaces*, one of his domeſtics, apprehending the veſſel to be in imminent danger, and therefore conjuring him to make a vow, that he would forgive his enemies, if it ever pleaſed Heaven to reſtore him to his throne, he anſwered ſternly, *Let God drown me this moment, if I ſpare any of them*[k]. *Trebelis* not only entertained the fugitive prince with extraordinary magnificence, but, having raiſed a powerful army, marched with him ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*, and laid ſiege to that metropolis, the inhabitants, who looked upon their city as impregnable, rallying and reviling both princes from the walls; but the third day of the ſiege, ſome *Romans* having got into the city through an aqueduct, opened the gates to the reſt; which *Tiberius* no ſooner knew, than he

b fled with his treaſures to *Apollonias*, leaving *Juſtinian* once more maſter of the imperial city and the empire. Being thus reſtored to his former dignity, he diſmiſſed *Trebelis*, loaded with rich preſents, and beſtowed upon him part of the *Roman* dominions, called afterwards *Zagoria*. Having, after a diligent ſearch, got into his power *Tiberius*, *Leontius*, by whom he had been driven out, and *Heraclius* the brother of *Tiberius*, he led the two former in triumph through the city, and carrying them to the circus, beheld the ſhews ſitting on the imperial throne, with his feet upon their necks, the inconſtant multitude repeating in the mean time that verſe of the pſalmiſt, *Thou ſhalt tread upon the lion and adder*, &c. After this inſulting pageantry, he cauſed their heads, and that of *Heraclius*, to be cut off. As for *Callinicus* the

c patriarch, he ordered his eyes to be put out, and then baniſhed him to *Rome*, that he might have the cruel mortification of depending for his ſubſiſtence upon the biſhop of that city, whoſe authority he had always oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power[l]. The emperor, having now got rid of thoſe whom he moſt dreaded, began to rage with implacable fury againſt all who had adhered to them, putting to death incredible multitudes of citizens and ſoldiers, and diſpeopleing, in the heat of his revenge, whole provinces at once. In the third year of his reſtoration, unmindful of the obligations which he owed to *Trebelis* king of the *Bulgarians*, he broke the alliance concluded with that prince, and invaded *Thrace*, at the head of a mighty army, with a deſign to recover the country he had yielded to him. But he was attended with no better

d ſucceſs than his ingratitude deſerved, his army being utterly defeated, and he himſelf obliged to make his eſcape in a light veſſel to *Conſtantinople*. The following year he equipped a mighty fleet, not with a deſign to oppoſe the *Bulgarians*, who ravaged the provinces of the empire without controul, but to be revenged on the inhabitants of *Cherſona* and the *Boſporans*, who had reſolved to diſpatch him, or deliver him up to *Tiberius*, while he lived in exile among them. On board this fleet was imbarqued a numerous army, with expreſs orders to put all the inhabitants of thoſe parts to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, of guilty or innocent. Theſe cruel orders were executed with the utmoſt barbarity; multitudes of that unhappy people were put to the ſword; ſome were by the cruel ſoldiery roaſted alive, others caſt into the ſea,

e &c. The children, however, were ſpared; which the inhuman emperor no ſooner underſtood, than, tranſported with rage, he diſpatched freſh orders to his officers, commanding them not to leave a child alive in the place. They were accordingly all maſſacred; but ſome of the leading men among the *Boſporans* having made their eſcape and taken refuge in the country of the *Chazari*, with the aſſiſtance of that neighbouring nation, they defeated in ſeveral encounters the emperor's forces; and, renouncing their allegiance to him, proclaimed *Philippicus*, the ſon of *Bardanes*, who had been baniſhed by *Tiberius* to *Cephalenia*, as we have related above, but happened to be then at *Cherſona*. The troops that were ſent againſt them by *Juſtinian*, finding they could not reduce the city of *Cherſona*, purſuant to his orders,

f and dreading the implacable humour of the tyrant, reſolved to conſult their own ſafety, by acknowledging *Philippicus*; which they did accordingly, joining thoſe againſt whom they had been ſent. *Philippicus*, thus proclaimed and ſupported by two powerful armies, marched ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*, which he entered without oppoſition, the emperor being then at *Sinope* in *Paphlagonia* with a body of *Thracians*, againſt whom *Philippicus* diſpatched *Elias* prince of the *Boſporans*; who, having gained over the *Thracians*, took the emperor priſoner, and cutting off his head, ſent it to *Philippicus*, by whoſe orders it was conveyed to *Rome*. *Tiberius*, the emperor's ſon by *Theodora*, took ſanctuary in a church; but was dragged from the altar, which he graſped,

Trebelis, *king of the* Bulgarians, *eſpouſes the cauſe of* Juſtinian.

Who is defeated.

Leontius *and* Tiberius *put to death.*

Juſtinian *defeated by the* Bulgarians.

His cruelty.

Philippicus *proclaimed emperor.*

Juſtinian *killed.*

[k] Niceph. c. 5. [l] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Tib. Apſ. 7. Niceph. ibid.

graſped, and ſlain by *Maurus* a patrician, in the preſence of *Anaſtaſia* his grand- a
mother [m]. Such was the deſerved end of *Juſtinian* II. in the eighth year after his reſtoration, and 711. of the chriſtian æra.

Philippicus.

Philippicus had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, than, openly eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Monothelites*, he ſummoned a council of biſhops, who were all infected with that hereſy, and conſequently eaſily prevailed upon to condemn and revoke all the acts of the ſixth general council. The emperor was induced to ſummon this coun-
cil by a *Monothelite* monk, who had foretold him he ſhould one day attain the empire, if *Cedrenus* is to be credited, and now promiſed him a long and happy reign, pro-
vided he aboliſhed the ſixth general council, and eſtabliſhed the doctrine of the *Mo-*
nothelites. But while *Philippicus* was thus buſying himſelf in matters relating to reli- b

The Bulgarians *break into* Thrace.

gion, the *Bulgarians*, breaking unexpectedly into *Thrace*, advanced to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*; and, having laid waſte the country, and put to the ſword an incre-
dible multitude of people, returned, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, loaded with booty. At the ſame time, the *Saracens*, invading the *Roman* territories, com-
mitted dreadful ravages, took the city of *Medæa* and ſeveral other places, and returned likewiſe unmoleſted, carrying with them great numbers of captives. Theſe calamities rendering *Philippicus* odious to the people, one *Rufus*, at the inſtigation of two patricians, *viz.* *Theodorus*, and *Georgius* commander of the troops in *Thrace*, entering the palace with a company of *Thracians*, while the emperor was repoſing after dinner, put out his eyes, and withdrew undiſcovered [n]. *Nicephorus* writes, that c

Philippicus *depoſed.*

Rufus, ſeizing the emperor, dragged him to the hippodrome, and there cauſed his eyes to be plucked out [o]. Be that as it will, the next day, being *Whitſunday*, the people, aſſembling in the great church, proclaimed *Artemius*, chief ſecretary to *Phi-*

Anaſtaſius *ſucceeds.*

lippicus, emperor; who was accordingly crowned by the patriarch [p]. *Artemius*, or, as he was afterwards called, *Anaſtaſius*, was a man of great learning, and had been from his youth employed with uncommon ſucceſs in the management of public affairs. As he was a zealous catholic, he made it his chief ſtudy to heal the diviſions of the church, without neglecting the affairs of the ſtate; for, in the very beginning of his reign, he appointed *Leo*, an *Iſaurian*, a perſon of great experience in war, commander d
in chief of all his forces, and ſent him with a powerful army to the frontiers of *Syria*, to protect *Aſia Minor* againſt the inroads of the *Saracens*. Being informed, that the *Saracens* deſigned to lay ſiege to *Conſtantinople*, he cauſed a great number of light ſhips to be built, the walls to be repaired, and having filled the public granaries, ordered ſuch of the citizens as had not laid up proviſions for three years, to depart the city. But news being brought in the mean time, that the enemy's fleet was ſailed to *Phœnicia*, he ordered his to aſſemble from the different ports of the empire at *Rhodes*, appointing *John*, deacon of the great church, his admiral. The fleet met accordingly; but the admiral puniſhing with more ſeverity than prudence ſome refra-

The ſeamen mutiny, kill their admiral, and declare Theodoſius *emperor.*

ctory ſeamen, the reſt mutinied and killed him; and being well appriſed they could by no other means avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, but by openly revolting, e
they declared *Anaſtaſius* unworthy of the empire, and obliged one *Theodoſius*, a per-
ſon of a mean extraction and then receiver of the revenue at *Adramyttium* to accept of the purple. *Anaſtaſius*, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, fled to *Nice* in *Bithynia*, leaving a ſtrong gariſon in *Conſtantinople*; which city *Theodoſius* immediately beſieged by ſea and land, and reduced, after having continued ſix months before it. He had no ſooner entered the city, than he diſpatched the magiſtrates and the patriarch to acquaint *Anaſtaſius* with what had happened, who, upon promiſe of his life, renounced all claim to the empire, and, taking the habit of a monk, delivered himſelf up to the new prince, by whom he was baniſhed to *Theſſalonica*, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor about two years [q]. But *Leo*, whom *Anaſtaſius* had appointed commander f

Leo *revolts from* Theodoſius.

in chief of all his forces, refuſing to acknowledge *Theodoſius*, drew together all the forces in the eaſt, with a deſign, as he gave out, to reſtore the depoſed emperor; but being perſuaded by *Maſalnias*, prince of the *Saracens*, to aſſume the purple, and powerfully aſſiſted by *Artavaſdes*, an *Armenian*, a man of great intereſt in that country, he marched, at the head of a conſiderable army, to *Nicomedia*, where he met, defeated, and took priſoner the ſon of *Theodoſius*, who had been ſent againſt him. From *Nico-*
media he purſued his march to *Conſtantinople*, being acknowledged emperor in all the

places

[m] Theoph. ad ann. Juſt. 8. Niceph. c. 6. c. 7. [n] Theoph. ad ann. Phil. 2. [o] Niceph. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem, c. 8. Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Anaſt. 2.

places through which he paſſed. Hereupon *Theodoſius*, finding it was in vain to contend with ſo powerful a rival, diſpatched to him *Germanus* the patriarch, and ſome of the chief men in the ſenate, offering to reſign the purple, on condition his life was ſpared. To this *Leo* readily agreed; and *Theodoſius*, diveſting himſelf of the purple, entered, with his ſon, into orders, after having reigned one year. Thus *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* [r]. But *Nicephorus* writes, that the officers of the army, finding *Theodoſius* unequal to the high ſtation to which he had been raiſed, perſuaded him to abdicate, and choſe *Leo* in his room [s]. Be that as it will, *Leo* was received with loud acclamations at *Conſtantinople*, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of *March* of the preſent year 716. by the patriarch *Germanus*, after he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to preſerve, and, to the utmoſt of his power, defend, the orthodox faith. He was a native of *Iſauria*, of a mean extraction, and had ſerved ſome time in the low ſtation of a common ſoldier, from which he was raiſed by *Juſtinian* II. and admitted on account of the tallneſs of his ſtature and comelineſs of his perſon, amongſt the *ſpatarii*, that is, the emperor's guards. *Anaſtaſius* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, which poſt he held when he aſſumed the purple. He is diſtinguiſhed from the other emperors bearing the name of *Leo* by the ſurname of *Iconomachus*, which was given him on account of his combating the worſhip of images. In the firſt year of his reign, *Maſalnias*, prince of the *Saracens*, at whoſe inſtigation he had aſſumed the purple, took by ſurprize the city of *Pergamus*; which is looked upon by the hiſtorians, as a puniſhment juſtly inflicted by Heaven upon the wicked and barbarous inhabitants, who hearing the *Saracens* were preparing to invade *Aſia*, had ripped up the belly of a woman big with child, and boiling the infant in a kettle, had dipped their right hands in the water, being perſuaded by a magician, that they would by that means become invincible, and defend their city againſt all the attempts of the enemy [t]. In the ſecond year of *Leo*'s reign, *Solyman*, one of the generals of the *Saracens*, broke into *Thrace*; but he dying, *Haumar* was appointed to command in his room, who loſt moſt of his men by the ſeverity of the winter. However, in the following ſpring he approached *Conſtantinople*, and inveſted it by land, while *Suphiam* and *Izeth*, arriving with two mighty fleets, the one from *Egypt* and the other from *Africa*, blocked it up by ſea; but moſt of their ſhips being deſtroyed, either by the artificial fire, of which we have ſpoken above, or by ſtorms, they thought it adviſeable to abandon the enterprize, and retire, after having lain before the city thirteen months, or, as others will have it, two years. The calamities, which the inhabitants ſuffered during the ſiege, can hardly be expreſſed; thirty thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed with hunger, and the like number to have been ſwept off by the plague [u]. *Haumar*, prince of the *Saracens*, highly provoked at the diſappointment of his armies and fleets before *Conſtantinople*, began to rage with great fury againſt the chriſtians in his dominions, forbidding them at firſt the exerciſe of their religion, and ſoon after commanding them, on pain of death to renounce it, and embrace the abominable ſect of *Mohammed*. Many, to avoid death, made an outward profeſſion of the religion, if we may ſo call it, of their inſulting maſters, while ſome few, notwithſtanding the ignorance and depravity of that age, maintained, with unſhaken conſtancy, the true religion, at the expence of their lives [w]. The ſame year, *Sergius*, governor of *Sicily*, revolting, declared one *Baſilius*, the ſon of *Onomagulus*, emperor, changing his name into that of *Tiberius*; but *Paul*, an officer of the houſhold, who was ſent againſt the uſurper, having got him into his power and cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, reſtored the iſland to its former tranquillity. *Sergius*, the chief author of the revolt, took refuge amongſt the *Lombards* in *Italy* [x]. The ſame year, the empreſs *Maria* was, to the unſpeakable joy of the emperor and the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, delivered of a ſon, named *Conſtantine*, and commonly nicknamed *Copronymus*, from his having defiled the ſacred font at his baptiſm. *Theophanes*, the true author of the hiſtory intituled *miſcella*, which is falſly aſcribed to *Paulus Diaconus*, tells us, that *Germanus* the patriarch foretold from that accident, that the infant would one day prove a great plague to the church [y]. The joy for the birth of the young prince was ſomewhat allayed by the approach of a numerous army of *Bulgarians*, headed by the late emperor *Anaſtaſius*, who, weary of a private life, had prevailed upon thoſe barbarians to acknowledge him for emperor, and ſupport his claim

Theodoſius *abdicates.*

Leo *crowned emperor.*

Pergamus *taken by the* Saracens.

Who beſiege Conſtantinople; *but are forced to abandon the enterprize.*

They perſecute the chriſtians.

Sergius *revolts in* Sicily; *but is cut off.*

Conſtantine Copronymus *born.*

Anaſtaſius *attempts to reſume the empire.*

[r] Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Leon. 1. [s] Niceph. c. 9. [t] Idem ibid. Theoph. Cedren. ubi ſupra. [u] Cedren. ann. Leon. 2. Beda de ſex ætat. Paul. Diacon. l. vi. c. 47. [w] Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 3. [x] Niceph. c. 10. Theoph. Cedren. ibid. [y] Hiſt. miſcel. p. 74.

claim to the crown. They laid ſiege to *Conſtantinople*, hoping, by means of the a
partizans of *Anaſtaſius*, among whom were ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, to
make themſelves ſoon maſters of the city; but meeting, contrary to their expectation,
with a vigorous oppoſition, they ſeized on the unfortunate *Anaſtaſius*, and delivered
him up to the emperor, who put him to death, with all his accomplices, among whom
was the biſhop of *Theſſalonica* z. *Leo*, having happily weathered this ſtorm, cauſed
his ſon *Conſtantine* to be ſolemnly crowned emperor, in order to ſecure the empire to
his poſterity. The ceremony was performed by the patriarch *Germanus*, on *Eaſter-*
day in 720. the fifth of *Leo*'s reign a. In the mean time the *Saracens*, under the con-
duct of their new prince *Ized*, who had ſucceeded *Haumar*, having equipped a mighty
fleet, ravaged the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*; and landing in *Sardinia*, raged there with b
unſpeakable fury, deſtroying all with fire and ſword; but being ſoon after diverted
from moleſting the empire by the inteſtine diviſions that aroſe amongſt them, another
Ized, ſurnamed *Mualabis*, having ſet up for himſelf in *Perſia*, the emperor was more
at leiſure to reform ſeveral abuſes, that had crept into the court and ſtate under the
former emperors. In the tenth year of his reign and 725. of the chriſtian æra, he
publiſhed the famous edict, commanding all images to be removed out of the churches,
and forbidding any kind of worſhip to be paid to them. This edict was, with great
vigor, oppoſed in the eaſt by *Germanus*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and *Johannes*
Damaſcenus; but *Leo*, having depoſed *Germanus* and raiſed *Anaſtaſius* to the ſee of
Conſtantinople in his room, cauſed his edict to be put in execution at *Conſtantinople*, and c
the images to be pulled down and deſtroyed by his officers throughout the city, with-
out ſparing the ſtatue of our Saviour, which had been placed above the gate of the
imperial palace by *Conſtantine the Great*. The people, ſtruck with horror in ſeeing
the images of our Saviour and his ſaints thus inſulted, and either torn in pieces, or
burnt by the emperor's officers, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and having firſt
vented their rage upon *Leo*'s ſtatues and images, flew to the palace; but being re-
pulſed and purſued with great ſlaughter by the emperor's guards, they were forced
to diſperſe and ſuffer the edict to take place. But in the weſt, eſpecially in *Italy*, it
was had in ſuch abhorrence, that the people openly revolted; which gave *Luitprand*,
king of the *Lombards*, an opportunity of ſeizing on *Ravenna* and ſeveral other cities d
of the exarchate. He was, however, ſoon after driven out by the *Venetians*, who, at
that time, made no ſmall figure in *Italy*. *Gregory* II. then pope, or biſhop, of *Rome*,
jealous of the growing power of the *Lombards*, had, by a letter to *Orſus* duke of *Venice*,
prevailed upon him to eſpouſe the intereſt of the emperor, and lead his forces againſt
Ravenna; which city he ſurprized, before *Luitprand*, who was then at *Pavia*, had the
leaſt notice or ſuſpicion of his deſign. *Gregory* had, from the very beginning, oppoſed
with great warmth the emperor's edict forbidding the worſhipping of images; and
now, preſuming upon the eminent ſervice he had rendered the empire, he wrote a
long letter to *Leo*, earneſtly intreating him to revoke it. But the emperor, well
appriſed, that *Gregory* had been prompted by his own intereſt, and not by that of e
the empire, to prevent the *Lombards* from making new conqueſts in *Italy*, was ex-
aſperated to ſuch a degree againſt him, for continuing ſtill to oppoſe his edict, that he
ſent private orders to his officers in *Italy*, eſpecially to *Paul* exarch of *Ravenna*, and
to *Mauritius*, governor, or, as he was then ſtyled, duke, of *Rome*, injoining them
to get *Gregory*, by ſome means or other, into their power, and ſend him dead or
alive to *Conſtantinople*. But the people of *Rome*, who had a great veneration for their
biſhop, diſcovering the plot, guarded him ſo carefully, that the emperor's officers
could never find an opportunity of putting their orders in execution. Three aſſaſſins
undertook to murder him; but two of them were apprehended, and put to death,
which the third eſcaped, by taking ſanctuary in a monaſtery, and there embracing a
religious life. *Gregory*, finding himſelf thus ſupported by the people of *Rome*, ſolemnly
excommunicated the exarch, for publiſhing, and attempting to put in execution, the
emperor's edict, writing at the ſame time letters to the *Venetians*, to king *Luitprand*,
to the *Lombard* dukes, and to all the cities of the empire, exhorting them to continue
ſtedfaſt in the catholic faith, and oppoſe, with all their might, the execution of the
impious, as he ſtyled it, and heretical edict. Theſe letters made ſuch an impreſſion
upon the minds of the people, that the inhabitants of *Italy*, though of different intereſts
and often at war with each other, *viz.* the people of *Rome*, the *Venetians*, and the
Lombards,

Conſtantine *crowned emperor.*

A tumult at Conſtantinople.

The people revolt in Italy.

Leo's *edict againſt images*

Gregory II. *oppoſes the emperor's edict.*

Leo *attempts upon his life.*

The exarch excommunicated.

c Niceph. c. 10. a Idem, c. 11. Theoph. Cedren. ad ann. Leon. 5.

The people of Italy *revolt:*

a *Lombards*, entering into an alliance, resolved to act in concert, and prevent, to the utmost of their power, the execution of the imperial edict. The people of *Rome* and those of the *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d' Ancona*, did not stop here; but pulling every-where down the emperor's statues, openly revolted, and refusing to acknowledge an *iconoclast*, that is, *a breaker of images*, for emperor, they chose magistrates of their own; nay, they had some thoughts of electing a new emperor, and conducting him with a strong army to *Constantinople*: but this scheme was opposed by the pope as impracticable. In *Ravenna* the people rose in defence of the images against *Paul* the exarch; and having killed him and all the iconoclasts in the city, submitted to *Luitprand* king of the *Lombards*, a cunning prince, who took care to improve to his advantage the b general discontent that reigned among the subjects of the empire. In *Naples* the people took arms against *Exhilaratus* their duke (for *Naples* was then governed by dukes sent from *Constantinople*) and murdered him, with his son *Adrian* and one of his chief officers, for pressing the inhabitants to receive the edict, and conform to the religion of their prince. However, as they hated the *Lombards*, with whom they had been almost constantly at war, they continued firm and constant in their obedience to *Leo*, and received *Peter*, who was appointed duke of *Naples* in the room of *Exhilaratus*. The people of *Rome*, finding the emperor inflexible in his design against the worship of images and the life of the pope, whom he looked upon as the chief author of all the disturbances, resolved at length to renounce their allegiance to *Leo*, and to con- *The* Romans *revolt.*
c tinue united under the pope as their head, binding themselves by a solemn oath to defend him against all the attempts both of the emperor and the *Lombards*, whom they had but too much reason to mistrust [b]. *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, and other *Greek* writers, tells us, that the *Romans*, withdrawing their obedience to *Leo*, chose pope *Gregory* for their prince, taking an oath of allegiance to him. They add, that the pope accepted of the principality, forbidding the *Romans* to pay thenceforth tribute to the emperor; that he publicly excommunicated *Leo* as an heretic, absolved his subjects from their allegiance to him, and solemnly declared him fallen from the empire. Hence, say they, had the temporal and independent dominion of the pope over *Rome* its rise, which was afterwards inlarged by *Pepin* and d *Charles the Great*, and extended to the exarchate of *Ravenna*, the *Pentapolis*, and several other cities of *Italy*. But it appears from *Paulus Diaconus*, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, *Joannes Damascenus*, who all flourished nearer those times, and in the places where the things they relate happened, nay, and from the letters of *Gregory* himself to *Leo*, that he acknowledged him for his lawful sovereign as long as he lived, as did likewise *Gregory* III. his successor [c]. The *Latin* writers take no notice of *Gregory*'s excommunicating and deposing the emperor, or absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance; but only tell us, that when *Leo* deposed the patriarch *Germanus* and appointed *Anastasius* in his room, *Gregory* excommunicated the latter; and rebuking the emperor by letters, earnestly intreated him not to abuse the power with which he e had been trusted, to introduce innovations in the church [d]. However, the authority of the *Greek* historians has been preferred to that of the *Latins*, by all the protestant, and most of the *Roman* catholic, writers; but with very different views. The protestants followed them, that they might thence take occasion to make a comparison between our saviour and the pope. When the multitude, say they, offered to make our Saviour king, he rejected their offers, saying, *My kingdom is not of this world*: when the *Romans* offered the principality to *Gregory*, he readily accepted it, and from *the servant of servants* became the lord and master. Our Saviour expressly commanded tribute to be paid to *Cæsar*: the pope would suffer no more tribute to be paid to *Leo* his lawful sovereign, *&c.* [e] On the other hand, the *Roman* catholics, by standing to what the *Greeks* write, think they can defend the pope from all usurpation, and establish his temporal power and jurisdiction upon a better and more plausible foundation, *viz.* the unanimous consent of the people, conferring upon him, freely and without constraint, the principality [f]; not reflecting, that those, who thus chose him for their prince, had revolted from their lawful sovereign; and consequently that *Gregory*, by accepting the principality, became guilty both of rebellion and usurpation. But from what we shall relate in the history of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, it will plainly

And chuse the pope for their head.

The rise of the temporal dominion of the pope.

Ravenna *submits to the* Lombards.

The inhabitants of Naples *kill their duke or governor:*

[b] Anast. in Greg. II. Paul. Diac. l. vi. Sigon. ad ann. 725, 726. Epist. 1 & 2 Greg. ad Leon. [c] Anast. Bibl. in Greg. II. Greg. II. in epist. 1. ad Leon. & Greg. III. epist. 3. ad Bonifac. [d] Vide Anastas. ad ann. 658. [e] Vide Spanh. contra Maimburg. in histor. imag. p. 52. [f] Giannetas. hist. Neap. l. v. p. 94.

plainly appear, that the pope did not acquire the ſovereignty of *Rome* at this time, but a many years after; nay, that his temporal dominion had not its riſe in *Rome*, but in the exarchate of *Ravenna* and the *Pentapolis*, which were taken by the celebrated *Pepin* from *Aſtulphus* king of the *Lombards*, and given to pope *Stephen*, whom ſome call the ſecond, others the third, of that name. As for the ſovereignty of *Rome*, the popes did not enjoy it, as we ſhall demonſtrate in a more proper place, till the year 876. when it was yielded to the apoſtolic ſee, as it began then to be called, by *Charles* ſurnamed the *Bald*. But to return to *Leo*: He was wholly taken up, during the remaining part of his long reign, in ſuppreſſing the worſhip of images throughout his dominions, and raging with great cruelty againſt thoſe, who refuſed to comply with his edict; while the *Saracens*, breaking into the eaſtern provinces, laid them waſte b without controul, carrying yearly back with them an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives. In the ſeventeenth year of his reign and 732. of the chriſtian æra, he married his ſon *Conſtantine* to the daughter of the king of the *Chazari*, after ſhe had been inſtructed in the principles of the chriſtian religion, and received at her baptiſm the name of *Irene*, a word ſignifying in the *Greek* tongue *peace*. The ſame year, the emperor cauſed a mighty fleet to be equipped, with a deſign to chaſtize and bring back to their duty the *Romans* and other people of *Italy*, who had revolted on occaſion of the edict againſt images; but, the fleet being ſhipwrecked in the *Adriatic* ſea, *Leo* could by no other means be revenged on the pope, who continued to oppoſe the execution of his edict, than by cauſing the revenues of the *Roman* ſee in *Calabria* c and *Sicily* to be confiſcated [g]. In the laſt year of *Leo*'s reign, a dreadful earthquake happened at *Conſtantinople*, which overturned many churches, monaſteries, and private houſes, burying great numbers of people under the ruins. Not long after *Leo* died, having reigned twenty-five years, two months, and twenty days, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Conſtantine*, who no ſooner ſaw himſelf ſole maſter of the empire, than he led an army againſt the *Saracens*, who had made an irruption into *Aſia*. In his abſence *Artabazdus*, who had married his ſiſter, gave out, that he was dead; and being thereupon acknowledged by the people and proclaimed emperor, he cauſed the ſons of *Conſtantine* to be ſecured; but as he was well appriſed, that the report he had induſtriouſly ſpread of *Conſtantine*'s death would be ſoon contradicted, he began to conſult with the patriarch *Anaſtaſius*, by what other means he might keep the people ſteady d in their allegiance to him. *Anaſtaſius* had been a zealous iconoclaſt in the late reign; but to curry favour with *Artabazdus*, who had a great veneration for images, and to eſtrange the minds of the people from *Conſtantine*, he aſſembled them in the great church, and holding in his hand the wood of the holy croſs, he took the following oath: *By him who died upon this wood, I ſwear, That* Conſtantine *one day addreſſed me with theſe words; I do not believe him to be the ſon of God, who was born of* Mary, *and is called Chriſt, but a mere man; for* Mary *was delivered of him after the ſame manner, as* Mary *my mother was delivered of me.* This depoſition of the patriarch, whether true or falſe we cannot take upon us to determine, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the multitude, that they immediately depoſed *Conſtantine* with one conſent, and, e with repeated acclamations, ſaluted *Artabazdus* again emperor, who took *Nicephorus* his eldeſt ſon for his partner in the empire [h]. This gave riſe to a civil war, the greateſt, ſays *Cedrenus*, perhaps not without ſome exaggeration, that had happened ſince the beginning of the world. But all we know of it is, that *Artabazdus* and his ſon *Nicephorus*, being defeated by *Conſtantine* in ſeveral encounters, were in the end beſieged in *Conſtantinople*; which city held out, till the inhabitants were forced by famine to ſubmit. *Artabazdus* and his two ſons were taken and delivered up to the emperor, who cauſed their eyes to be pulled out, gave the city up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, and either baniſhed, maimed, or put to death all thoſe who had been any-ways concerned in the revolt. *Anaſtaſius* the patriarch was, by the emperor's orders, publicly beaten with rods, and then carried in an ignominions manner through the moſt frequented ſtreets of the city on an aſs, with his face to the tail. However, the time-ſerving prelate was continued in his ſee, becauſe the emperor could not find a worſe, ſays *Theophanes*, to prefer to it in his room [i]. *Conſtantine*, having thus god rid of his enemies at home, reſolved to march once more againſt the *Saracens*, who were at war among themſelves. Accordingly, having raiſed a powerful army, he entered *Syria*; and having overthrown the enemy in ſeveral encounters, made himſelf maſter of

Conſtantine *married to* Irene.

Leo's *fleet ſhipwrecked.*

Leo *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Conſtantine Capronymus.

Artabazdus *revolts;*

But is defeated, and Conſtantinople *taken by* Conſtantine.

[g] Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 17. [h] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 1. [i] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 3.

of *Germanicia* and ſome other ſtrong-holds, which had been long in their hands. The *Saracens*, notwithſtanding their demeſtic quarrels, to divert the emperor from purſuing his conqueſts in *Syria*, aſſembled a mighty fleet, which ſteered its courſe to the iſland of *Cyprus*, where it was to be joined by other ſhips of war and a great number of tranſports with land-forces on board. But the *Roman* fleet coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were riding at anchor in one of the ports of that iſland, deſtroyed the whole navy, except three ſhips, which they ſuffered to eſcape with the news of ſo great a calamity [k]. However, the emperor was diverted from purſuing the advantages that might have thence accrued to the empire, by the frequent earthquakes that happened about this time, and were by far the moſt deſtructive that had been known in any age. In *Syria* and *Paleſtine* ſeveral cities were ſwallowed up, others intirely ruined, and ſome, if we may give credit to *Nicephorus*, removed, without any conſiderable damage, ſix miles and upwards from their former ſeats. At the ſame time, happened an extraordinary darkneſs, which laſted from the fourth of *Auguſt* to the firſt of *October*, there being little or no diſtinction, during that time, between day and night [l]. This calamity was followed by another ſtill more terrible, *viz.* a plague, which, breaking out in *Calabria*, ſoon ſpread all over *Sicily*, *Greece*, the iſlands in the *Ægean* ſea, and at length reached *Conſtantinople*, where it raged for three years together with ſuch fury, that the living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the dead [m]. The plague no ſooner ceaſed, than *Conſtantine*, having cauſed his ſon *Leo*, then ſcarce a year old, to be proclaimed emperor, marched with what forces he could draw together into *Armenia*, and, taking advantage of the diviſions that ſtill reigned among the *Saracens*, made himſelf maſter of *Miletene*, *Theodoſiopolis*, and ſeveral other places. But he was diverted from purſuing his conqueſts in the eaſt, by a ſudden irruption of the *Bulgarians*, who, provoked at the emperor's cauſing ſome forts to be built on the frontiers of *Thrace*, broke into that province, and, advancing as far as the long wall, laid waſte the whole country. *Conſtantine*, having recalled his forces out of the eaſt, marched againſt them in perſon; but being ſurpriſed by the enemy in a narrow paſſage called *Beragaba*, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by flight to *Conſtantinople* [n]. Soon after his return to that metropolis, he renewed the edict publiſhed by his father againſt images, forbidding at the ſame time any worſhip to be paid to the ſaints, or their relics, and commanding their images to be removed out of the churches, and publicly burnt. Such of the biſhops as oppoſed the execution of this edict, were driven from their ſees; and the monks, who preached againſt either, ſent into baniſhment, or ſentenced to death. At the ſame time, an edict was publiſhed in *Conſtantinople*, and in all the cities of the empire, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, any one to embrace a monaſtic life; nay, at *Conſtantinople* moſt of the religious houſes were ſuppreſſed, and the monks not only obliged to marry, but to lead their brides publicly through the ſtreets. But of this perſecution the reader will find a more particular and diſtinct account in the eccleſiaſtic writers, than it may be proper for us to give in this place [o]. The twenty-third year of *Conſtantine*'s reign and 763. of the chriſtian æra is remarkable for an extraordinary froſt, which began on the firſt of *October*, and laſted till the latter end of *Febrnary*. At *Conſtantinople* both ſeas were frozen for an hundred miles from the ſhore, the ice being ſo thick as to bear the heavieſt carriages, and covered with ſnow twenty cubits deep. When the froſt broke, mountains of ice and frozen ſnow being driven by the winds through the ſtreights, did a great deal of damage to the walls and the caſtle of *Conſtantinople*. The reader will find a ſurpriſing account of this froſt in *Theophanes*, who, with thirty others, paſſed the ſtreights upon one of theſe floating iſlands, as he ſtyles it [p]. The month following, ſeveral prodigies appeared, or were thought to appear, in the air. At the ſame time, a comet, which the *Greeks* called *docites*, becauſe it reſembled *a beam*, was ſeen for ten days in the eaſt, whence it moved to the weſt, and ſhone there for one-and-twenty days more, the people being ſtruck with terror and amazement at the ſight of theſe prodigies, and apprehending the laſt day to be at hand. *Conſtantine* in the mean time continued to perſecute with great ſeverity thoſe who appeared moſt zealous and forward in the worſhip of images, till he was diverted by a new irruption of the *Bulgarians*; who, breaking into the terrirories of the empire, committed every-where unheard-of cruelties. But *Conſtantine* marching in perſon againſt

Conſtantine recovers ſeveral places from the Saracens.

Deſtroys their fleet.

Dreadful earthquakes.

A violent plague.

Conſtantine *defeated by the* Bulgarians.

He perſecutes the worſhippers of images

A ſurpriſing froſt.

Several prodigies.

[k] Niceph. in Conſt. c. 13. [l] Idem ibid. Theoph. ad ann. Conſt. 6. Cedren ibid. [m] Niceph. Theoph. Cedren. ibid. Theoph. ad ann. Conſt. 19. [o] Vide Theoph. Cedren. &c. ad ann. Conſt. 19—23. [p] Vide Theoph. ad ann. Conſt. 23, 24.

Conſtantine *defeats the* Bulgarians.

Is deluded by their king.

againſt them, cut them all off to a man, and then returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*. This the emperor ſtyled his *noble war*, becauſe not one chriſtin periſhed in it. However, he owed the victory, it ſeems, to the treachery of ſome *Bulgarians*, whom *Elerich* their king diſcovered by the following device: He wrote to *Conſtantine*, pretending a deſire to reſign the crown, and lead a private life at *Conſtantinople*; for which purpoſe he begged the emperor to ſend him a ſafe conduct, and at the ſame time to acquaint him what friends he had among the *Bulgarians*, that he might repair with them to *Conſtantinople*, being unwilling to truſt his perſon or deſign to others. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, not ſuſpecting any deceit, ſent him a liſt of the names of thoſe who held intelligence with him; which the crafty prince no ſooner received, than he cauſed them all to be put to death. The emperor, finding himſelf thus deluded, reſolved at all events to be revenged on the treacherous prince; and accordingly, having ſpent the winter in warlike preparations, he marched early in the ſpring againſt *Elerich*; but being ſeized on his march with a violent fever, he returned to *Achadiopolis*, whence he was conveyed to *Selymbria*, and from thence by ſea to *Strongylum*, where he dyed on the fourteenth of *September* of the year 775. after he had reigned twenty-four years, two months, and twenty-ſix days[g]. As *Conſtantine* was a moſt zealous iconoclaſt, and did all that lay in his power to ſuppreſs the worſhip of the ſaints, their images, and relics, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, and the other writers of thoſe times, paint him in the blackeſt colours, biaſſed in ſome meaſure, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, by paſſion, intereſt, and prejudice. However, ſtanding even to the accounts of his declared enemies, we muſt allow him to have been a prince of great temperance and moderation, well ſkilled in war, and in every reſpect equal to the high ſtation to which he was raiſed. As for the great ſeverity which he exerted againſt ſuch as continued, in defiance of his decree, to worſhip images, it was, no doubt, owing to his zeal for the purity of the chriſtian religion. After all, his ſeverity againſt the worſhippers of images did not exceed that of other emperors, highly commended by all chriſtian writers, againſt the worſhippers of idols. He defended the empire with equal bravery and ſucceſs againſt the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*; but was not in a condition to prevent the loſs of the far greater part of his dominions in *Italy*, *Aſtulphus*, king of the *Lombards*, having reduced in 751. the city and exarchate of *Ravenna* with the *Pentapolis*, which were ſoon after wreſted from him by *Pepin* king of *France*, and given to pope *Stephen* III. and hence ſprung the temporal dominion of the pope in *Italy*, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. The exarchate of *Ravenna* comprehended *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Ceſena*, *Bobbio*, *Ferrara*, *Commachio*, *Adria*, *Ceavia*, and *Secchia*; the *Pentapolis*, now *Marca d' Ancona*, compriſed *Rimini*, *Peſaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Sinogaglia*, *Ancona*, *Oſimo*, *Umana*, *Jeſi*, *Foſſombrone*, *Montefeltro*, *Urbino*, *Cagli*, *Luceoli*, and *Eugubio*, as appears from the grant of *Lewis the Pious*, confirming the donation of *Pepin*. The pope, thus enriched with large territories and dominions, would no longer be deemed a ſubject of the empire; but adding the ſovereignty to the prieſthood, and the ſceptre to the keys, he created a new principality in *Italy* on the ruins of the eaſtern empire, to which nothing now remained in that country, except the provinces of *Calabria* and *Brutium*, with the dukedoms of *Naples*, *Amalfi*, and *Gaeta*. But of the ſtate of *Italy* at this time, and the great revolutions that happened there, we ſhall ſpeak at length in the hiſtory of the *Lombards*.

He marches againſt them; but dies.

His character

The exarchate and Pentapolis *given to the pope.*

Leo III.

Conſtantine was ſucceeded in the empire by his ſon *Leo*, who, ſoon after his acceſſion, took his ſon *Conſtantine*, whom he had by *Irene*, for his partner in the empire, cauſing him to be ſolemnly crowned by the patriarch in the hippodrome, and beſtowing at the ſame time the title of *nobiliſſimi* on his two brothers, *Anthemius* and *Eudoxius*, *Nicephorus*, his ſecond brother, having received that honour in his father's life-time[h]. *Conſtantine* was crowned in the latter end of *April* of the year 776. and the following month *Nicephorus*, *Leo*'s brother, formed a conſpiracy againſt the emperor and his ſon; but the plot being diſcovered, he was apprehended, and baniſhed with his accomplices to to *Cherſona*. The ſame year *Elerich*, king of the *Bulgarians*, who had done great miſchief to the empire in the preceding reign, moved with an earneſt deſire of embracing the chriſtian religion, reſigned his crown and repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received by *Leo* with extraordinary demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and, after he had received the ſacrament of baptiſm, created a patrician, and married

Elerich, *king of the* Bulgarians, *embraces the chriſtian religion.*

[g] Theoph. Cedrn. ad ann. Coaſt. 25.

[h] Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 1.

a married to a relation of the empreſs *Irene* [i]. In the third year of *Leo*'s reign, ſome advantages were gained by the emperor's forces over the *Saracens*, who, by way of revenge, began to perſecute the chriſtians in a moſt cruel manner, cauſing all their churches in *Syria* to be pulled down and levelled with the ground. The following year, *Leo*, who had hitherto diſſembled his real ſentiments concerning the worſhip of images, openly declared againſt that ſuperſtitious, as he ſtyled it, and idolatrous practice, reviving the edicts of his father and grandfather, and puniſhing, with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſuch as preſumed to pay any kind of worſhip to the ſaints, the virgin *Mary*, or their images. Having found two images in the cloſet of the empreſs *Irene*, he never after admitted her to his bed, and cauſed thoſe who had conveyed them to b her to be racked to death [k]. He did not long outlive them, being ſoon after ſeized with a violent fever, of which he died on the ſixteenth of *September* 780. after having reigned five years and ten days. *Theophanes* writes, that *Leo*, having taken out of the great church a crown, which had been depoſited there by the emperor *Heraclius*, and was enriched with carbuncles of an ineſtimable value, while he was one day wearing it, a carbuncle broke out on his head, and he was at the ſame time ſeized with a fever, which, by a juſt judgment, ſoon put an end to his life [l].

Leo *an enemy to images.*

Leo was ſucceeded by his ſon *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed *Porphyrogenitus*, becauſe he was born while his father was emperor; but, as he was then only ten years old, his mother *Irene* took upon her the adminiſtration. The young prince had ſcarce reigned c forty days, when ſome of the ſenators and great officers conſpired againſt him, with a deſign to prefer his uncle *Nicephorus* to the imperial dignity; but *Irene*, having ſeaſonably diſcovered the plot, cauſed the chief authors of it to be ſeized, and confined to different iſlands, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. Awakened by this danger, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, ſhe obliged all the late emperor's brothers to take holy orders, and adminiſter the ſacrament to the people on *Chriſtmas-day*, when ſhe and her ſon reſtored to the church the crown of *Heraclius*, which *Leo* had ſeized. The ſame year 780. the *Saracens*, upon the news of *Leo*'s death, broke into the eaſtern provinces; but were driven back with great loſs by the troops, which *Irene* had, upon the firſt notice of their motions, diſpatched againſt d them [m]. The following year, the empreſs, to procure a ſtrong alliance by the marriage of her ſon, ſent embaſſadors into *France*, to propoſe a match between him and the daughter of *Charles* king of that country, who was afterwards ſurnamed the *Great*, and crowned emperor of the weſt. The propoſal being well received by *Charles*, an eunuch, by name *Eliſæus*, was left at his court to teach his daughter, named *Rotdrudris*, the *Greek* tongue, and inſtruct her in the manners and cuſtoms of the *Greeks* [n]. The ſame year, *Helpidius* governor of *Sicily* revolted; but was driven out of the iſland by *Theodorus* a patrician, whom *Irene* had ſent with a powerful fleet againſt him, and obliged to take refuge among the *Saracens* in *Africa*, who, acknowledging him for emperor in oppoſition to *Conſtantine*, fell with ſuch fury upon the eaſtern provinces, e that *Irene* was glad to avert the danger that threatened the empire, by obliging herſelf to pay them an annual penſion [o]. The peace with the *Saracens* was ſcarce concluded, when the *Sclavi* or *Sclavini*, breaking into *Greece* and *Peloponneſus*, ſeized on thoſe countries. Againſt them the empreſs diſpatched *Saturacius* a patrician, who overcame them in ſeveral battles; but ſuffered them to continue in the countries they had ſeized, upon their promiſing to acknowledge the authority of the empire, by the payment of an annual tribute. In 788. the match between *Conſtantine* and *Rotdrudris*, which had been approved of by both parties, was broken off by *Irene*, who obliged her ſon, much againſt his inclination, to marry a woman of a mean deſcent, named *Mary*, by birth an *Armenian* or *Paphlagonian*, and the niece or daughter of one *Philaretus*, f remarkable for his good nature and charitable diſpoſition. Some aſcribe the breaking off of the match with *Rotdrudris* to the ambition of *Irene*, apprehending, that *Conſtantine* would no longer be governed by her, but by his father-in-law. Others tell us, that the empreſs was provoked againſt *Charles*, on account of his invading the dukedom of *Benevento* in *Italy*, which ſhe had taken under her protection. Be that as it will, the conduct of the empreſs on that occaſion diſobliged her ſon to ſuch a degree, that he was never after truly reconciled to her. The young prince's courtiers, appriſed of the miſunderſtanding that paſſed between him and his mother, and deſirous of

Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus *and* Irene.

A conſpiracy diſcovered, and the conſpirators puniſhed.

Helpidius *revolts.*

An annual penſion paid to the Saracens.

Miſunderſtanding between Conſtantine *and* Irene.

[i] Idem ad ann. 2. [k] Idem ad ann. 5. Cedren. in comp. annal. [l] Theoph. ibid.
[m] Idem ad ann. Conſt. 1. [n] Idem ad ann. 2. [o] Idem ibid.

of getting the power into their own hands, took care to put him in mind, that he a
was no longer a minor, but of an age to govern without the directions or counsels of
a woman. *Constantine* hearkening to their insinuations, they resolved to seize on
Saturacius, who governed with an absolute sway, as *Irene*'s first minister, and, after
having banished him, to oblige the empress to resign the administration. But *Satu-*
racius, having notice of their design as soon as it was concerted, immediately imparted
it to *Irene*, who caused all those who had been privy to it to be beaten with rods
and sent into banishment. As for her son, she chastized him with her own hands,
and, having confined him to his apartment, obliged the senate and soldiery to bind
themselves by a solemn oath not to acknowledge *Constantine*, but her alone, for their
sovereign, so long as she lived. This oath was taken by all the forces quartered in b
the different provinces, except some legions in *Armenia*, who resolutely declared they
would adhere to *Constantine*, pursuant to the oath which they had already taken. The
resolution of the *Armenian* legions encouraged the rest, notwithstanding their late
oath to proclaim *Constantine* anew, and demand, with unanimous consent, that he
might be forthwith vested with the whole power and authority. *Irene*, dreading the
fury of the incensed multitude, immediately released her son from his confinement,
who, being received with the repeated acclamations of the citizens and soldiery, took
the reins of the empire into his own hands. *Constantine*, now at liberty to act with-
out controul, recalled and advanced to the first employments such as had been c
banished on his account, sending into exile *Saturacius* and his mother's other favour-
ites, after they had been publicly beaten with rods. As for *Irene*, he led her with
great respect out of the palace, and attended her in person to a house built by herself,
in which she had laid up an immense treasure [p]. The same year 790, a dreadful fire
happened at *Constantinople*, which consumed great part of the city, with the patriarch's
palace, in which were the comments of St. *Chrysostom* on the scripture, written with
his own hand. The following year, the city was alarmed with a violent earthquake,
which obliged the inhabitants to quit their habitations and retire to the open fields [q].
The same year, the emperor marched at the head of a considerable army against the
Bulgarians, who had broken into the empire, and engaged them in *Thrace*; but with d
what success, is uncertain: for *Cedrenus* writes, that he gained a great victory; but
Zonaras will have the two armies to have parted upon equal terms. Upon his return
to *Constantinople*, the friends of *Irene*, what by extolling her wisdom, prudence, and
experience in public affairs, what by intreaties and arguments drawn from filial duty,
prevailed upon him to recal his mother to court, and restore her to her former autho-
rity; which, however, the *Armenian* legions could never be induced to acknowledge.
Being thus reconciled to his mother, he marched anew against the *Bulgarians*,
encouraged thereunto by some mathematicians, who promised him certain victory;
but while, depending upon their vain predictions, he neglected the proper means to
obtain it, the *Bulgarians*, taking advantage of his ill-grounded security, gave him a e
dreadful overthrow. Besides a great number of common soldiers, the best officers of
the army and the most considerable men in the empire lost their lives in the battle,
with *Pancratius* the mathematician, who, by his lying predictions, had given occa-
sion to the overthrow [s]. The emperor growing jealous and distrustful upon this
defeat, some malicious and designing courtiers took care to improve that disposition,
by insinuating to him, that the soldiers quartered in *Constantinople* had formed a design
of preferring *Nicephorus* to the empire; which heightened his jealousy to such a degree,
as he was conscious to himself of his evil conduct, that he not only caused his eyes to
be put out, but those likewise of his other uncles, *Nicetas*, *Anthemius*, and *Eudoxius*,
though nothing had been alledged against them. *Alexius Mosoles*, whom the *Armenian*
legions had demanded for their leader, when they refused to consent to the restoration f
of *Irene*, was, at her instigation, treated with the like severity; which so provoked
those legions, that they refused to obey *Camilianus*, appointed by the emperor to com-
mand them. Hereupon *Constantianus*, *Artaseras*, and *Chrysochires* were sent against
them at the head of a strong party; but the mutinous legions, having defeated and
taken them prisoners, caused, by way of retaliation, their eyes to be pulled out;
which so provoked *Constantine*, that he marched against them in person; and having
defeated them in a pitched battle, put all their officers to death, causing the com-
mon

Irene obliges the senate and soldiery to take an oath of allegiance to her.

Constantine deprives her of the administration.

The emperor defeated by the Bulgarians.

His cruelty.

The Armenian legions broken and dispersed.

[p] Idem, & Cedren. ad ann. Const. 10. [q] Idem ad ann. 10, 11. [r] Idem ad ann. Const. fol. 2.
[s] Idem ibid.

mon ſoldiers to be led in chains to *Conſtantinople*, and conveyed from thence into different iſlands [t]. The *Armenian* legions, who had always ſuſpected and been ready to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of *Irene*, being thus broken and diſperſed, ſhe began to put the emperor, now deſtitute of that ſupport, upon ſuch meaſures, as, ſhe thought, would render him odious to the people. As he had no great affection for the empreſs *Mary*, whom ſhe had forced him to marry, contrary to his inclination, ſhe adviſed him to divorce her, and marry *Theodota* or *Theodecta*, one of the maids of her chamber; who was accordingly crowned empreſs at *Conſtantinople*, where the nuptials were ſolemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence for three days together. This marriage occaſioned great conteſts among the clergy concerning the lawfulneſs of it, in which *Irene* artfully ſided with thoſe who oppoſed her ſon, encouraging them underhand to eſtrange the minds of the people from him. However, the ſucceſs which attended his arms againſt the *Saracens* and *Bulgarians*, prevented the people from revolting, tho' privately ſtirred up, by *Irene* and her emiſſaries, to depoſe him. The *Saracens* had broken into *Cilicia*; but were driven back with great loſs by the troops which *Conſtantine* ſeaſonably diſpatched againſt them. As for the *Bulgarians*, *Cardames* their king having ſent embaſſadors to demand a tribute, threatening to come as far as the golden gate of *Conſtantinople*, and there take it by force, if it was refuſed him, *Conſtantine* replied, that ſince he was ſtricken in years, he would ſave him the trouble of ſo long a journey, by coming in perſon to wait upon him. Accordingly he marched againſt him at the head of a conſiderable army; upon the ſight of which the barbarians, ſtruck with a parnic, fled in the utmoſt conſternation. Upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, he attended his mother from thence to the baths of *Pruſa* in *Bithynia*, where he had not been long, when news was brought him, that the empreſs *Theodota* was delivered of a ſon; at which he was ſo overjoyed, that he returned in great haſte to *Conſtantinople*. *Irene*, taking advantage of his abſence, gained over the chief officers of the army, who promiſed to depoſe *Conſtantine*, and commit the government to her alone. Purſuant to this promiſe, ſome of them, returning to *Conſtantinople*, ſeized on the unhappy prince, and carrying him to the palace of *Porphyra*, where he was born, pulled out his eyes in ſuch a cruel and barbarous manner, that he died a few days after in the utmoſt agony, having reigned ſeven years alone, and ten with his mother [u]. Our hiſtorian obſerves, that five years before his uncles loſt their eyes by his orders, on the ſame day of the ſame month, and in the ſame chamber [w]. *Nicephorus* and *Chriſtopher*, her huſband's brothers, hearing of the death of *Conſtantine*, took ſanctuary in the great church; but were dragged from thence and baniſhed to *Athens*, where they are ſaid to have been killed by the inhabitants, upon their attempting to raiſe diſturbances in the empire. In them ended the family of *Leo Iſauricus*; ſo that no one was now left to diſpute with *Irene* her title to the empire. She no ſooner received intelligence of the death of her ſon, than, leaving *Pruſa*, ſhe repaired to *Conſtantinople*; which ſhe entered in a gilded chariot, drawn by four horſes, being attended by ſeveral patricians, who waited as her ſlaves on either ſide, while ſhe threw money among the people, as was uſual at the ſolemnity of a coronation [x]. In the mean time, the *Saracens*, hearing the empire was governed by a woman, broke into the eaſtern provinces; and having defeated the forces *Irene* ſent againſt them, entered *Thrace*, made their excurſions to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and returned home unmoleſted, carrying with them an immenſe booty and an incredible number of captives. In 798. the ſecond of *Irene*'s reign, her great favourite *Saturacius*, prompted by his boundleſs ambition, conſpired againſt her, with a deſign to deprive her of the crown, and to place it upon his own head; but his deſign being diſcovered before it was ripe for execution, *Irene*, after upbraiding him with treachery and ingratitude, contented herſelf, in conſideration of his former ſervices, with forbidding any one to keep him company. The partiality which the empreſs ſhewed him, joined to a lively ſenſe of his ingratitude to her, made ſuch a deep impreſſion upon his mind, that he died of grief ſoon after [y]. *Irene*, finding ſhe could not depend even upon thoſe whom ſhe thought ſhe had moſt reaſon to confide in, made it her chief ſtudy to gain the hearts of her people. With this view ſhe remitted an annual tribute, which had been long paid by the citizens of *Conſtantinople*, encouraged commerce, and, what moſt of all obliged the people, promoted,

Conſtantine divorces Mary and marries Theodota.

He puts the Bulgarians to flight.

He is murdered.

Irene *proclaimed empreſs.*

Saturacius *conſpires againſt her.*

She ſtudies to gain the affections of the people.

[t] Idem ad ann. 3. [u] Idem ad ann. 7. Conſt. ſol. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ad ann. Iren. 1. [y] Idem ad ann. Iren. 2.

promoted, to the utmoſt of her power, the worſhip of images, cauſing them to be ſet up anew in the churches, and annulling the edicts enacted againſt them by former emperors[z]. In 802. *Charles*, ſurnamed *the Great*, who had been crowned emperor of the weſt by pope *Leo* III. on *Chriſtmas-day* of the year 800. ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Conſtantinople*, with propoſals of a firm and laſting peace between him and *Irene*. To theſe embaſſadors were joined legates from the pope, who were received with extraordinary pomp at *Conſtantinople*. The embaſſadors of *Charles*, among their other inſtructions, were ordered to propoſe a match between him and *Irene*, that the two empires might be once more happily united in their perſons. *Irene* readily entered into the negotiation; but *Aetius* an eunuch, who bore the chief ſway at court, by daily ſtarting new difficulties, put off from time to time the concluſion of the treaty. As he was excluded from the empire himſelf, on account of his condition, he had been long labouring under-hand to prefer to it his brother, by name *Leo*, at that time governor of *Thrace* and *Macedon*; but being well-appriſed, that his deſign would be unavoidably defeated, ſhould the treaty between *Irene* and ſo powerful and warlike a prince take place, he left no ſtone unturned to divert the empreſs from it, at leaſt to get the concluſion of it ſuſpended, till a favourable opportunity offered of putting in execution his private deſign. In the mean time, the nobility, who hated *Aetius*, on account of his haughty and imperious conduct, ſuſpecting his deſign, and apprehending the empreſs, over whom he had gained a great aſcendant, might by him in the end be prevailed upon to take *Leo* for her partner in the empire, reſolved to ſet up *Nicephorus*, a patrician of great wealth and intereſt among the people. Accordingly, having firſt diſpoſed the minds of the citizens to a revolt, by giving out, that *Irene* not only deſigned to marry *Charles*, but to transfer the ſeat of the empire to the weſt, by which means the eaſtern empire would ſoon become a province to the new empire of the weſt, they aſſembled one night, and went in a large body to the palace, where they ſeized on *Irene* without oppoſition; and confining her under a ſtrong guard to her chamber, conducted *Nicephorus*, their new emperor, with the uſual ſolemnity to the great church, where he was crowned in a tumultuous manner, the populace, whom *Irene* had obliged by ſeveral acts of generoſity and good nature, uttering reproaches and curſes againſt him. *Nicephorus* treated *Irene* with great civility and reſpect, till he had, by his obliging behaviour, prevailed upon her to diſcover to him the place where her treaſures lay concealed; which ſhe had no ſooner done, than, contrary to his ſolemn promiſe, he confined her to a monaſtery, which ſhe herſelf had built in an iſland; but ſoon after removed her from thence to the iſland of *Leſbos*, where ſhe died of grief[a]. She is greatly extolled, notwithſtanding her unnatural conduct towards her ſon, by all the writers of thoſe times, no doubt, on account of her zeal for the worſhip of images, and the great pains ſhe took utterly to ſuppreſs the hereſy, as it was then called, of the iconoclaſts. She built a great many monaſteries and hoſpitals for the relief of the poor and aged, and, by many other acts of piety, gained, if the writers of thoſe times are to be credited, both the eſteem and affections of her ſubjects. Her great attachment to the ſee of *Rome*, and the indefatigable pains ſhe took to get the doctrine of the iconoclaſts condemned in the ſecond council of *Nice*, by her aſſembled for that purpoſe, have ſo far biaſſed ſome writers of that party, that they have not been aſhamed to vindicate, even by texts of holy ſcripture, her unnatural and barbarous conduct towards her ſon, who perhaps well deſerved ſuch treatment, but not at the hands of his mother. *Irene* was thus depoſed in 802. after having reigned ten years with her ſon, and five alone.

A match propoſed between Irene *and* Charles the Great.

Which is oppoſed by Aetius.

The nobility revolt, and ſet up Nicephorus.

Irene *depoſed, and* Nicephorus *created emperor.*

[z] Idem ad ann. 4.

[a] Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Roman *history, from the promotion of* Nicephorus, *to the death of* Basilius II.

THE embassadors who had been sent, as we have related in the foregoing chapter, by *Charles the Great* to propose a marriage between him and the empress *Irene*, in order to unite by that means once more the two empires, were, no doubt, greatly concerned at the unexpected revolution, which happened during their stay in *Constantinople*, and utterly disconcerted the ambitious views of their master. However, as they were injoined to conclude a firm and lasting peace with the eastern empire, they readily made their court to the new prince, who being well apprised of the advantages that might accrue to him from the friendship of *Charles*, received his embassadors in a very obliging manner, and the year following concluded a treaty with him, in virtue of which *Charles* was acknowledged emperor of
b the west, and all *Italy* to the rivers of *Vulturnus* and *Aufidus* yielded to him. *Nicephorus*, in the third year of his reign, caused *Nicetas Triphyllius*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, to be taken off with poison, for no other crime but because he was beloved by the army. He gave several other instances of a most cruel, suspicious, and covetous temper, which, as they rendered him odious to the people, encouraged *Bardanes*, governor of one of the eastern provinces, to revolt, and assume the title of emperor. *Michael* and *Leo*, two officers of great reputation in the army, joined him at first; but soon after, finding him unequal to so great a charge, they abandoned him and went over to *Nicephorus*, who raised them to the first posts in the army. *Bardanes*, thus forsaken by his friends, sent a submissive message to *Nice-*
c *phorus*, and, upon his promising to pardon him, retired to a monastery, and there embraced a religious life. The emperor, pretending to be intirely reconciled to him, invited him in a friendly manner to *Constantinople*; but on his way to that city, his eyes were plucked out by persons sent for that purpose. The emperor, to prevent any future attempts of the like nature, and secure the crown to his family, took his son *Saturacius* for his partner in the empire, and caused him to be crowned with the usual solemnity. Having thus settled his affairs at home, he marched against the *Saracens*, who had broken into the eastern provinces; but his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to save himself by a shameful flight, having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. The following year, the *Saracens*,
d to the number of three hundred thousand men, invaded the empire anew; and advancing without opposition as far as *Tyana*, the metropolis of *Cappadocia Minor*, made themselves masters of that city and several other fortified places, extending their ravages to the very gates of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*. *Nicephorus* marched against them with what forces he could raise; but not daring to venture an engagement, he dispatched embassadors with rich presents to *Aaron* their kaliff, who with much ado was prevailed upon to grant a peace upon the following terms: That the emperor should pay to the *Saracens* a yearly tribute of thirty thousand pieces of gold, besides three thousand for his own head and as many for that of his son; and that he should not presume to repair such forts as had been dismantled. *Nicephorus* agreed
e to these terms; but the enemy was no sooner retired, than, with an open breach of the treaty, he rebuilt the forts that had been demolished; which so provoked the *Saracens*, that they returned the same year, and raged with more fury than ever, putting all to fire and sword, both on the continent and in the island of *Cyprus*, where they demolished the churches, and put an incredible number of the inhabitants to the sword. The following year they made a descent upon the island of *Rhodes*, and took a great number of prisoners; but their fleet suffered much by a violent storm, which overtook them as they were returning home[x]. The same year *Nicephorus* married his son *Saturacius* to *Theophania*, a near relation of the late empress

Nicephorus.

Concludes a treaty with Charles the Great.

Bardanes *revolts*;

But submits.

Nicephorus *defeated by the* Saracens.

Nicephorus *concludes a dishonourable peace with them.*

They invade the empire anew.

[x] Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 2---6. Cedren. ibid.

empreſs *Irene*, though ſhe had been ſome time before contracted to another, which a
gave occaſion to great complaints, and encouraged ſome to conſpire againſt him:
but they were all detected and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity; nay, many perſons
of great diſtinction, eccleſiaſtics as well as laymen, were, upon bare ſuſpicions, dragged
to priſon, and there either put to death or racked with the greateſt cruelty. In the
ſeventh year of his reign, the *Bulgarians*, making an irruption into the empire, under
The Bulgarians *take* Sardica. the conduct of *Crumus*, their king, ſurpriſed *Sardica*, a city of *Mœſia*, and put the
whole gariſon, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, to the ſword. *Nicephorus* marched
againſt them with a conſiderable army; but the enemy retiring with their booty at
his approach, inſtead of purſuing them, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, and impoſed
a new tribute upon the city for the repairing of *Sardica*; which incenſed them to b
A tumult at Conſtantinople. ſuch a degree, that they roſe in a tumultuous manner, and attacked the palace, but
were repulſed by the emperor's guards with great ſlaughter. In the ninth year of
his reign, he raiſed a powerful army, and, marching at the head of it, entered the
country of the *Bulgarians*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Crumus*, their king,
alarmed at his approach, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which he offered to
conclude upon terms highly honourable to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, rejecting
them with indignation, purſued his ravages, waſting the country, deſtroying the
Nicephorus *ravages with great cruelty the country of the* Bulgarians. cities, and putting all the inhabitants to the ſword, who had the misfortune to fall
into his hands, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. *Crumus*, ſenſibly affected
with the calamities of his ſubjects, ſent the emperor a ſecond ſubmiſſive meſſage, c
offering to agree to any terms, on condition he would quit his country. But *Nice-*
phorus diſmiſſing the embaſſadors with ſcorn, *Crumus*, puſhed on by deſpair, attacked
unexpectedly the emperor's camp; and having forced it, in ſpite of all oppoſition,
He is defeated and ſlain. cut off almoſt the whole army, with the emperor himſelf, a great number of patri-
cians, and moſt of the chief officers. *Saturacius* received a dangerous wound in the
neck, but eſcaped in a litter to *Adrianople*. All the arms and baggage fell into the
enemy's hands; and the body of *Nicephorus* being found among the ſlain, *Crumus*
cauſed his head to be cut off; and after having kept it for ſome time expoſed to
the view of the ſoldiery, he incloſed the ſcull in ſilver, and made uſe of it inſtead
of a cup[y]. Such was the end of *Nicephorus*, after having reigned eight years, as d
many months, and twenty-ſix days. He is ſaid to have been ſtrongly inclined to the
execrable doctrine of the *Manichees*, to have denied providence, and to have exceeded
all the princes who reigned before him, in lewdneſs, cruelty, avarice, and all manner
of debaucheries[z].

Saturacius. *Saturacius* fled, as we obſerved above, to *Adrianople*, where he was acknow-
ledged emperor by ſome of the officers, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter.
But as he was not in a condition, on account of his wound, to appear in public,
and at the ſame time knew himſelf to be univerſally hated both by the nobility and
people, he reſolved to confer the empire on his wife *Theophania*. But, in the mean
Michael *proclaimed emperor.* time, the ſenate cauſed *Michael*, who had married *Procopia*, ſiſter to *Saturacius*, e
to be proclaimed emperor in the circus; which *Saturacius* no ſooner underſtood,
than he retired with his wife to a monaſtery, where he embraced a religious life,
and died ſoon after, having reigned two months and ten days. *Michael*, mindful of
the oath he had taken to *Nicephorus* and his ſon, declined at firſt the imperial dig-
nity; but being afterwards informed, that *Saturacius*, the better to ſecure the crown
to his wife, had reſolved to deprive him of his ſight, he accepted the offer, and was
crowned in the great church by *Nicephorus* the patriarch, after he had by a ſolemn
promiſe under his own hand obliged himſelf to maintain the privileges of the church,
and to abſtain from ſhedding chriſtian blood[a]. The new emperor a few days after
Takes his ſon for his colleague. cauſed his wife *Procopia* to be likewiſe crowned by the patriarch with his ſon *Theo-* f
phylact, whom he took for his partner in the empire. He was ſcarce warm in his
throne, when the *Saracens* broke into the empire on one ſide, and the *Bulgarians*
on the other. The former were defeated and driven back by *Leo*, who governed
the eaſtern provinces, with the loſs of two thouſand men. Againſt the *Bulgarians*
Is defeated by the Bulgarians, *and reſigns the empire.* *Michael* marched in perſon; but having, after ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes, ventured an
engagement, his army was utterly defeated, and he obliged to fly back with ſhame
and diſgrace to *Conſtantinople*. The emperor was affected with this misfortune to
ſuch

[y] Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 9. [z] Cedren. Zonar. in Niceph. Theoph. ibid.
[a] Theoph. ad ann. Niceph. 9.

a such a degree, that he reſolved to quit the purple, which required a perſon of a more warlike and active genius, and retire to a cloyſter. Accordingly he earneſtly preſſed *Leo* to accept of the empire, who, as he was free from all ambition, inviolably attached to *Michael*, and at the ſame time ſenſible of the dangerous ſtate of affairs, was with much ado prevailed upon to comply with his requeſt, though backed by the intreaties of the magiſtrates, the ſoldiery, and the patriarch. *Michael* no ſooner underſtood, that *Leo* had in the end ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, than he retired, with his wife *Procopia* and his children, to the monaſtery of *Pharus*, where he took the monaſtic habit on the eleventh of *July* 813. after having reigned one year, nine months, and as many days [h]. Thus *Theophanes*, who lived at this
b time, and was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote. But *Cedrenus* gives us a very different account of the promotion of *Leo*. According to that writer, *Michael* had the advantage in the engagement with the *Bulgarians*, till *Leo*, who aſpired at the empire, drew off the forces under his command; which ſo diſheartened the *Romans*, that they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, leaving the *Bulgarians* maſters of the field. The emperor, with much ado, eſcaped to *Adrianople*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, attended by a ſmall body of horſe. In his abſence, *Leo*, by exclaiming againſt him as a weak, effeminate, and cowardly prince, prevailed upon the army to revolt from *Michael*, and offer the empire to himſelf; which, however, he pretended to decline, till *Michael Traulus* or *Balbus*, one of the chief officers of the army, drawing his ſword, *Leo raiſed to the empire.*
c as it had been agreed on beforehand, threatened him with preſent death, if he did not immediately comply with the earneſt intreaties of the whole army, who, he ſaid, placed their ſafety and that of the empire in him alone. When news was brought to *Conſtantinople* of the revolt of the army and the uſurpation of *Leo*, ſome of the emperor's friends adviſed him to maintain his title, and prepare for a vigorous defence. But the good-natured emperor ſharply reprimanded them, declaring, he had rather loſe his life, than involve the ſtate in a civil war, which would be inevitably attended with the effuſion of much chriſtian blood. Accordingly he ſent to *Leo* the diadem the purple robes, and the ſcarlet ſhoes, the enſigns of ſovereignty, requiring him to come, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, to *Conſtantinople*, and take poſ-
d ſeſſion of the imperial palace. Thus *Cedrenus*, to whoſe authority we ſhould, without the leaſt heſitation, prefer that of *Theophanes*, were we ſure that the latter part of the hiſtory, which goes under his name, was done by him; but as ſome able critics pretend, that he concluded it with the reign of *Nicephorus*, and that the remaining part was added by ſome other writer, who, favouring *Leo*, concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the empire, we will not take upon us to decide whether *Leo* uſurped the ſovereignty, or was raiſed to it by the voluntary abdication of *Michael*. The new emperor, upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, took care to have *Michael* and his wife, who had retired to the ſame monaſtery, ſeparated; and therefore confined him to a monaſtery on the iſland *Prota*, and baniſhed *Procopia*, with
e her children, to another place, having firſt cauſed *Theophylact*, their eldeſt ſon, to be cruelly maimed, that he might have no iſſue [d]. He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when the *Bulgarians*, elated with their late ſucceſs, entered *Thrace*, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Leo* having drawn together what forces he could, marched out againſt them, and offered them battle; which they not declineing, great multitudes were ſlain on both ſides, but at length the *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were put to the rout. As they were purſued by the enemy in great diſorder, *Leo*, who beheld all from a neighbouring eminence, falling unex- *He gains a complete victory over the* Bulgarians.
f pectedly upon the barbarians with a reſerve of choſen men, who attended him, renewed the fight, and in the end obtained an intire victory. Great numbers of the enemy were ſlain, and more taken priſoners. Some reckon the king himſelf, by name *Crumus*, among the former; but others will have him to have been only wounded. However that be, the *Bulgarians* were ſo diſheartened by this overthrow, that they made no inroads into the empire for ſome years after [e]. The emperor, having now nothing to fear either from the *Bulgarians* or the *Saracens*, who were at variance among themſelves, applied himſelf wholly to the ſuppreſſing of the wor- *He oppoſes the worſhip of images.*
ſhip that was paid to images. In order to this, he enforced the obſervance of the council held at *Conſtantinople* in 754. under *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, and publiſhed an edict forbidding any worſhip to be paid to images, and commanding them to be removed

[b] Idem ad ann. Mic. 2. [c] CEDREN. in Leon. [d] ZONAR. CEDREN. in Mich. [e] Idem ibid.

removed out of the churches. *Nicephorus* the patriarch, *Nicetas* a patrician, and one of the empreſs *Irene*'s relations, *Theodorus* a monk in great reputation, *Theophanes* the hiſtorian, and many others, were baniſhed for refuſing to comply with the emperor's edict. But while the emperor was wholly intent upon redreſſing the abuſes both in the church and ſtate, *Michael*, ſurnamed *Balbus*, or *the ſtammerer*, whom he had preferred to the firſt employments, conſpired againſt him, with a deſign to deprive him of the crown, and placed it upon his own head. But the plot being diſcovered, *Michael* was apprehended, tried, and condemned to be burnt alive. But as the officers were leading him on *Chriſtmas* eve to the place of execution, the empreſs *Theodoſia*, by upbraiding her huſband with cruelty and irreligion for not reſpecting that holy time, when he was to partake of the holy ſacrament, prevailed upon him to reſpite the execution. However, that the criminal might not in the mean time make his eſcape, the emperor ordered him to be loaded with irons, of which he kept the keys himſelf. But *Michael* having, by means of ſome religious perſons, who had been admitted to him, with the emperor's permiſſion, acquainted his accomplices, that he was determined to diſcover them to *Leo*, unleſs they ſpeedily procured his releaſe, alarmed them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved, without loſs of time, to put their deſign in execution. Accordingly, mixing themſelves with thoſe who performed divine ſervice in the emperor's chapel, they were admitted early in the morning into the palace, and lay concealed in a corner of the chapel, till the emperor came to his devotions, when, upon a ſignal agreed on beforehand, they ſtarted up; but by miſtake, as it was not yet day-light, fell upon the perſon who preſided over the clerks, or, as we may call him, the dean of the chapel. *Leo*, in the mean time, well appriſed of their deſign, retired to the altar, where he was attacked by the conſpirators, now ſenſible of their miſtake; but defended himſelf with the chain of the incenſory, or, as ſome write, with the croſs, till, one of his hands being cut off, he fell to the ground, when the conſpirators ruſhing upon him, diſpatched him with many wounds, and in the end ſtruck off his head [f]. Such was the end of *Leo* IV. after he had reigned ſeven years, five months, and fourteen days.

Michael Balbus *conſpires againſt him.*

But is ſeized and condemned

Leo *murdered*

His character.

He is allowed, even by ſuch as were his avowed enemies on account of his zeal in ſuppreſſing the worſhip of images, to have been a vigilant and active prince, and to have reformed many abuſes, that had long prevailed in the ſtate. In conferring employments, he had regard to merit alone, was quite free from avarice, and endowed with many princely qualities; whence the patriarch *Nicephorus*, who had been baniſhed by him, in hearing the news of his death, could not help owning him to have been a great, though a wicked, prince. The body of the unhappy emperor was dragged to the circus, and there expoſed for ſome time to public view. After this, the conſpirators having ſeized on the empreſs *Theodoſia*, confined her to a monyſtery, and baniſhed her four ſons, *viz.* *Sabbatius*, called alſo *Conſtantine*, *Baſil*, *Gregory*, and *Theodoſius*, to the iſland of *Prota*, where they were afterwards made eunuchs by *Michael*'s order, in which cruel operation *Theodoſius* died. *Michael*, in the mean time, being ſet at liberty, and conducted by the conſpirators from the priſon to the palace, placed himſelf upon the imperial throne, loaded, as he ſtill was, with his irons, the keys being no-where found: at length the bolts being knocked off with a hammer, he repaired to the great church, where he was crowned by the patriarch.

Michael Balbus *proclaimed emperor.*

Michael, thus raiſed to the empire, was a native of *Amorium*, a city of *Phrygia*, inhabited chiefly by *Jews*, and ſuch chriſtians as had been driven from their own countries on account of their heretical opinions. *Michael* himſelf obſerved the *Jewiſh* ſabbath, denied the reſurrection of the dead, and held ſeveral other tenets condemned by the catholic church [z]. In the firſt year of his reign he recalled a great number of biſhops, monks, and others, who had been baniſhed by *Leo* for not complying with his edict forbidding the worſhip of images, but at the ſame time ſummoned them to diſpute in a council at *Conſtantinople* the point in queſtion. With this ſummons they refuſed to comply, alledging, that as the worſhipping of images had been already approved of and eſtabliſhed by a general council, it could admit of no diſpute. This anſwer greatly provoked the emperor, who nevertheleſs was ſo far from proceeding with rigor againſt them, that he indulged them in the uſe of images without the city. In the ſecond year of his reign and 823d of the chriſtian æra, a civil war broke out in the eaſt, which involved the empire in endleſs calamities. It

He is an enemy to images.

[f] Inat. in Taraſ. Theodor. ſtuditæ. ep. lxi. Leo, Grammat. in Leon. [z] Cedren. in Mich.

a It was raiſed by one *Thomas*, concerning whom authors are greatly divided in their accounts. According to ſome, he was meanly born, and at firſt a menial ſervant to a ſenator at *Conſtantinople*, whoſe wife he debauched, and then, to avoid the puniſhment due to his crime, fled to the *Saracens*, among whom, after he had continued for the ſpace of twenty-five years, profeſſing their religion, he obtained of their kalif a conſiderable body of troops, boaſting, that he could eaſily ſubdue the whole *Roman* empire. The better to intice the *Romans* over to his intereſt, he gave out, that he was *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Irene*. Others will have him to have been a man of great power in the eaſt, and inviolably attached to *Leo*, whoſe death he reſolved to revenge, and with that view took arms. However that be, he was a man of a b grave aſpect, of extraordinary ſtrength and courage, and acceptable to the ſoldiery on account of his affable and engaging behaviour. Being well received in the eaſtern provinces by the inhabitants, who hated *Michael*, he ſoon raiſed a very numerous army, and over-ran, without controul, all *Aſia*, ſeizing every-where on the public revenues, and plundering ſuch cities as refuſed to ſubmit to him. And now being maſter of all *Aſia* and *Syria*, he aſſumed the purple and diadem, and cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged as emperor by the patriarch of *Antioch*. *Michael*, in the mean time, diſpatched all the troops he could aſſemble againſt him; but *Thomas*, meeting them in *Aſia*, gave them a total overthrow; and having with incredible expedition fitted out a ſtrong fleet, he engaged and defeated that of the emperor; and then croſſing over into *Thrace* appeared unexpectedly before *Conſtantinople*, not doubting, c but the inhabitants would open their gates to him at his firſt approach. But to his great ſurprize, they received him with moſt opprobrious language, repulſed him in two ſucceſſive attacks, and in ſeveral ſallies killed great numbers of his men. *Thomas* made the neceſſary preparations for a third aſſault, being reſolved to make an utmoſt effort, and attack the city at the ſame time by ſea and land. But a moſt violent ſtorm ariſing, when he was upon the point of giving the ſignal, his fleet was diſperſed, and his battering engines overturned and rendered quite uſeleſs. This diſappointment, and ſome ſucceſsful ſallies of the beſieged, obliged him, as the ſeaſon was already far advanced, to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter-quarters, but with a reſolution to return before the city early in the ſpring; which he did accordc ingly: but *Michael* having in the mean time equipped a fleet and raiſed a land-army, he met with far greater oppoſition at his return than he had done before. His army was routed with great ſlaughter in a ſally, and his fleet driven aſhore by that of the emperor. The uſurper had in his army a commander of great valour and experience, named *Gregory*, who having been baniſhed by *Michael* to the iſland of *Scirus*, becauſe he was a near relation of *Leo*, the late emperor, had in the beginning of the war declared for the uſurper, and been entruſted by him with the command of twelve thouſand men; but now obſerving, that fortune, which had hitherto attended *Thomas* in all his undertakings, began to forſake him, he reſolved to make e his peace with *Michael*, the rather becauſe his wife and children were in his hands. This negotiation was not carried on ſo privately, but *Thomas* had timely notice of it, who thereupon leaving a ſufficient number of troops before *Conſtantinople* to carry on the ſiege, led the reſt againſt *Gregory*; and coming up with him, while he was marching away with the forces under his command to join the emperor, defeated his whole party, took him alive, but put him immediately to death, and then returned in triumph to purſue the ſiege. But in the mean time, *Mortagon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, hearing the emperor was beſieged in his metropolis, and either pitying his condition, or deſirous of gaining his friendſhip, marched at the head of a numerous army to his aſſiſtance. *Thomas*, when informed of his approach, was f ſome time in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould continue the ſiege, or march with all his forces againſt the barbarians, but at length reſolved on the latter; and accordingly breaking up the ſiege, he met and engaged the *Bulgarians* at a place called *Cedoctus*, but was by them put to flight with great ſlaughter. Upon the news of his defeat, his fleet before *Conſtantinople* revolted to the emperor; which obliged him to lay aſide all thoughts of purſuing the ſiege, and to retire to *Diabeſis*, a place diſtant a few furlongs from the city; whence by his parties he laid waſte all the neighbouring country. While he lay encamped there, the emperor ordered all his troops to march out againſt him, under the command of *Catacelas* and *Olbianus*, whom he received with great bravery, but was overthrown by the treachery of his own men, moſt of whom went over to the emperor in the heat of the engagement. *Thomas*, with much

Thomas revolts in the eaſt.

Makes himſelf maſter of Aſia *and* Syria.

Beſieges Conſtantinople.

He defeats and puts to death Gregory, *who deſigned to betray him.*

He is defeated by the Bulgarians.

ado, escaped to *Adrianople*, where he was immediately besieged by the emperor's a
forces, and at length delivered up to *Michael* by his own people, no longer able to
endure the famine and the unspeakable hardships, to which they were reduced. The
emperor, having caused his hands and feet to be cut off, ordered him, thus maimed,
to be carried upon an ass round the camp. He died soon after in the utmost agony.
Anastasius, his adopted son, who for that honour had forsaken the monastic life,
which he professed before, being delivered up to the emperor by the inhabitants of
Byria, met with the same treatment as his father had done. *Pavium* and *Heraclea*,
two maritime cities of *Thrace*, which *Thomas* had seized, refused to submit, not so
much out of affection to him, as out of hatred to the emperor, on account of his
opposing the worship of images. But the walls of the former city were overturned b
by an earthquake, and the latter was taken by storm. Some other cities and castles
continued to hold out for some time, but they were all in the end reduced, and the
civil war intirely extinguished [h].

Is delivered up to the emperor, and put to death.

In the mean time, the *Saracens*, who had settled in *Spain* and were grown too
numerous for that country, taking advantage of the distracted state of the empire,
having equipped several ships, dispatched them in quest of some fruitful island, in
which they might plant a colony. *Apochapsus*, who commanded this squadron, having
ravaged most of the islands in the *Mediterranean* without opposition, all the ships and
garisons being gone to the assistance of *Thomas*, touched in the end at *Crete*; and
being greatly taken with the fertility and pleasantness of that island, described it to c
his countrymen upon his return as *a place*, to use his expression, *flowing with milk
and honey*. Hereupon the *Saracens*, having equipped, during the winter, a fleet
consisting of forty ships well armed and manned, put to sea early in the spring; and
landing in the island, encamped on the promontory *Charax*, whence *Apochapsus* sent
spies to discover the country, who upon their return informed him, that the island
was quite destitute of soldiers, and that he would no-where meet with the least oppo-
sition. Hereupon he ordered the fleet to be set on fire, that his men, laying aside
all thoughts of returning home, might look upon that island as their native country.
The emperor, upon the first notice of this descent, dispatched *Damianus* with a con-
siderable body of troops to drive the *Saracens* out of the island, *Damianus*, being d
joined by *Photinus*, advanced, as soon as he had landed his forces, against the enemy,
who killed him at the first onset, and put his whole army to flight, *Photinus* having
with much ado made his escape in a light vessel, and carried the news of the over-
throw to the emperor. The *Saracens*, having now no enemy to oppose them, built
and fortified a city in a very convenient place, called *Chandax*, pointed out to them
by a monk. From thence they made frequent excursions, and in a short time reduced
the whole island, which by its new masters was thenceforth called *Chandax*, and by
others *Candia*, from the above-mentioned city [i]. This happended in the second year
of the reign of *Michael Balbus* and the 822d of the christian æra. *Michael*, thinking
it would reflect eternal ignominy, if he suffered the *Saracens* to settle in *Crete*, as soon e
as he had put an end to the civil war, dispatched *Craterus*, with a powerful fleet
and a numerous army, to recover the island. *Craterus*, having landed his men with-
out opposition, fell upon the enemy with great resolution, who received him with
equal intrepidity. The fight continued from day-break to noon, the victory inclining
to neither side; but soon after the *Saracens*, great numbers of them being slain and
more taken prisoners, began to give ground, and towards the evening fled in great
confusion. Had the *Romans* pursued them, they might have easily, in that consternation,
cut them all off to a man, and made themselves masters of their city. But, instead
of following the fugitives, and assaulting, without loss of time, the place whither
they had all retired, they spent the night in riot and drunkenness, as if the war had
been already concluded, without so much as placing a guard or centry to prevent
their being surprised. The enemy, apprised of their security, resolved, however
fatigued with the duty of the preceding day, not to neglect so favourable an oppor-
tunity of being revenged on their conquerors. Accordingly sallying out in the dead
of the night, they fell upon them while they were partly intoxicated with wine and
partly asleep, and cut them off almost to a man. *Craterus*, their general, with great
difficulty escaped on board a small vessel to the island of *Cos*. But the prince of
the *Saracens*, not finding his body among the slain, dispatched some vessels with
troops

The Saracens *land in* Crete.

And settle there.

The city of Candia *built.*

The emperor's forces defeated, and cut in pieces.

h Idem ibid.

i Cedren. ibid.

troops after him, who, landing on the iſland, ſurpriſed him, and nailed him to a croſs. After this defeat, the emperor, deſpairing of being able to recover the iſland of *Crete*, contented himſelf with defending the other iſlands, and reſtraining the piracies of the *Cretan Saracens* [k]. Beſides the loſs of the pleaſant and fruitful iſland of *Crete*, ſeveral other public calamities happened in this wicked emperor's reign, *viz.* great conflagrations, deſtructive earthquakes, which overturned whole cities, inundations, ſtrange phænomena in the heavens, general dearth and ſcarcity of proviſions, violent ſtorms, *&c.* which are all aſcribed by *Cedrenus* to the contempt of images. But theſe calamities did not reclaim him from the looſe and diſſolute life which he led, without any regard to religion, or the laws. In the ſixth year of his reign, his wife being dead, he forced *Euphroſyna*, the daughter of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, out of a monaſtery, where ſhe had led from her infancy a recluſe life, and married her. Soon after, *Euphemius*, an officer of great intereſt and authority in the army, falling in love with another ſacred virgin, and encouraged by the example of the prince, took her by force out of the monaſtery and debauched her. Of this outrage her brothers made loud complaints to the emperor, who thereupon ordered the governor of *Sicily*, where the fact was committed, to examine into the matter; and if he found what was alledged againſt *Euphemius* to be true, to cut off his noſe. To avoid this puniſhment, *Euphemius* drew ſeveral other officers of the army into a conſpiracy; repulſed the governor, when he came to execute his orders; and then flying to the *Saracens* in *Africa*, promiſed to betray *Sicily* into their hands, and pay them a large tribute, provided they would declare him emperor of the *Romans*. To this the *Saracen* governor of *Africa* readily conſented; and having acknowledged him emperor, ſent him back with a ſufficient number of troops to make good his title. He landed in *Sicily* without oppoſition; and advancing to *Syracuſe*, endeavoured, by a flattering ſpeech, to perſuade the inhabitants, who ſtood on the walls, to open their gates to him, and own him for emperor. Among the reſt he obſerved two brothers, who were men of great intereſt in the city, to pay him greater reſpect and hear him with more attention than the reſt; which encouraged him to call them to him. But as he advanced from the reſt of his company to meet and ſalute them, one of them, taking hold of him by the hair, held him till the other cut off his head. The *Saracens*, however, did not quit the advantage which he had put into their hands; but, being thus introduced by him, made themſelves by degrees maſters of the whole iſland; and paſſing over into *Italy*, landed at *Taranto*; whence they drove the *Romans*, and got poſſeſſion of *Calabria* and the adjoining provinces [l]. The emperor died ſoon after of a flux, having reigned eight years, nine months, and ſeven days; and was buried in the church of the apoſtles. His death happened on the firſt of *October* 829.

Several public calamities.

Euphemius acknowledged emperor by the Saracens.

He is killed.

The Saracens *reduce* Sicily.

Michael *dies.*

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theophylus*, who, in the beginning of his reign, to gain the affections of the people and prevent conſpiracies, pretended to be a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, and a ſevere aſſertor of the laws of the empire. Though his father owed both his life and dignity to the murder of *Leo*, yet he reſolved to puniſh all thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſory to it, in order to deter others from attempts of the like nature. With this view he ſummoned the chief of the nobility, and the great officers of the empire, to attend him in the palace *Magnaura*, or, as it was called from the five towers, *Pentapyrgium*. When they were aſſembled, he told them, that his father had in his life-time reſolved to reward the eminent ſervices of thoſe, who had been inſtrumental in his promotion; but ſince death had prevented him, he thought it incumbent upon himſelf, as the executor of his father, to pay that debt. He therefore deſired them to withdraw from the reſt into a particular room, where he would examine the merit of each perſon, and reward him accordingly. Hereupon thoſe, who had been acceſſory to the murder of *Leo*, readily diſcovered themſelves, in expectation of ſome great reward. But the emperor having thus got them, convicted by their own confeſſion, into his power, he ordered one of his officers to put the laws againſt murder in execution, and to puniſh, according to their deſerts, thoſe who had not only ſhed innocent blood, but had inhumanly maſſacred the anointed of the Lord within his temple. He then diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and the officer, purſuant to his orders, puniſhed all thoſe who had conſpired againſt *Leo* as murderers [m]. After this he ſent *Euphroſyne* back to the monaſtery, from

Theophylus.

He puniſhes the murderers of Leo.

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Cedren in Mich. ann. 8. Zonar. p. 173. [m] Joann. Curopul. in Theophyl.

from whence his father had taken her, and applied himſelf with great diligence to a
public affairs, hearing once a week all complaints that were brought againſt his mini-
ſters, adminiſtering juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, and frequently viſiting in
perſon the markets, in order to ſettle the prices of the neceſſary proviſions. In the
He marries his daughter to Alexius Moſeles.
third year of his reign, he married his favourite daughter, by name *Mary*, to *Alexius Moſeles*, an *Armenian* by birth, a perſon of comely and majeſtic aſpect, then in the flower of his age, and endowed with many excellent qualities. As he repoſed in him an intire confidence, he conferred upon him the dignity of patrician, raiſed him to the proconſulſhip, and at laſt, as he had yet no iſſue-male of his own, created him *Cæſar*, and ſent him at the head of a numerous army to reſtrain the *Saracens*, who committed dreadful devaſtations in *Italy*. Being attended there with uncom- b
mon ſucceſs, his rivals at court, jealous of the eſteem he was in with the emperor and the reputation he had acquired, repreſented him as one who aſpired at the em-
pire, ſtrengthening their malicious ſuggeſtions with an old prediction, that A *ſhould one day drive out* Th. This *Alexius* no ſooner underſtood, than he deſired leave of *Theophylus* to retire, and embrace a monaſtic life. The emperor, who gave no ear to theſe inſinuations, denied his requeſt, and commanded him to keep his rank and power. However, *Theophylus* having a ſon ſoon after, and his daughter, who was married to *Alexius*, dying about the ſame time, he was at length prevailed upon, by
Who embraces a monaſtic life.
the repeated importunities of his ſon-in-law, to comply with his requeſt and ſuffer him to retire [n]. Beſides *Alexius*, the emperor had two other eminent commanders, c
viz. *Manuel* and *Theophobus*. The former had been raiſed, by *Leo* and the late emperor *Michael*, to the firſt poſts in the army. The latter was the natural ſon of a *Perſian* embaſſador, deſcended from the blood royal of that nation, who, dying ſoon after the birth of his ſon, left him at *Conſtantinople*, where he was educated after the *Roman* manner. All thoſe of the royal family of *Perſia* being either deſtroyed or driven out by the *Saracens*, who had made themſelves maſters of their country, the few *Perſians*, who had outlived the general ſlaughter of their nation, hearing of *Theophobus*, ſent to the emperor, deſiring him for their king. But *Theophylus* choſe rather to raiſe him to the rank of a patrician, and give him one of his ſiſters in marriage, giving at the ſame time, by a law enacted for that purpoſe, all his ſubjects d
leave to intermarry with the *Perſians*; which brought great numbers of that nation over to the *Romans*, who formed them into one body, called the *Perſian* legion, from which the emperor promiſed himſelf no ſmall ſervice in the expedition, which he was about to undertake againſt the *Saracens*, who had invaded the *Roman* terri-
The Romans *defeated by the* Saracens.
tories. Againſt them the emperor, attended by *Manuel* and *Theophobus*, marched in perſon; but in the battle which enſued, the *Romans*, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate conteſt, gave ground and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The emperor, with his guard, two thouſand *Perſians*, and *Theophobus*, gained a neighbouring hill,
The emperor in great danger.
where he was immediately ſurrounded by the enemy, who exerted their utmoſt efforts to take him priſoner, his own men ſtriving with equal reſolution and intre- e
pidity to defend him. The day being thus ſpent, when night came on, the *Romans*, by the advice of *Theophobus*, filled all on a ſudden the air with loud acclamations, ſounding at the ſame time their trumpets and other warlike inſtruments. The *Saracens*, deceived by this ſtratagem, and concluding they had received ſome rein-
He defeats the Saracens.
forcement, retired in great haſte, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded; and gave the emperor an opportunity of making his eſcape to the reſt of the army. The *Perſians* were ſo taken with the conduct of *Theophobus* on this occaſion, that they addreſſed the emperor, begging he would ſuffer them to ſerve under him in a ſeparate body, which was readily granted. The following year, he was attended with better ſucceſs; f
for having engaged the *Saracens*, he gained a complete victory, killed great num-
bers of them, and took above twenty thouſand priſoners, whom he carried in triumph to *Conſtantinople*. This encouraged him to make another attempt the next ſpring; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himſelf in great danger of being taken priſoner, while he advanced too far into the enemy's ranks. *Manuel*, appriſed of the danger he was in, broke through to him with a body of choſen men, in order to bring him off. But he refuſing to retire, leſt by his retreat he ſhould diſcou-
rage his army, *Manuel* preſenting his ſword to his breaſt, and telling him, that the ſtate would ſuffer more by his captivity than by his death, threatened to kill him, unleſs

[n] Idem ibid.

a unleſs he retreated with him to the reſt of the army. The emperor then complied, *Manuel* and his choſen band opening him a way through the midſt of the enemy. *Theophylus* had, at firſt, a juſt ſenſe of this eminent piece of ſervice, ſtyling *Manuel* his deliverer; but afterwards, envying him the reputation he had thereby acquired, and aſhamed of being indebted to one of his ſubjects for his ſafety, he readily gave ear to the malicious inſinuations of ſome courtiers, accuſing him of ambitious views, and privately reſolved to deprive him of his ſight; of which *Manuel* being ſeaſonably informed by the emperor's cup-bearer, he fled to the *Saracens*, and, upon condition he ſhould not be obliged to change his religion, entered into their ſervice, and was ſoon raiſed to the higheſt honours, and truſted with the command of their armies

b againſt the *Cermatæ*, a neighbouring nation, whom he overcame in ſeveral battles. The fame of his great exploits reaching *Conſtantinople*, the emperor, grieved for the loſs of ſo brave and faithful a commander, reſolved to bring him back by any means. Accordingly he wrote a letter to him with his own hand, inviting him home, and promiſing to reinſtate him in all his honours and employments. This letter being privately conveyed to *Manuel* by a monk, he received it with unſpeakable joy, and waited only a favourable opportunity of complying with the emperor's kind invitation. He had hitherto declined fighting againſt the *Romans*; but now, pretending a deſire of being revenged on thoſe by whom he had been unjuſtly accuſed to the emperor, he deſired leave of *Iſhmael*, prince of the *Saracens*, to make war upon the *Romans* in *Cap-*

c *padocia*. *Iſhmael*, highly pleaſed with this demand, not only gave him the command of a powerful army, but, as he had already given ſignal proofs of his fidelity, appointed the young prince his ſon to ſerve under him. Being arrived in *Cappadocia*, while the army lay encamped at a convenient place for the execution of his deſign, he went out with the young prince, under pretence of hunting; and being met, as had been agreed on before-hand between him and the governor of the province, by ſome *Roman* troops, he acquainted the prince with his deſign, deſiring him to return to the army, and acquaint them with it. From *Cappadocia* he immediately repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with great ſolemnity by the emperor in the church of *Belchernæ*, raiſed to the higheſt poſt in the army, and choſen to ſtand as godfather

d to his ſon *Michael*, whom he ſoon after took for his partner in the empire. The following year, the *Saracens* invaded *Cappadocia* under a general of their own nation, and the emperor marched againſt them in perſon; but both armies, ſeized, while they were already in ſight of each other, with a pannic fear, betook themſelves to flight, and returned home, without coming to an engagement. The following year 837, *Theophylus* invaded *Syria*, ravaged the country far and wide, and having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*, leaving *Theophobus* to command the army. In his abſence the *Perſians*, now increaſed to thirty thouſand, depending upon their ſtrength and numbers, ſeized on *Theophobus* at *Sinople*, and, notwithſtanding all his intreaties, proteſtations, and arguments, declared

e him emperor. *Theophobus* gave the emperor private notice of what had paſſed, aſſured him of his loyalty, though he had, in appearance, accepted of the imperial dignity, and laid hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to make his eſcape to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received by the emperor with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs, and continued in his former honours and employments, The rebellious *Perſians* were, at his requeſt, pardoned and received into favour; but diſperſed into ſeveral provinces[n]. *Theophylus*, in ravaging *Syria*, had, notwithſtanding the earneſt intreaties of the prince of the *Saracens*, deſtroyed *Sozopetra*, the place of his nativity; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that, breathing nothing but revenge, he raiſed a mighty army, ordering every ſoldier to engrave upon his ſhield the word *Amorium*,

f the birth-place of *Theophylus* and capital of *Cilicia*, which he was reſolved, at all events, to deſtroy. The emperor, informed of theſe mighty preparations, raiſed what forces he could, and marched with them to *Dorylæum*, diſtant about three days journey from *Amorium*. There, in a council of war, ſeveral officers adviſed him to decline an engagement with the *Saracens*, whoſe army was far more numerous than that of the *Romans*, and to remove the inhabitants of *Amorium* to ſome other place; but the emperor, imagining ſuch a proceeding would reflect no ſmall diſgrace upon him, reſolved to venture all in the defence of his native city; and accordingly ſent thither a ſtrong detachment, under the command of *Aetius*, general of the eaſt, *Theodorus*, *Craterus*,

His ingratitude to Manuel.

Who flies to the Saracens;

But returns to the Romans.

The Perſians *mutiny.*

The fidelity of Theophobus.

The Saracens *invade the empire.*

[n] Joann. Curopal. in Theoph. Zonar. Cedren. ibid.

Craterus, *Theophilus Bubutzicus*, and other experienced generals. In the mean time, a the prince of the *Saracens* diſpatched his ſon, with ten thouſand *Turks* and a ſtrong party of *Armenians*, to try the ſtrength of the emperor's forces. The two armies met at a place called *Dazymenum*; whereupon an engagement enſuing, the *Saracens* were at firſt put to the rout; but the *Romans*, in purſuing the fugitives, were ſo galled by

Defeat the Romans.

the arrows of the *Turks*, that they not only gave over the purſuit, but betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. The *Perſians*, however, though abandoned by the reſt of the army, ſtood their ground, and ſurrounding the emperor, made head againſt the enemy, till night coming on gave them an opportunity of retiring. The prince of the *Saracens*, informed of his ſon's ſucceſs, marched directly to *Amorium*, and being there joined by the young prince, laid cloſe ſiege to the place, which, after a long b and obſtinate reſiſtance, was in the end betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants,

Amorium taken and deſtroyed.

named *Badiates*, who, upon ſome diſcontent, had abjured the chriſtian religion. The *Saracens*, enraged at the reſolute oppoſition they had met with, put moſt of the men to the ſword, carried all the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. The emperor was ſo affected with the deſtruction of the place, that, falling into a deep melancholy, he abſtained from all nouriſhment, drinking nothing but ſnow-water, which threw him into a dyſentery. Being appriſed that his end approached, he cauſed himſelf to be carried to *Magnaura*; and having ſummoned the ſenate and chief officers of the empire to meet him there, he exhorted them in a pathetic ſpeech to continue faithful to his wife and ſon, and protect them from all c treachery. After this, ſinking under the affliction of his mind and diſtemper of his body, he fainted away and expired, having reigned twelve years, three months,

Theophylus dies.

and twenty days. *Joannes Curopalates*, whom we have followed in the hiſtory of this prince's reign, as the neareſt to thoſe times, tells us, that, when he was at the point of death, he commanded the head of *Theophobus*, who had been arreſted upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicions, to be cut off and brought to him; and that, touching it with his hand, he expired, uttering theſe words, *Neither ſhall I be henceforth* Theophylus, *nor thou* Theophobus[o]. But *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* write, that he was put to death by one of the emperor's officers, without his knowledge[p]. He profeſſed

His character.

a greater enmity to images, and perſecuted with greater ſeverity, than any of his d predeceſſors had done, thoſe who worſhipped them. Hence he is painted by the writers of thoſe times in the blackeſt colours; but his actions, even as they are related by his ſworn enemies, ſpeak him a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, an exact obſerver of juſtice, a true lover of his people, and an utter enemy to covetouſneſs. Of the latter *Cedrenus* gives us the following inſtance: having one day obſerved from his palace a ſhip of great burden fraught with merchandize entering the harbour of *Conſtantinople*, he aſked the mariners, To whom the cargo belonged? They anſwering, To the empreſs; he replied with great indignation, *God has made me a prince, and my wife a merchant! Was ever any emperor before married to a merchant?* Having thus ſpoken, he commanded the mariners to come aſhore, e and fire to be ſet to the veſſel, ſaying, *If princes apply themſelves to trade, their ſubjects muſt ſtarve*[q]. He beautified the city of *Conſtantinople* with many ſtately edifices, and fortified it with new walls, which could not, on account of their height, by any art be ſcaled. He baniſhed all looſe and ſcandalous women out of the city, being a great enemy to all manner of diſſoluteneſs, and a pattern of the antient *Roman* temperance, which he endeavoured to revive by ſeveral wholſome laws[r].

Michael III. Theodora *regent.*

Theophylus was ſucceeded by his ſon *Michael*; but, as he was then only ſix years old, his mother *Theodora* took upon her the adminiſtration; which ſhe began by exerting her zeal for the worſhip of images, recalling all thoſe who had been baniſhed on that account in the late reign, and baniſhing ſuch as differed in opinion from her. She f

She perſecutes the iconoclaſts and Manichees.

drove from his ſee *John* the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and placed *Methodius*, a monk and zealous patron of images, in his room, ordering the ſecond council of *Nice*, in which the worſhip of images was approved of and eſtabliſhed, to be obſerved throughout the empire. Having thus, in a few years, utterly ſuppreſſed the iconoclaſts, whoſe doctrine had prevailed in *Conſtantinople* and moſt cities of the eaſt, for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty years, ſhe fell in the next place upon the *Manichees*, of whom no fewer than an hundred thouſand are ſaid to have been deſtroyed; which drove

o Joan. Curopal. ibid. Zonar. ibid.

p Cedren. Zonar. ibid.

q Cedren. in Theoph.

r Cedren.

a drove the reſt to deſpair and rebellion, having one *Carbeas* of that ſect for their leader; who, hearing that his father had been crucified on account of his perſuaſion, fled with four thouſand of the ſame ſect to the *Saracens*, and opened them a paſſage into the *Roman* territories, where they ravaged and unpeopled whole provinces. In the mean time, the emperor, having attained the twentieth year of his age, began to think of governing by himſelf, being inſtigated thereunto by *Bardas*, brother to *Theodora*, who promiſed himſelf mighty advantages from a change of affairs; but deſpairing of being able to ſucceed in his deſigns, ſo long as *Manuel* and *Theoctiſtus*, whom the late emperor had appointed tutors to his ſon, continued near his perſon, he reſolved, in the firſt place, to remove them by ſome means or other. He had ſcarce taken this

b reſolution, when a miſunderſtanding aroſe between thoſe two faithful miniſters; which *Bardas* improved with ſuch art, that *Manuel* quitting the court, retired to a private life. He being removed, *Bardas* eaſily perſuaded the emperor, that *Theoctiſtus*, having nothing leſs in view than the empire, deſigned to marry either the empreſs, or one of her daughters, and to render him incapable of governing, by depriving him of his ſight. Upon theſe malicious, and altogether groundleſs, inſinuations, *Theoctiſtus* was, by the young prince's orders, apprehended, dragged to priſon, and there moſt inhumanly murdered. *Michael* and *Bardas* reſolved to finiſh what they had begun, by removing the empreſs, who, well appriſed of their deſign, to ſpare them the crime of ſhedding more blood, determined to retire of her own

c accord. Accordingly, having ſummoned the ſenate, ſhe laid before them the preſent condition of the treaſury, to obviate, by that means, the extravagant expences of her ſon, and at the ſame time to ſhew them how careful and frugal ſhe had been during her adminiſtration; for ſhe had, by a commendable œconomy, not only ſpared the immenſe treaſure left by her huſband, but greatly improved it. After this, ſhe reſigned her power, and quitted the court, to the great ſatisfaction of her brother and ſon, now at liberty to act without reſtraint or controul. However, leſt ſhe ſhould attempt to reſume the power ſhe had ſo readily quitted, *Michael* ordered her and her three daughters to be ſhut up in a monaſtery, where ſhe died ſoon after of grief[r]. This happened in 855, after *Theodora* had governed the ſtate for the ſpace of fourteen

d years. *Michael*, thus free from all reſtraint, abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous debaucheries, taking pride in imitating *Nero*, whom he propoſed to himſelf for his pattern, and even ſeemed to exceed in all manner of wickedneſs. He, in a ſhort time, ſquandered away the immenſe treaſure left him by his mother, being always attended by a crew of moſt extravagant, debauched, and profligate wretches, whom, to expoſe to ridicule the moſt ſacred things, he often cauſed to appear in copes and other veſtments, in which prieſts uſed to officiate, and in that apparel to imitate the moſt holy functions and ceremonies. One *Gryllus*, the moſt profligate of the crew, he ſtyled patriarch; others he called metropolitans; and took to himſelf the title of one of the chief biſhops. Thus attended, he uſed to walk in broad day-light, as in proceſſion, through the ſtreets, imitating and deriding the patriarch and his clergy. Having

e once cauſed the infamous *Gryllus* to be apparelled like the patriarch, he ſent for his mother in the name of *Ignatius*, who then held that ſee. The empreſs came immediately; but as ſhe fell down upon her knees to crave his bleſſing, *Gryllus*, diſcovering himſelf, derided the piety of the good empreſs with indecent geſtures, applauded with a loud laugh of the whole aſſembly[t]. The diſſolute prince, having in a ſhort time waſted all his treaſures, was reduced to the neceſſity of melting down and coining certain trees of gold, which had been made in the late reign by a biſhop named *Leo*, the greateſt man of his age, and were the admiration of all who beheld them; for among the boughs were diſperſed ſeveral golden-birds, which, by the help of an

f engine, ſung melodiouſly, while the ſpectators were at the ſame time no leſs agreeably ſurpriſed and frightened by the roaring of a golden lion, effected by the ſame artifice. The prodigal emperor had likewiſe diſpoſed of the imperial robes, and other curioſities, for which the palace was famous, had he not been prevented by death. In the year 854. he undertook an expedition againſt the *Saracens*, and laid ſiege to a city of theirs on the *Euphrates*; but the beſieged ſallying out upon the *Romans*, while they were at their devotions on a *Sunday*, put the whole army to flight, and made themſelves maſters of their camp and all their baggage, the emperor himſelf having with much-ado made his eſcape. Two years after, the *Saracens*, entering with an army of thirty

Manuel *retires from court.*

Theoctiſtus *murdered.*

The empreſs Theodora *reſigns.*

Michael *a wicked and impious prince.*

His prodigality.

Is routed by the Saracens.

[r] Joann. Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid. [t] Idem ibid.

thirty thouſand men the *Roman* dominions, put the emperor to flight, though at the head of forty thouſand *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. The loſs of this battle, however, was ſoon repaired by the good fortune of *Petronas*, the emperor's brother, who falling unexpectedly upon the *Saracens* in the neighbourhood of *Epheſus*, cut off the kaliff himſelf and his whole army, took his ſon priſoner, and returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*.

Bardas *created* Cæſar.

In 860. he raiſed his uncle *Bardas*, who had hitherto governed with an abſolute ſway, to the dignity of *Cæſar*, in which high ſtation he acted in a moſt arbitrary manner, without the leaſt regard to the laws and cuſtoms of the empire. He divorced his wife, without being able to lay any thing to her charge, and married his own niece. Hereupon the holy patriarch *Ignatius* refuſed to communicate with him on the feaſt of the epiphany; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that having aſſembled a ſynod at *Conſtantinople*, he ſuborned ſeveral falſe witneſſes, who accuſed *Ignatius* of having murdered his predeceſſor *Methodius*; upon which he was depoſed and thrown in priſon, *Photius* being raiſed to the patriarchal ſee in his room; which occaſioned great diſturbances at *Conſtantinople*. In 867, the emperor, at the perſuaſion of *Bardas*, who had ruled with an abſolute ſway, undertook an expedition againſt the *Saracens*, who had ſettled in *Crete*, whence they were continually infeſting the coaſts of the empire, and made this year a deſcent upon *Thrace*, penetrating far into the country, and committing every where dreadful ravages. Againſt them the emperor marched in perſon, attended by *Bardas*; and arriving at a place called *Chorus*, ordered his army to encamp there. The ſervants of *Bardas*, whether on purpoſe or unadviſedly, is uncertain, pitched their maſter's tent on a hill, which overlooked the emperor's pavilion placed in the plain. This the emperor ſeemed to reſent; and the enemies of *Bardas* at court, laying hold of that opportunity to convince the prince how much reaſon he had to be jealous of ſo inſolent and ambitious a favourite, incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that he gave them private orders to diſpatch him; which they did accordingly on the firſt of *April* of the preſent year. The ſoldiers, upon the news of his death, began to mutiny, and would have revenged it upon the emperor himſelf, had he not privately retired from the army, and returned to *Conſtantinople*[u]. The ruin of *Bardas* made room for *Baſilius*, the emperor's great chamberlain, and the chief author and promoter of the late murder; for the emperor, who had an utter averſion to all manner of buſineſs and application, immediately committed to him the whole management of public affairs, and ſoon after, that is, on the twenty-ſixth of *May* of the ſame year, declared him his partner in the empire. *Baſilius* was born in *Macedon*, but an *Armenian* by deſcent, and, according to *Cedrenus*, deſcended from the royal family of the *Arſacidæ*; but others affirm, he was come of mean and obſcure parents. At the ſacking of *Adrianople* by *Crumus* king of the *Bulgarians*, being then a child, he was carried into captivity with his parents; but ſet at liberty upon the concluſion of the peace. As he was tall in ſtature, of a comely aſpect, and well-ſhaped, *Theophilizes*, a nobleman of great diſtinction, took him into his family, and appointed him his *protoſtrator*, that is, his gentleman of the horſe. Having ſoon after tamed an unruly horſe belonging to the emperor, he was, by the intereſt of *Bardas*, taken into the emperor's ſervice, and raiſed to the poſt of maſter of the horſe; which giving him an opportunity of converſing often with the prince, he gained, by degrees, a great aſcendant over him, and was advanced to the high office of great chamberlain. Hereupon *Bardas*, jealous of the credit he was in with the emperor, and looking upon him no longer as his creature, but his rival, reſolved on his deſtruction. But *Baſilius*, appriſed of his deſign, was before-hand with him, as we have related above.

He is murdered.

Michael *takes* Baſilius *for his partner in the empire.*

Baſilius, being upon the death of *Bardas* advanced to the imperial dignity, did all that lay in his power to redreſs the many abuſes that had crept into the ſtate, and to reclaim *Michael* from his vicious courſes; but the diſſolute prince was ſo far from following his wholſome counſels, that he reſolved to rid himſelf of ſo troubleſome a cenſor; which haſtened on his own ruin: for *Baſilius*, finding he could by no other means ſave himſelf, but by deſtroying his collegue, entered one night his room, while he was drunk and aſleep; and, with the aſſiſtance of ſome others privy to his deſign, firſt cut off both his hands as he held them up, and then diſpatched him with many wounds, after he had reigned fourteen years with his mother, and five years three months alone[w].

Michael *murdered.*

Baſilius,

u Idem ibid. Cedren. Zonar. in Mich.

w Curopalat. Zonar. Cedren. ibid.

Baſilius, now ſole maſter of the empire, governed with great juſtice and moderation, preferring ſuch only as were perſons of known probity, and allowing all his ſubjects free acceſs to him; which greatly endeared him to his people, who looked upon him rather as their father than their prince. However, in the very beginning of his reign, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by *George* and *Symbatius*, two patricians; but, it being ſeaſonably diſcovered, their eyes were put out, and their accomplices baniſhed. To obviate any future attempts of the ſame nature, in the ſecond year of his reign he raiſed his eldeſt ſon *Conſtantine* to the imperial dignity, and in the third he created *Leo* and *Alexander*, his ſecond and third ſons, *Cæſars*. As for his fourth ſon, by name *Stephen*, he cauſed him to take orders, with a deſign to raiſe him to the patriarchal ſee. His four daughters took the religious habit in the monaſtery of St. *Euphemia*, where they led exemplary lives. Having thus ſettled his domeſtic affairs, he reſolved to make war upon the *Manichees*. We have obſerved above, that in the late reign one *Carbeas*, a *Manichee*, fled, with five thouſand of the ſame ſect, to the *Saracens*, with a deſign to revenge the death of his father, who had been crucified on account of his perſuaſion. Great numbers of the perſecuted *Manichees* flocking to him for ſhelter, he made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories from three ſtrong-holds in *Armenia*, viz. *Arganum*, *Armera*, and *Tephrica*, which had been yielded to them by the *Saracens*. Againſt theſe *Manichees Baſilius* marched in perſon, laid waſte their country, took or killed their beſt commanders, and returned with an immenſe booty to *Conſtantinople*; which city he entered in triumph. The following year, the *Manichees*, reſolved to revenge the loſſes they had ſuſtained, broke unexpectedly into the empire, under the command of *Chryſochir*; but being met by the imperial troops, they were almoſt to a man cut off, with their leader, whoſe head was ſent to *Conſtantinople*. By this defeat the ſtrength of the *Saracens* was ſo broken, that they were never afterwards in a condition of moleſting the empire, as they had done for ſeveral years together. Encouraged with his ſucceſs againſt the *Manichees*, he entered *Syria* the following year 880 attended by his eldeſt ſon *Conſtantine*, recovered ſeveral ſtrong-holds out of the hands of the *Saracens*, and took an incredible number of priſoners. On his return he made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea*, the metropolis of *Cappadocia*, and of ſeveral other ſtrong-holds, which he levelled with the ground. The priſoners he took in this expedition were ſo numerous, that not being able to ſpare ſufficient forces to guard them, he commanded multitudes of them to be put to the ſword; which ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Saracens*, that ſome of their governors not only ſubmitted, but joined the emperor againſt their own nation. The *African Saracens* and thoſe of *Crete*, attempting to invade the empire, were likewiſe defeated with great ſlaughter, and the fleet of the former utterly deſtroyed by *Nazar* the *Roman* admiral. Theſe extraordinary advantages were, in ſome degree, counterbalanced by the loſs of *Syracuſe*, which the *Saracens* of *Carthage* took and deſtroyed. *Adrian*, a patrician, who had been ſent to relieve it, arriving too late, the emperor, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, cauſed him to be dragged from the great church, where he had taken ſanctuary, and ſent him into exile [x]. *Baſilius*, at ſuch times as he was not engaged in wars, buſied himſelf in building and repairing churches, of which *Cedrenus* mentions a great number. *Zonaras* blames him for erecting and dedicating ſo many churches to the honour of St. *Michael*, as if he had deſigned thereby to expiate the murder of the emperor *Michael*. His eldeſt ſon *Conſtantine* being dead, he raiſed his ſecond ſon *Leo* to the imperial dignity, who being offended at the great ſway which *Theodorus Santabarenus*, by profeſſion a monk, but commonly reputed a magician, bore at court, endeavoured to remove him from the emperor's preſence. Of this the jealous monk was ſoon appriſed, and therefore reſolved to deſtroy him. With this view, pretending to have private intelligence of a conſpiracy againſt *Baſilius*, which was to be put in execution while he was hunting, he firſt perſuaded the young prince privately to arm himſelf and ſome of his attendants, that he might be ready to oppoſe any attempt upon the life of his father; and then haſtening to the emperor, told him in great conſternation, that his ſon deſigned to murder him; that his deſign was to be put in execution the firſt time he went out to hunt; and that, if he cauſed him to be ſearched, he would find him armed accordingly. The emperor, giving ear to the wicked and malicious inſinuations of the monk, ordered his ſon to be ſearched; and a dagger being found under his

Baſilius.

He breaks the power of the Manichees.

His ſucceſs againſt the Saracens.

Syracuſe *taken by the* Saracens, *and deſtroyed.*

The treachery of a monk.

[x] Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid.

Leo *imprisoned.* his garments, committed him to close prison in an apartment of the palace, where his eyes had been put out at the instigation of the monk, had not the patriarch and the senate interposed in his behalf. However, he was long kept under close confinement; *And released.* but at length released, at the earnest and repeated intreaties of the senate, and restored to his former dignity. *Curopalates* tells us, that the emperor having forbidden the senate to mention to him the young prince's name, or make any further application in his favour, while he was one day entertaining several of the nobility, a parrot, which hung up in a cage in the room, in imitation of some, who used to lament there the unfortunate prince's condition, cried out all on a sudden, *Alas, unhappy* Leo! His friends, laying hold of that opportunity, as if the bird reproached them with their neglect, notwithstanding the emperor's prohibition, renewed their former applica- b
Basilius *dies.* tions; to which *Basilius* at length yielded y. *Basilius* not long after died, having reigned eighteen years, ten months, and seven days. *Cedrenus* writes, that he was carried off by a diarrhœa; but *Zonaras* tells us, that while he was hunting, a stag thrusting his horns under his girdle, and lifting him up from the ground, shook him with such violence, that he died soon after. The same writer adds, that one of the emperor's attendants having disengaged him from the stag, by cutting his girdle, he, instead of rewarding him, caused his head to be cut off, for drawing his sword in the presence of his sovereign. But of this no mention is made either by *Cedrenus* or *Curopalates*. Some pretend, that before he died, he embraced a monastic life, but without divesting himself either of his power, or the ensigns of majesty. It is certain, c
His instructions to his son Leo. that, towards the latter end of his reign, he addicted himself intirely to the conversation of monks, and to works of piety. To his son *Leo*, whom he appointed his successor, he left, with the empire, some excellent rules or maxims of government, comprised in sixty-six chapters, the initial letters of which form the following sentence; Basilius, *emperor of the* Romans *in Christ, to* Leo, *his dear son and collegue in the empire.* The maxims contained therein are truly worthy of a great prince and a christian philosopher. *Basilius* made a new collection of the laws, known by the name of *basilicæ*, that is, royal or imperial laws; for they did not take their name, as some have imagined, from the emperor *Basilius*, by whose orders they were compiled. They were written in the *Greek* tongue, the *Latin*, in which the laws of *Justinian* were d
compiled, being at this time scarce understood in the eastern empire. *Basilius* is, by all the antient writers, deservedly ranked among the best emperors.

Leo *Basilius* was succeeded by his son *Leo*, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire, upon the death of his eldest son *Constantine*. The new prince was a great lover of learning, and so well versed in all the branches of literature, that he deservedly acquired, as *Antoninus* had done, the surname of *Philosophus*. His first care was to punish *Theodorus Santabarenus* the monk, whom he ordered to be whipt in an ignominious manner, and then banished him to *Athens*, where his eyes were put out. *Photius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, had favoured *Theodorus*, and conspired with him to raise a kinsman of his own to the throne; he had besides raised great disturbances e
in the church: for which crimes he was, by *Leo*'s orders, deposed, and banished into *Armenia*, *Stephen*, the emperor's brother, being raised to the patriarchal see in his room. To shew his gratitude to the emperor *Michael*, who had first preferred his
He honours the memory of Michael. father, and had been murdered by him, he caused his body to be conveyed with extraordinary pomp from the monastery of *Chrysopolis*, where it had been interred, to the church of the *Apostles* in *Constantinople*, and there to be deposited in a stately monument of marble. In the year 893 the eighth of *Leo*'s reign, a war broke out between the *Romans* and *Bulgarians* on the following occasion: A great trade had been long carried on between the two nations, and the public mart was kept at *Constantinople*, whence it was, at the request of some merchants, removed to *Thessalonica*. There f
the collectors of the customs oppressing with new and unlawful impositions the *Bulgarian* merchants, *Simeon* their king having first applied in vain to the emperor for redress, resolved to do himself justice; and accordingly, entering the *Roman* territories at the head of a powerful army, ravaged and laid waste the country as far as *Macedon*, where he was met by the *Roman* army, under the command of *Procopius*
His army defeated by the Bulgarians. *Crenites* and *Curticius*, who were both cut off, with most of their men, in the engagement that ensued. *Simeon*, having taken in the pursuit a great number of prisoners, caused their noses to be cut off, and sent them back thus deformed to *Constantinople.*

y Curopalat. in Anast.

a *ſtantinople*. The emperor, highly provoked at this outrage, prevailed upon the *Ungri* or *Hungarians*, whom our author ſtyles *Turks*, to invade the country of the *Bulgarians* on one ſide, while he entered it on the other. Againſt the *Hungarians* *Simeon* marched in perſon; but was by them utterly defeated, the flower of his army being cut off, and he himſelf with much-ado eſcaping to a city named *Doroſtolum*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to *Leo* ſuing for a peace; which was readily granted him upon very honourable terms. But the emperor's forces were no ſooner withdrawn, than *Simeon* fell unexpectedly upon the *Hungarians*; and having put them to flight, ravaged their country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Leo*, provoked at this breach of the treaty, and more at his new and unreaſonable demands, reſolved to
b fall upon him with the whole ſtrength of the empire, and utterly deſtroy him. A powerful army was accordingly raiſed, and ſent into *Bulgaria*, under the conduct of *Catacalon* and *Theodoſius* a patrician. But *Simeon*, who carefully watched their motions, falling unexpectedly upon them, cut moſt of them in pieces, with *Theodoſius* and a great number of officers of diſtinction; which obliged the emperor to ſubmit to the beſt terms he could obtain [z]. While *Leo* was engaged in theſe wars abroad, ſeveral conſpiracies were formed againſt him at home; which, however, were ſeaſonably diſcovered, and the conſpirators ſent into exile, the emperor being averſe to the ſhedding of blood. In 901. the empreſs *Theophano*, or, as others call her, *Theophania*, being dead, the emperor married one *Zoe*, the moſt beautiful woman of her age, whom he
c had kept as his concubine in his wife's life-time, and cauſed her to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity, conferring at the ſame time on her father, by name *Zantzas*, the title of *Father of the emperor*. *Zoe* did not long enjoy her new dignity, and, upon her death, *Leo* married to his third wife a lady of extraordinary beauty, named *Eudocia*; but ſhe dying in child-bed, together with the infant, *Leo*, who had yet no iſſue male to ſucceed him, married to his fourth wife another *Zoe*, who brought him a ſon, called *Conſtantine*. This fourth marriage, which was then held unlawful, gave riſe to great diſturbances and diviſions in the church of *Conſtantinople*; for *Nicolaus Myſticus*, at that time patriarch, not only declared againſt the marriage, but excommunicated the emperor; who thereupon, after having earneſtly begged, but in vain, to
d be reſtored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch to a monaſtery, and placed one *Euthymius Syncellus* in his room. Some of the clergy adhered to *Nicolaus*, and others to *Euthymius*; which occaſioned a ſchiſm in the church. Though *Euthymius* reſtored the emperor to the communion of the faithful, yet he reſolutely oppoſed him, when, by the advice of the ſenate, he was about to publiſh an edict, declaring it lawful to marry the fourth time. *Leo* had formerly publiſhed an edict, ſubjecting thoſe who married thrice to the penalties which had been decreed againſt them by ſome ancient councils, and the clergy would not ſuffer him to revoke that edict [a]. Some time before his fourth marriage, as he was going on *Whitſunday* in a ſolemn proceſſion to the church of St. *Mocius*, as was cuſtomary on that day, a perſon
e of a mean condition, watching that opportunity, juſt as he entered the church, gave him ſuch a blow on the head with a club, that he fell to the ground, and thoſe about him believed him dead; and truly he had been killed upon the ſpot, had not the violence of the blow been broken by a chandelier, which hung in the way. *Alexander*, the emperor's brother, was thought to have been privy to this attempt; but no proof could be alledged againſt him, the traitor, though tortured in a moſt cruel manner, obſtinately refuſing to diſcover his accomplices. As they could extort nothing from him, he was burnt alive in the circus, after his hands and feet had been cut off [b]. The following year 902. the ſixteenth of *Leo*'s reign, the *Saracens*, having equipped a mighty fleet, took *Taurominium* in *Sicily*, reduced the iſland of *Lemnos*, and, ravaging without controul the coaſts of *Aſia*, threw the imperial city itſelf into great conſternation. In the end of the ſummer, they laid ſiege to *Theſſalonica*, which they took, and would have deſtroyed, had it not been redeemed with a large ſum by *Simeon*, one of the emperor's ſecretaries, who was on that account raiſed to the rank of a patrician. *Leo*, not able to make head againſt the *Saracens* at ſea, raiſed a powerful army, which he ſent into the eaſt, under the conduct of *Euſtathius Argyrus* and *Andronicus Ducas*, in order to attack them by land; which they did with great ſucceſs, having gained ſeveral victories over them. However, the year following, they invaded with

The treachery of the Bulgarians.

The emperor marries a ſecond and third wife.

Is excommunicated for marrying a fourth

An attempt upon the emperor's life.

Tauromini-um *and* Theſſalonica *taken by the* Saracens.

Who are defeated by the a *emperor's generals.*

[z] Idem in Leon. Zonar. Cedren. ibid. Vide Const. Porphyrogen. in præamb. ad edict. unionis.

[b] Leo Grammat. l. iii. and iv.

a mighty army the *Roman* territories; which obliged the emperor to diſpatch *Himerius* and *Andronicus Ducas* againſt them. They were both generals of great courage, experience and conduct; but a fatal miſunderſtanding between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one *Samonas*, put a ſtop to the progreſs of their arms. *Samonas*, a *Saracen* by birth, and, formerly chamberlain to the emperor, having diſcovered a conſpiracy, had been, on that account, advanced to the firſt employments in the ſtate. Having by that means acquired immenſe wealth, he attempted to eſcape into his own country, carrying with him his treaſures; but was ſtopped upon the road, and brought back to *Conſtantinople* by *Conſtantine Ducas*, the ſon of *Andronicus*. The emperor, provoked at his thus abandoning him, notwithſtanding the many favours he had heaped upon him, kept him for ſome time under cloſe confinement; but in the end reſtored him to his former rank and honours. As *Samonas* bore an irreconcilable hatred to *Andronicus*, on account of his ſon *Conſtantine*, by whom he had been intercepted on his way home, he prevailed upon one of that general's intimate friends, with a large ſum, to warn him by letter not to join *Himerius*, who, he ſaid, had orders from the emperor to put out his eyes, as ſoon as he had him in his power. *Andronicus*, giving credit to this letter, refuſed to join *Himerius*, who nevertheleſs engaged the *Saracens*, and gave them a total overthrow. *Andronicus*, dreading the emperor's indignation, ſeized a caſtle near *Iconium*, called *Cabala*, with a deſign to revolt; which *Samonas* no ſooner underſtood, than making uſe of all his authority at court to his deſtruction, he prevailed upon the emperor, with his artful inſinuations, to declare *Andronicus* a traitor, and to diſpatch a ſtrong army againſt him, under the command of *Iberitzas Gregoras*. Hereupon *Andronicus* deſpairing of pardon, fled to the *Saracens*, by whom he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. *Leo*, greatly concerned for the loſs of ſo brave a commander, who had hitherto ſerved him with much honour and integrity, and dreading him as an enemy, reſolved to perſuade him, if poſſible, to return home. With this view he releaſed a *Saracen* captive, on condition he delivered to *Andronicus* a letter, wherein the emperor invited him home, promiſed to reſtore him to his former honours, and gave him repeated aſſurances of his friendſhip and eſteem; but the captive, bribed by *Samonas*, inſtead of conveying the letter to *Andronicus*, delivered it to the kalif, who immediately cauſed the unfortunate *Andronicus*, with his ſon *Conſtantine* and the reſt who had attended him in his flight, to be thrown into priſon, where they were treated with the utmoſt cruelty. *Andronicus* ſoon periſhed under the hardſhips he endured; ſeveral others purchaſed their liberty by renouncing their religion; but *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Andronicus*, made his eſcape with a ſmall number of attendants, and though purſued, ſometimes by fighting, and ſometimes by caſting gold in the way, and by that means diverting the greedy ſoldiery, got ſafe to *Conſtantinople*, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and feaſted upon his arrival in the golden room. We are told, that as he was departing, when the banquet was over, the emperor, calling him back, warned him not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far miſled by the omen of his name as to aſpire at the empire; adding, that he had been aſſured by thoſe who could foretel things of that nature, that his own ſon *Conſtantine* was deſtined by Heaven to the empire; and that, if *Ducas* ever attempted the imperial dignity, his head would be inevitably cut off, and brought through the gate of that very place, where he was now treated with ſo much honour and magnificence. The event confirmed the truth of this prediction, as we ſhall relate anon.

Andronicus Ducas, *diſgraced, flies to the* Saracens.

He dies; but his ſon Conſtantine *returns to* Conſtantinople.

About this time, *Samonas* the emperor's chief favourite, who had hitherto governed with an abſolute ſway, was at length diſgraced on the following occaſion: He had recommended a youth, named *Conſtantine*, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, to wait on the empreſs, who, being greatly taken with his addreſs and other good qualities, uſed all her intereſt to prefer him. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to *Samonas*, who, apprehending he might in time be ſupplanted by this new favourite, did all that lay in his power to remove him; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he arrogantly accuſed the empreſs of too much familiarity with him, and even had the boldneſs to publiſh a libel againſt the emperor himſelf, who, finding him to be the author of it, confined him to a monaſtery, and appointed his rival *Conſtantine* great chamberlain in his room [c]. In 911. the twenty-ſixth and laſt year of his reign, the *Saracens*, under the conduct of *Damianus* a *Tyrian* and *Leo* of *Tripolis*, committing dreadful ravages on

Samonas *diſgraced.*

[c] Curopalat. in Leon. Zonar. Cedren. Leo Grammat. ibid.

on the coaſts and in the iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, *Himerius* was ſent with a powerful fleet againſt them; but in a ſea-fight near the iſland of *Samos*, the *Roman* navy was utterly defeated, *Himerius* himſelf having with much difficulty eſcaped to *Mitylene*. The emperor did not long outlive this calamity; but died of the colic on the eleventh of *May* of the preſent year, after having reigned twenty five years and three months. He left behind him only one ſon, by name *Conſtantine*; but, as he was ſcarce five years old, he bequeathed the empire to his brother *Alexander*, after having earneſtly intreated him to leave it at his death to his ſon *Conſtantine*, whom he recommended to his care [d]. *Leo* is allowed on all hands to have been a prince of great prudence and uncommon penetration in the management of public affairs. He is highly extolled by the eccleſiaſtic writers, on account of his zeal for the purity of the catholic faith, and by them compared to the moſt zealous and vigilant among their biſhops. As he was a man of great learning, he left ſeveral works behind him, *viz.* a letter to *Omarus* king of the *Saracens*, concerning the myſteries and truth of the chriſtian religion, and the hereſies and blaſphemies of the *Saracens*; a book of military diſcipline, which has been tranſlated into *Latin*; another on hunting; ſeveral theological and hiſtorical tracts, ſtill to be ſeen, though ſtrangely maimed and corrupted, in the *Vatican* library; a circular letter, which, in imitation of the biſhops, he wrote to all his ſubjects, encouraging them to the practice of every chriſtian virtue; but as he applied himſelf above all to the ſtudy of the law, he new-modelled the *Roman* juriſprudence. His father *Baſilius* had, in the year 870, with the aſſiſtance of his two ſons *Conſtantine* and *Leo*, publiſhed an epitome of *Juſtinian*'s code, which he called *procheiron*. This work, which conſiſted of forty titles, is ſtill to be found among the manuſcripts in the *Vatican* library. It is by ſome aſcribed to *Baſilius*, *Conſtantine*, and *Leo*, by others only to *Leo* and *Conſtantine*, and by ſome to *Leo* alone; whence *Cujacius* and other civilians conclude it to have been reviſed by *Leo*, and brought into a better form. *Leo*, not ſatisfied with that, publiſhed about the year 886. his *baſilicæ*, divided into ſixty books and ſix volumes. In this great work the emperor followed the order which *Juſtinian* had obſerved in his laws; for it was compiled from his code, edicts, *novellæ*, and from the conſtitutions of the ſucceeding emperors down to *Baſilius*, whatever was ſuperfluous, or had been abrogated by the cuſtom of after-times, being retrenched. The *baſilicæ* were no ſooner publiſhed, than the books of *Juſtinian* were quite laid aſide, both in the ſchools and courts of juſtice. *Leo* dying, his ſon *Conſtantine* reviſed and corrected the *baſilicæ*, which had been publiſhed by his father, and ordered them, thus corrected, to be made uſe of both at the bar and in the ſchools. The *baſilicæ* of *Leo* were called *priores*, and thoſe of *Conſtantine poſteriores*; but the latter alone were in force, and continued to be the foundation of the *Greek* juriſprudence to the end of the empire [e].

The Roman *fleet defeated by the* Saracens. Leo *dies.*

His character and works.

Leo being dead, his brother *Alexander* was by the ſenate and people acknowledged emperor; but he, in the very beginning of his reign, gave ſuch inſtances of his cruelty, avarice, and debauchery, as rendered him odious to all his ſubjects. Thoſe who ſeemed to diſcountenance him in his lewd and diſſolute courſes, he baniſhed under various pretences, placing perſons of moſt infamous characters in their room, and ſuffering himſelf to be intirely governed by debauchees and proſtitutes. He was ſo taken with one *Baſilitzas*, a perſon of a mean deſcent, but of a moſt diſſolute life and his inſeparable companion in the moſt abominable extravagancies, that he reſolved to ſettle the empire on him, and, by caſtrating his nephew *Conſtantine*, to deprive the young prince of all hopes of ſucceſſion. But he was diverted from ſuch an unpopular attempt, by ſome of the late emperor's friends, repreſenting to him, that the child, who was of a weak and ſickly conſtitution, would, in all likelihood, be ſoon removed out of the way by a natural death. In the mean time, he baniſhed the empreſs *Zoe* from the court, ſuffering none to continue there, but ſuch as were ſlaves to his ſenſual pleaſures, and ſubſervient to his brutiſh appetites. *Simeon*, prince of the *Bulgarians*, no ſooner heard of his acceſſion to the empire, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to him to renew the treaties of peace and friendſhip concluded by former emperors between the two nations; but *Alexander*, inſtead of cultivating the friendſhip of that warlike and powerful nation, diſmiſſed their embaſſadors in an ignominious manner; at which *Simeon* juſtly provoked, invaded with a mighty army the *Roman* territories, deſtroying all with

Alexander *a debauched prince.*

He provokes the Bulgarians.

[d] Curopalat. Zonar. Const. Manass. Glycas, ibid. [e] Struv. hiſt. jur. Græc. c. 4. Cujac. l. vi. obſer. c. 10. Doviat. hiſt. jur. civil. p. 47.

with fire and ſword. *Alexander*, inſtead of offering to oppoſe him, purſued without a interruption his diſſolute courſes, till death, haſtened on by his intemperance, delivered the world from ſo pernicious a monſter. As he was one day uſing violent exerciſe, after having eaten and drunk to a great exceſs, ſome of the veſſels breaking, he continued to bleed inwardly till he died. Before his death, which happened in

He dies.

Conſtantine VIII.

912. after he had reigned about a year and a month, he declared *Conſtantine* his ſucceſſor; but appointed him for his governors, as he was yet a child, ſuch perſons as had been moſt ſubſervient to him in his infamous pleaſures, and were, on that account, deſpiſed and abhorred by all men of honour and integrity. This encouraged *Conſtantine Ducas*, the ſon of *Andronicus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, to attempt the ſovereignty, notwithſtanding the warning given him by the late emperor; but as b he endeavoured to force the imperial palace, after he had been proclaimed emperor by his friends in the circus, he was ſeized by the guards, who immediately cut off his head, and carried it to the emperor. With him fell the hopes of his party, moſt of his accomplices, who were men of great power and authority in the city, being diſcovered, and puniſhed either with death or baniſhment. During theſe domeſtic broils, *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, having laid waſte *Thrace*, was advanced to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, which city he had great hopes of reducing in a ſhort time; but the unexpected and vigorous oppoſition he met with from the inhabitants, obliged him, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, to abandon the enterprize and retire to *Hebdomon*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to the young prince's governors with over- c tures for a treaty; which were received with great joy. While the negotiations were carrying on, *Simeon* was admitted to dine with the emperor in the palace of *Blachernæ*, whence he returned home loaded with rich preſents. *Cedrenus* writes, that a peace was concluded; but *Zonaras* aſſures us, that the treaty was broken off, before it could be brought to a happy concluſion, the prince of the *Bulgarians* refuſing to ſubmit to the conditions inſiſted upon by the regents. If an agreement was made, it was broken ſoon after, as we ſhall relate anon. In the mean time, the regents, diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, at the earneſt requeſt of the people of *Conſtantinople* and of the young prince himſelf, recalled to court the empreſs *Zoe*; who, having ſoon got all the power into her own hands, removed from the emperor's preſence the favourites of *Alexander*, d and put others in their room, who were better qualified for that high truſt [f]. *Zoe* had ſcarce taken upon her the adminiſtration, when the *Bulgarians* broke into the empire on one ſide, and the *Saracens* on the other. The former, after having laid waſte *Thrace*, ſat down before *Adrianople*, which was betrayed to them by one *Pancratucus* an *Armenian*, whom *Simeon* had bribed with rich preſents. The *Saracens*, under the conduct of *Damianus*, kalif of *Tyre*, having equipped a powerful fleet, committed great devaſtations on the coaſts. *Zoe*, thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, reſolved, purſuant to the advice of the ſenate, to make peace upon any terms with the *Saracens*, and employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt the *Bulgarians*. Accordingly a treaty was happily concluded with the former, and a e mighty army ſent againſt the latter, under the conduct of *Leo Phocas*, who, having muſtered his numerous forces in the ſpacious plain of *Diabaſis*, led them ſtrait againſt the enemy, encamped at a ſmall diſtance. Before the engagement, *Conſtantine*, the chief chaplain of the palace, or, as he was ſtyled *protopapa*, expoſing the wood of the holy croſs to the view of the whole army, commanded them to kneel down, and ſwear, that they would fight to the laſt. After this, both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but the *Romans* prevailing after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, the *Bulgarians* fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The victory, however, was unluckily ſnatched out of their hands by the following accident: *Leo*, the *Roman* general, alight- f ing at a fountain to quench his drought during the purſuit, his horſe broke looſe, while he ſtooped down to drink. The ſoldiers, who knew him, ſeeing him without a rider, concluded from thence, that their general was ſlain, and thereupon, giving over the purſuit, began to retire in a diſorderly manner; which *Simeon* quickly perceiving, rallied his men, and, facing about, fell unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, put them to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter, not only great numbers of the common ſoldiers being ſlain in that confuſion, but many officers of great diſtinction [g]. To this unhappy miſtake ſome aſcribe the dreadful overthrow which the *Romans* received on this occaſion; but others relate the matter in a quite different manner. They tell us,

The empreſs Zoe gets all the power into her own hands.

The Bulgarians *invade the empire.*

The Romans *defeated.*

[f] Cedren. Zonar. Leo Grammat. & Curopalat. in Conſtant. [g] Curopalat. ibid.

a us, that while *Leo* was buſy in the purſuit of the enemy, news was brought him, that *Romanus Lacapenus*, the admiral, a man of great power and authority, who had been ordered to hover on the coaſt with his fleet and aſſiſt *Leo*, if required, was returned to *Conſtantinople*, with a deſign to ſeize on the empire in the abſence of the army and the chief officers. Upon this intelligence, *Leo*, ſay they, who had the ſame ambitious view, returned immediately to the camp, the better to be informed of the truth. But the ſoldiers, imagining he retired out of fear, were ſo diſcouraged, that they turned their purſuit into a ſudden and diſorderly flight [h]. *Simeon*, elated with this unexpected ſucceſs, reſolved to return before *Conſtantinople*; but, two ſtrong detachments from his army being met on their march by the imperial troops, and utterly defeated, he thought it adviſeable to drop that enterprize and return home. In the mean time, the two rivals, *Leo* and *Romanus*, returning to court, began to plot, not only againſt the emperor, but againſt each other; for they had both nothing leſs in view than the ſovereignty. But the faction of *Romanus* prevailing at length over that of *Leo*, the latter was declared a traitor; and being ſeized in a caſtle named *Atcas*, whither he had fled for ſhelter, he was, by the emperor's orders, deprived of his ſight, and by that means rendered incapable of any further attempts. *Romanus*, having thus got rid of *Leo*, and driven all his partizans from the emperor's preſence, perſuaded the young prince to marry his daughter, and to appoint his ſon *Chriſtopher* commander in chief of the allies, which poſt was at that time one c of the greateſt dignities in the empire. Having in this manner engroſſed to himſelf the whole power, he drove the empreſs *Zoe* from the palace, and confined her to the monaſtery of St. *Euphemia*. Soon after her departure, he cauſed himſelf to be firſt declared *Cæſar*, and afterwards to be ſolemnly crowned emperor by the patriarch, the young prince rather ſilently permitting, than approving of theſe extraordinary proceedings. The following year 921. *Romanus* cauſed his two ſons, *Stephen* and *Chriſtopher*, to be crowned in the great church, reſerving the other, by name *Theophylactus*, for the patriarchal dignity; nay, with the utmoſt arrogance he ordered himſelf to be named before *Conſtantine* in all public edicts and monuments. Several d projects were ſet on foot by the friends of young *Conſtantine* to deliver him from the controul, or rather captivity, in which he lived; but they were all diſcovered, before they were ripe for execution, and the authors of them puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine broils, broke anew into the *Roman* territories; and having defeated, with great ſlaughter, the imperial troops diſpatched againſt him, he advanced, without oppoſition, to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*; but deſpairing of being ever able to reduce that metropolis, he deſired an interview with the emperor *Romanus*; which being readily granted, a peace thereupon enſued between the two nations, *Romanus* having in a pathetic ſpeech put the *Bulgarian* in mind of the account he was to give one day to the eternal Judge of the chriſtian blood he had already ſhed. At the ſame time, the *Saracens*, e who had long infeſted the coaſts and the iſlands, being ſurpriſed by *John Radenus*, the *Roman* admiral, in the harbour of *Lemnos*, were cut off almoſt to a man, and their whole fleet deſtroyed. Not long after, *Simeon*, king of the *Bulgarians*, died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Peter*, who, breaking into the *Roman* dominions, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword, without any regard to the treaty lately concluded between the emperor and his father. When he heard *Romanus* was marching againſt him at the head of a powerful army, he diſpatched a monk to him, with propoſals for a peace, which he deſired might be ſtrengthened and confirmed with a marriage. This overture being well received by *Romanus*, the *Bulgarian* prince, after ſeveral negotiations, repaired to *Conſtantinople*, where he was ſplendidly entertained by *Ro*- f *manus* in the palace of *Blachernæ*, and with great ſolemnity married by *Stephen*, the patriarch, to *Mary*, the daughter of *Chriſtopher*, the emperor's ſon. At one of many public entertainments that were made on this occaſion, the *Bulgarians* loudly complaining, at the inſtigation of *Romanus*, as was ſuppoſed, that the emperor *Conſtantine* ſhould take place of *Chriſtopher*, the father-in-law of their prince, *Romanus*, pretending to gratify them, cauſed his ſon, with a ſeeming reluctancy, to take the moſt honourable place. The nuptial ſolemnities were ſcarce over, when the *Saracens* in *Syria* invaded the *Roman* territories; but *John Curcuas*, the imperial general in thoſe parts, not only drove them back with great loſs, but having beſieged and taken

Two parties of the Bulgarians *routed.*

Leo *diſgraced and deprived of his ſight.*

Zoe *confined to a monaſtery.*

Romanus *crowned emperor.*

A peace concluded with the Bulgarians.

The king of the Bulgarians *marries the grand daughter of* Romanus.

h Zonar. Cedren. Glycas in Conſtant.

Melitena *taken from the* Saracens.

taken the city of *Melitena*, reduced the adjoining country to the form of a province. a
The following winter proved very ſevere; and the long froſt, ſaid to haved laſted an hundred and twenty days, was followed by a dreadful plague, which ſwept off incredible numbers of people: earthquakes were felt in ſeveral provinces, and whole cities overturned. At *Conſtantinople* a fire broke out, which conſumed many ſtately buildings. But *Romanus* was not ſo much affected with theſe public calamities, as with the death of his ſon *Chriſtopher*, who died on the fourteenth of *Auguſt* of the preſent year 933[i]. The following year, one *Baſilius*, a native of *Macedon*, giving out, that he was *Conſtantine Ducas*, who had been ſlain in the beginning of the preſent reign, drew vaſt crowds after him; but being ſeized by an officer in the army, he was brought to the emperor at *Conſtantinople*, who, after having cauſed one of his b
hands to be cut off, ſet him at liberty. But he continuing ſtill to paſs himſelf upon the credulous multitude for the ſon of *Andronicus*, got together great numbers of malecontents, who having ſeized on a ſtrong hold, made from thence frequent incurſions into the neighbouring country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. But *Romanus*, having with much difficulty got him once more into his power, ordered him to be burnt alive[k]. In 944. the *Roſſi*, who inhabited the *European Sarmatia*, and were known to the ancients by the names of *Roxolani* and *Baſtarnæ*, having equipped a numerous fleet, conſiſting, according to ſome of ten, according to others of fifteen, thouſand veſſels, committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of the empire. But *Theophanes*, the *Roman* admiral, falling unexpectedly upon them, deſtroyed their c

The Roſſi *utterly defeated by the* Romans.

whole fleet; and the two generals *Bardas* and *Curcuas*, purſuing thoſe who had ſaved themſelves aſhore, made ſuch a havock of them, that very few returned home with the news of their misfortune[l]. All this while *Conſtantine*, the lawful prince, lived without the leaſt authority, having but the bare name of emperor. However, he carefully watched an opportunity of recovering his former power; and with this view gained over ſome perſons in great credit and eſteem with *Romanus* and his ſons, who being well appriſed, that to remove *Romanus* was the firſt ſtep towards the re-eſtabliſhment of *Conſtantine*, applied to *Stephen*, the uſurper's youngeſt ſon, and by degrees brought him to rebel againſt his father, whom he ſeized on the

Romanus *depoſed by his own ſon.*

ſixteenth of *December* of the preſent year 944. and confined to a monaſtery in the d
iſland *Prota*. He being thus removed, *Stephen* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in his room, obliging his elder brother *Conſtantine*, who had been raiſed by his father to the imperial dignity, to acknowledge him for his partner in the ſovereignty. This gave riſe to a miſunderſtanding between the two brothers, which proved fatal to both. For *Conſtantine* having invited them to an entertainment, as if he had been deſirous of bringing about an accommodation, cauſed them both to be ſeized in the midſt

His ſons depoſed and baniſhed.

of their jollity, and to be immediately conveyed away, *viz. Stephen* to the iſland of *Panormus*, and *Conſtantine* to *Terebintus*, where they were both ordained prieſts. *Stephen* was afterwards removed to *Proconneſus*, and from thence to *Rhodes*, then to *Mitylene*, and laſtly to *Leſbos*, where he died, after having borne his misfortunes for many years e
with great conſtancy and reſolution. *Conſtantine* having two years after killed one of his keepers, with a deſign to make his eſcape out of the iſland of *Samothrace*, whither he had been removed, the reſt, tranſported with rage, fell upon him and ſlew him. As for *Romanus*, their father, he died in the beginning of the fourth

Conſtantine *reſtored to his former power.*

year of his exile[m]. *Conſtantine*, thus reſtored to his former power and authority, amply rewarded all thoſe who had been inſtrumental in his reſtoration, preferring them to the firſt employments in the ſtate. Soon after, in order to prevent any future deſigns that might be formed againſt him, he cauſed his ſon *Romanus* to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity, and *Romanus* the ſon of *Stephen*, with *Baſilius* the natural ſon of *Romanus* the elder, and *Michael* the ſon of *Chriſtopher*, to be made eunuchs, and to enter into orders. In 948. the *Saracens* breaking into the empire with a mighty army, *Bardas Phocas* and his two ſons *Nicephorus* and *Leo* were diſpatched with the flower of the *Roman* forces againſt them. *Bardas* was one of the beſt officers of his age; but, being hated by the ſoldiery on account of his extreme covetouſneſs, he performed nothing anſwerable to the high character he bore; nay, his men having abandoned him in an engagement, he was dangerouſly wounded in the forehead, and with much ado brought off alive by ſome of his friends. His two

i Curopalat. in Roman. Leo Grammat. in Rom. Cedren. in Rom. Luitprand. l. v. p. 384. Luitprand. l. v. c. 9, 10, 11,

k Idem ibid.

l Idem. Zonar.

m Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid.

a two ſons gained ſeveral ſignal victories over the enemy, by whom, however, they were not more feared than beloved by thoſe who ſerved under them: *Leo*, having overthrown the *Saracens* in a pitched battle, took, among the other priſoners, *Apolaſemus*, a perſon of great diſtinction, and nearly related to *Chabdanus* the kalif; which the emperor no ſooner knew, than he ordered the captive to be ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where the vain prince, after having led him in triumph, trod in an inſulting manner upon his neck. The kalif, highly provoked at this indignity, uſed in a moſt barbarous manner *Conſtantine* the third ſon of *Bardas Phocas*, whom he had taken priſoner, in order to make him abjure the chriſtian religion; but not being able to prevail with him, he cauſed him to be poiſoned. *Phocas*, to revenge his
b death, put to the ſword all the relations of the kalif, who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. On the other hand, the kalif, having raiſed a numerous and formidable army, marched againſt *Phocas* and his ſons, carrying with him *Nicetas*, a patrician, and ſeveral other priſoners of diſtinction, with an intent to cauſe them to be maſſacred in the ſight of the *Roman* army. But *Nicetas*, who was a man of great addreſs, having in the mean time inſinuated himſelf into his favour, was by him made privy to all his deſigns, which he found means to impart to *Phocas*, who lying in ambuſh for him in a narrow paſs, cut off his numerous army almoſt to a man, the kalif himſelf eſcaping with much difficulty, after having put to the ſword all the *Roman* priſoners, except *Nicetas*, who, by bribing his keepers, had made his eſcape in the beginning of the engagement. After this victory, *Phocas*,
c invading the territories of the *Saracens*, took ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and laid waſte whole provinces. But, in the mean time, the *Saracens*, who had ſettled in *Crete*, committing dreadful ravages on the coaſts, the emperor having with incredible expedition fitted out a powerful fleet, diſpatched it with a ſtrong army on board againſt the iſland of *Crete*, where they landed, without the leaſt oppoſition from the *Saracens*, altogether unprovided againſt ſo ſudden a deſcent, and would have eaſily made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland, had they been commanded by an officer of any ſkill or experience. But the emperor having appointed commander in chief in this expedition one of his chamberlains, named *Conſtantine Gongylas*, who had been brought up in the court,
d and was conſequently an utter ſtranger to the art of war, through his ignorance the whole undertaking miſcarried. For the *Saracens*, finding he neither took care to fortify himſelf by any works, nor to ſend out ſcouts to get intelligence, concluded from thence, that he was no warrior; and recovering from their conſternation, fell upon him unexpectedly, put his army to flight with great ſlaughter, and made themſelves maſters of his camp and baggage. He had himſelf fallen into the enemy's hands, had not ſome of his guards, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, conveyed him on board one of his veſſels [n]. Not long after this defeat, *Romanus*, the emperor's ſon,
e prompted by his ambition, and egged on by his wife *Theophano* or *Theophania*, conſpired with her againſt his father; and having gained over *Nicetas*, one of the attendants at the emperor's table, prevailed upon him to adminiſter poiſon to the prince, inſtead of a potion, which had been preſcribed to him by his phyſicians. But the emperor happening to ſtumble after he had taken in his hand the poiſonous cup, the greater part of the draught was ſpilt by that lucky accident; ſo that what remained had not the deſired effect, tho' his life was for ſome time in great danger. In the month of *September* of the ſame year, he undertook a journey to mount *Olympus*, to beg the prayers of the monks, as given out, for the ſucceſs of his arms againſt the *Saracens*, whom he deſigned, if poſſible, to drive out of *Syria*: but the true motive of his journey was to adviſe with *Theodorus*, biſhop of *Cyzicus*, by what means he might drive from the patriarchal ſee *Polyeuctus*, who had ſucceeded *Theo-*
f *phylactus*, the ſon of *Romanus*. Being taken ill on his journey, either by the wicked practices of his ſon, or through the bad habit of his body, he was carried back in a litter to *Conſtantinople*, where he died on the ninth of *November* 960. after having lived fifty-four years and two months, and reigned thirteen with his father, uncle, and mother, twenty-five with *Romanus*, and fifteen alone [o]. *Curopalates*, from whom other authors have copied, charges him with being too much addicted to wine, and with committing the whole management of affairs to his wife *Helena* and his favourite *Baſilius*, who, abuſing the truſt repoſed in them, ſet every thing to ſale, beſtowing the firſt employments in the ſtate on the higheſt bidder. By this means all the offices,

Leo *and* Nicephorus *gain great advantages over the* Saracens.

The Romans *utterly defeated by the* Saracens *in* Crete.

Romanus, *the emperor's ſon, attempts upon his life.*

Conſtantine *dies.*

His character

[n] Curopalat. in Conſtantin.

[o] Idem ibid.

offices, both civil and military, were filled with perſons no ways qualified for them, a which equally redounded to his diſhonour and the detriment of the ſtate. He is likewiſe condemned for puniſhing the ſmalleſt faults with the utmoſt ſeverity. On the other hand, he was a great encourager of learning, which he is ſaid to have revived, after letters had been long neglected. He was himſelf well ſkilled in moſt branches of literature, eſpecially in hiſtory, arithmetic, aſtronomy, philoſophy, and geometry. *Zonaras* commends him on account of his piety, which, ſays he, appeared in all his writings and epiſtles [p].

Romanus. *Conſtantine* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Romanus*, ſurnamed *the boy*, to diſtinguiſh him from the other *Romanus*, his grandfather; for he was the ſon of *Conſtantine* by *Helena*, the daughter of *Romanus* the uſurper. He is deſervedly reckoned amongſt b the moſt lewd and debauched princes mentioned in hiſtory. Tho' he was himſelf capable of governing well, being endowed with uncommon parts, yet he committed the whole management of affairs to one *Joſeph*, his chief chamberlain, that he might, with more liberty and without interruption, purſue his pleaſures; which he did, wallowing in all manner of debaucheries, without beſtowing one thought on the public. Soon after his acceſſion, he cauſed his young ſon *Baſilius* to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnity by the patriarch *Polyeuctus*; and imagining he had by that means ſecured the empire to his poſterity, he took no further care either of his family or the public. In the ſecond year of his reign, *Nicephorus Phocas*, a perſon of extra- c ordinary merit, who had been raiſed by *Conſtantine* to the chief command of all the forces of the empire, undertook, with the conſent of *Romanus* and the ſenate, an expedition againſt the *Saracens* in *Crete*; and landing in that iſland, defeated the enemy in ſeveral engagements, made himſelf maſter of all their ſtrong holds, *Chandax* itſelf not excepted, took *Curupes*, the kalif, and *Arcemas*, his lieutenant, priſoners, and in the ſpace of ſeven months reduced the whole iſland. But before he could ſettle affairs there, he was recalled by the emperor, at the inſtigation of *Joſeph*, who, growing jealous of the ſucceſs of *Nicephorus*, alarmed the young prince with a pretended prediction, that *he who conquered* Crete *ſhould become maſter of the whole* Roman *empire*. While *Nicephorus* was thus ſignalizing himſelf in *Crete*, his brother *Leo* was attended with equal ſucceſs in the eaſt, where he gave the *Saracens* the d greateſt overthrow they had ever received. *Chabdanus*, their kalif, with much difficulty, made his eſcape; but the reſt were either killed upon the ſpot, or taken priſoners. Such numbers of captives were ſent by *Leo* to *Conſtantinople*, that all the houſes, both in the city and the neighbouring country, were, if we may give credit to the writers of thoſe times, filled with *Saracen* ſlaves. *Leo*, on his return to *Conſtantinople*, was honoured with a triumph; but his brother *Nicephorus*, of whom the emperor entertained no ſmall jealouſy, on account of the above-mentioned pre- e diction, was not allowed to come to court, but ordered to march againſt *Chabdanus*, the kalif of *Syria*, who, having recruited his army after his late defeat, threatened the empire with a new invaſion. But *Nicephorus*, meeting him on the borders of *Syria*, overthrew him in a pitched battle; and then laying ſiege to *Beræa*, made himſelf maſter of that important place, in which he found great wealth, and multitudes of chriſtian captives, who on that occaſion recovered their liberty. The news of this victory had not yet reached *Conſtantinople*, when the emperor died, after having lived twenty-four years, and reigned thirteen years four months and five days, *viz.* ten with his father, and the reſt alone. His death, which happened on the fifteenth of *March* of the year 963. is by ſome aſcribed to poiſon, adminiſtered to him by his wife *Theophano*; by others, to his great lewdneſs and intemperance [q]. He left two ſons behind him, *viz. Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*; but as they were yet very young, f the empreſs *Theophano* took upon her the adminiſtration; which ſhe had no ſooner done, than ſhe commanded *Nicephorus* to repair to *Conſtantinople*, much againſt the will of *Joſeph*, the prime miniſter, and honoured him with a triumph in the circus, where he diſplayed the rich ſpoils he had taken in the iſland of *Crete* and the city of *Beræa*. During his ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, he found that *Joſeph* ſuſpected him of ambitious deſigns, as if he aſpired at the empire, which he was well appriſed would end in his ruin, *Joſeph* ſtill bearing great ſway at court. In order therefore to remove the ſuſpicions of the prime miniſter, having deſired and obtained of him a private audience, he told him, that looking upon all worldly grandeur with that contempt

A debauched prince.

The iſland of Crete *recovered.*

The Saracens *overcome in the eaſt.*

Romanus *dies.*

Nicephorus *comes to* Conſtantinople, *and triumphs.*

[p] Curopalat. Zonar. ibid

[q] Curopal. in Roman.

a contempt it deſerved, he had long panted after a retired and monaſtic life; but had been prevented from complying with his inclination by the kindneſs of his maſters, who had forced employments upon him of the greateſt truſt. A the ſame time, he ſhewed him a hair-cloth, which he pretended he wore conſtantly next his ſkin. The credulous miniſter, ſurpriſed at his ſpeech and the ſight of the hair-cloth, fell down at his feet, and with tears in his eyes, begging his pardon, declared, that for the future he would give no credit to any thing that could be alledged againſt him. *Nicephorus*, having thus gained the good opinion of *Joſeph*, was ſuffered to return to the army in the eaſt; where he had not been long, ere *Joſeph*, jealous of the eſteem he was in with the army, began to repent he had let him eſcape out of his hands,
b and ſeriouſly to conſider by what means he might put him out of a condition of raiſing diſturbances in the ſtate. As his apprehenſions daily increaſed, he wrote in the end to *Tzimiſches* and *Curcuas*, two principal commanders in the eaſt, promiſing to prefer them to the firſt poſts in the army, provided they ſeized on *Nicephorus*, and ſecured him in a monaſtery, or by any other means removed him out of the way. But the two officers not only delivered the letters to *Nicephorus*, but adviſed him to provide for his own ſafety by the only means that was now left him, *viz.* that of taking upon him the ſovereignty. This propoſal he rejected at firſt, or ſeemed to reject, with the utmoſt horror; but *Tzimiſches* and *Curcuas* threatening him with their drawn ſwords, he accepted of the empire, as was given out, to ſave
c his life, and ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor on the ſecond of *July* of the year 963 [z]. Some writers tell us, that he was not ſo much prompted by his ambition to uſurp the ſovereignty, as by his love for the empreſs *Theophano*, of whom he had been long enamoured. They add, that he maintained a private, and perhaps not altogether innocent, correſpondence with her, which greatly heightened the ſuſpicions of the prime miniſter, who had ſecret intelligence of all that paſſed. As *Nicephorus* was no leſs beloved by the people of *Conſtantine*, on account of his affability and mighty exploits, than *Joſeph* was hated for his pride and haughty carriage, the news of what had happened in the eaſt was received by all ranks of people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, nothing being heard in
d the ſtreets but *ſucceſs and proſperity to* Nicephorus Callinicus, or *the brave conqueror*. The houſe of *Joſeph* and thoſe of his friends and adherents were in an inſtant levelled with the ground by the tumultuous rabble. The new prince, being arrived at *Chryſopolis*, was there met by the chief nobility, and conducted to *Hebdomon*, where he was crowned with great ſolemnity by the patriarch *Polyeuctus*. Being thus acknowledged both by the people and ſenate, he began his reign by baniſhing *Joſeph* into *Paphlagonia*, and confining him to a monaſtery in that province, where he died two years after. In the ſecond year of his reign, he married the empreſs *Theophano*, though he was therein oppoſed with great warmth by the patriarch, becauſe he had been married before, and was ſaid to have ſtood godfather to one of the
e empreſs's children; nay, *Polyeuctus* proceeded ſo far as to excommunicate the emperor, pretending his marriage to be unlawful, on account of the two above-mentioned impediments. But the matter being examined in a ſynod held for that purpoſe at *Conſtantinople*, *Nicephorus* was by the aſſembled biſhops reſtored to the communion of the church [a]. In the third year of his reign, he raiſed a powerful army, with a deſign to drive out of *Sicily* the *Saracens*, who had ſettled there, and were daily committing dreadful ravages on the coaſts of *Italy*. With the command of this army he intruſted *Manuel*, the natural ſon of his uncle *Leo*, who, being an intire ſtranger to the art of war, ſuffered himſelf to be drawn by the enemy into the mountainous parts of the iſland, where he was cut off with all his men. *John*
f *Zimiſces*, who commanded in *Cilicia*, was attended with better ſucceſs; for the *Saracens*, who had invaded that province, were defeated by him with ſuch ſlaughter, that the hill, on which the battle was fought, was from that time forward called *the bloody hill*. The ſame year, the *Saracens* in *Cyprus* were overthrown in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles, and in the end driven quite out of the iſland, which was reunited to the dominions of the empire. The following year, the emperor marched in perſon againſt the *Saracens* in *Cilicia*, took three of their ſtrongeſt cities; and having wintered in *Cappadocia*, inveſted early in the ſpring the cities of *Mopſueſta* and *Tarſus* at the ſame time, which, after an obſtinate defence, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

He is proclaimed emperor.

Nicephorus Phocas *crowned emperor.*

The Roman *army cut off by the* Saracens *in* Sicily.

Nicephorus *gains great advantages over the* Saracens.

[z] Idem Cedren. Zonar. & alii. in Niceph. [a] Curopolat. in Niceph.

diſcretion. A fleet, with a great number of troops on board, was ſent from *Egypt* a to the relief of *Tarſus*; but the city having ſubmitted three days before their arrival, they ſailed back, when they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed moſt of their ſhips, and drove the reſt on the coaſts of the empire, where they were ſeized, with the ſoldiers on board, by the *Romans*. *Nicephorus*, encouraged with the ſucceſs that attended his arms, broke into *Syria* the following year; and having eaſily reduced ſuch cities and forts as refuſed voluntarily to ſubmit, he marched forward, the *Saracens* flying every-where before him, and laid ſiege to *Antioch* itſelf.

Antioch beſieged.

But as that metropolis was defended by a numerous gariſon, and well ſtored with proviſions, the emperor, after having continued three months before it, was obliged, by the approach of winter, to drop the enterprize and return to *Conſtantinople* b. b

The ſiege raiſed.

Cedrenus writes, that he might have reduced the place, but was deterred from it by an old prediction, that the prince who took *Antioch* would not long enjoy that conqueſt c. Upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, *Burtzas*, a patrician, whom he had left in *Syria* with a large body of troops, to ſecure the places he had conquered in thoſe parts, having drawn together his forces in the depth of winter, marched ſtrait to *Antioch*, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, ſtruck the gariſon with ſuch terror, that they immediately ſubmitted. Thus was the metropolis of *Syria* once more reunited to the empire. But *Nicephorus*, mindful, ſays *Cedrenus*, of the above-mentioned prophecy, inſtead of rewarding *Burtzas* for ſuch an eminent piece of ſervice, diſcharged him, and forbad him the court. *John Zimiſces*, who c had ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity and uncommon ſucceſs, was likewiſe diſmiſſed ſoon after upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicion, and baniſhed the court, which in the end proved the ruin of the unhappy prince. For *Zimiſces*, highly provoked at the undeſerved treatment he met with, conſpired with *Burtzas*, and ſeveral others, and found means to draw the empreſs herſelf into the conſpiracy, incenſed againſt her huſband, according to the moſt probable opinion, on account of his deſigning, as ſhe apprehended, to make her two ſons *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine* eunuchs, and to leave the empire to his brother *Leo*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the empreſs was not only privy to the conſpiracy, but acted the chief part in it; for by her means *Zimiſces* and the other conſpirators were privately let into the palace in d the night-time, and conducted to the emperor's room, where they diſpatched him with many wounds, before the guards could come to his relief. When they received the alarm, *Leo Abalantius*, cutting off the emperor's head, ſhewed it out of the window; which unexpected ſight ſtruck the guards with ſuch terror, that, without offering to revenge the unfortunate prince's death, they continued quiet, expecting what farther deſigns the conſpirators had in view d. Such was the end of *Nicephorus Phocas*, in the fifty-eigth year of his age and ſeventh of his reign. He was without all doubt a prince of great valour and experience in war, gained ſeveral ſignal victories over the *Saracens*, drove them out of the iſland of *Cyprus*, recovered *Cilicia* and the greater part of *Syria* and *Aſia Minor*, and would in all likelihood, if he had lived e longer, have reſtored the empire to its antient ſplendor. But his abominable covetouſneſs and the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded his ſubjects, eſtranged from him the minds of the people; ſo that he was, notwithſtanding the glory he had acquired in arms, univerſally hated both by the nobility and the populace, who were ſo far from revenging his death, that they received the news of it with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable.

Antioch ſurpriſed by Burtzas.

A conſpiracy againſt Nicephorus.

Who is murdered.

John Zimiſces *proclaimed emperor.*

Nicephorus being thus murdered, *John Zimiſces* was proclaimed by the conſpirators, and by all acknowledged emperor. His firſt care was to remove from their employments, both in the ſtate and army, all the friends of the deceaſed emperor, and among the reſt *Leo*, the brother of *Nicephorus*, whom he confined to the iſland of *Leſbos*. f All thoſe who had been baniſhed by his predeceſſor he recalled, and reſtored them to their former honours. When he thought himſelf by this means thoroughly ſettled on the throne, he went to the great church to receive the crown at the hands of the patriarch. But *Polyeuctus*, meeting him at the door, oppoſed his entrance, telling him, that he could not ſuffer the church to be profaned by one who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, till he had atoned by a public penance for ſo enormous a crime. *Zimiſces* heard the patriarch with great ſubmiſſion; and, being unwilling to quarrel with the church in the beginning of his reign, offered himſelf ready

b Idem, ibid. c Cedren. in Niceph. d Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar. ibid.

ready to give what ſatisfaction ſhould be thought proper, alledging at the ſame time in his own defence, that the emperor had not been murdered by him, but by *Ablantius*, at the inſtigation of the empreſs. Hereupon the patriarch commanded him to baniſh them both, and to revoke all the edicts publiſhed by his predeceſſor to the prejudice of the church and the eccleſiaſtics; which he readily complying with, and at the ſame time promiſing to ſettle his paternal eſtate on the poor, the patriarch admitted him into the church, where he was crowned with great ſolemnity on *Chriſtmas-day*. As for the empreſs *Theophano*, ſhe was baniſhed into *Armenia*, and there ſhut up in a monaſtery. Some writers are of opinion, that the oppoſition made by the patriarch was not real, but feigned, and concerted beforehand between him and *Zimiſces*, who only wanted a plauſible pretence to remove her. However that be, the new emperor took her two ſons *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine* for his collegues, and cauſed them to be acknowledged as ſuch by the ſenate and people of *Conſtantinople*. In the mean time, the *Saracens*, hearing of the death of *Nicephorus*, raiſed without loſs of time one of the moſt numerous armies that had been ſeen for ſome ages in thoſe parts; and, giving the command of it to one *Zochares*, a perſon well ſkilled in the art of war, ſat down before *Antioch*, not doubting, but they ſhould be able to reduce the place, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, the beſieged held out, till *Nicolas*, an eunuch, declared general by the emperor, having raiſed what forces he could in *Meſopotamia* and the neighbouring provinces, fell unexpectedly upon them, gave them a total overthrow, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and return with ſhame and diſgrace to their own territories. The following year 970. the *Roſſi*, having driven out the *Bulgarians* and ſeized on their country, advanced with an army of above three hundred thouſand men into the dominions of the empire, and, having waſted all *Thrace*, ſat down before *Adrianople*. *Zimiſces*, having firſt endeavoured in vain to come to an agreement with them, ordered *Bardas Sclerus*, or *the bold*, his wife's brother, to make head againſt them with what troops he could draw together. *Bardas*, purſuant to his orders, marched ſtrait to *Adrianople*; but not daring to venture an engagement, as he had with him but thirteen thouſand men, he had recourſe to ſtratagems; and having drawn a ſtrong party of the enemy into an ambuſcade, he firſt cut them all off to a man; and then falling, when leaſt expected, upon the main body of their army, he gave them a total overthrow, put moſt of them to the ſword, took an incredible number of priſoners, and would not have ſuffered one to eſcape, had not night coming on obliged him to give over the purſuit. The *Romans* are ſaid to have loſt but twenty-five men in both engagements[f]. The ſucceſs which attended the emperor's arms abroad did not deter ſeveral of the nobility from conſpiring againſt him at home, with a deſign to raiſe to the empire *Bardas Phocas*, the late prince's nephew, who, upon the encouragement given him by his friends at *Conſtantinople*, withdrew on a ſudden out of *Amaſia*, the place of his baniſhment; and, being joined by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and there took upon him the imperial title and enſigns. At the ſame time, *Leo*, the father of *Phocas*, who had been confined to the iſland of *Leſbos*, attempted to make his eſcape from thence with his other ſon *Nicephorus*, in order to join *Bardas*; but being apprehended by the emperor's officers, both he and *Nicephorus* were ſentenced to death, but ſoon after pardoned by the good-natured emperor. In the mean time, *Bardus Sclerus*, who had been diſpatched by the emperor at the head of a conſiderable army againſt *Phocas*, arriving at *Dorylaus* the capital of *Phrygia*, endeavoured firſt by fair offers to bring him and his accomplices back to their duty; for he had been ſtrictly injoined by the emperor to abſtain, as much as poſſibſe, from ſhedding blood. But when he found them deaf to his offers and promiſes, he left *Dorylaus*, and advanced to *Cæſarea*, in order to lay ſiege to the place. Upon his approach, thoſe who had appeared the moſt ſanguine in the revolt agreed among themſelves to abandon *Phocas*, and conſult their own ſafety. Accordingly, they withdrew with their attendants, before *Bardas* inveſted the place; ſo that *Phocas*, who had with him but a ſmall number of troops, thought it adviſeable to retire from *Cæſarea*, and ſhut himſelf up in a ſtrong caſtle called *Cyropæum*, which at firſt he reſolved to defend to the utmoſt extremity. But when *Bardas* inveſted the place, and by repeated meſſages aſſured him of all imaginable kindneſs on his part, and at the

He is crowned by the patriarch.

The Saracens *defeated before* Antioch.

The Roſſi *defeated by* Bardas Sclerus.

Bardas Phocas revolts.

Is abandoned by his followers.

[f] Idem in Zimiſc.

The rebellion suppressed.

the ſame time undertook to obtain his pardon of the emperor, he ſubmitted; and depending upon the promiſes of *Bardas*, delivered himſelf up into his hands. The emperor granted him his life; but, to prevent his raiſing new diſturbances, confined him to the iſland of *Chios*. The rebellion being thus ſuppreſſed, the emperor married with great ſolemnity *Theodora*, according to ſome the ſiſter, according to others the daughter, of the late emperor *Romanus*. The following year 971, the emperor, being informed that the *Roſſi*, notwithſtanding their late defeat, were preparing to invade the empire anew, reſolved to be beforehaud with them. Accordingly having raiſed a powerful army, and committed the adminiſtration of affairs at home to ſuch as he thought he had the greateſt reaſon to confide in, he ſet out from *Conſtantinople* early in the ſpring; and marching with great expedition over mount *Hæmus*, inveſted *Perſthalba*, the principal city of *Bulgaria*, before the enemy received the leaſt intelligence of his approach. A party of the *Roſſi*, conſiſting of eight thouſand men, attempted to throw themſelves into the city, but were all to a man either cut off, or taken priſoners, by the *Romans*: among the latter was *Sphagellus*, a perſon of great authority among the *Bulgarians*. The *Romans*, animated with this ſucceſs, attacked the city with great reſolution and intrepidity, but were obliged, by the approach of night, to retire ro their camp, before they could maſter it. Early next morning, *Zimiſces*, having drawn out his men, offered the beſieged very advantageous conditions; which they rejecting, he gave the ſignal for a general attack. The *Roſſi* made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance; but, the *Romans* prevailing in the end, the city was taken, and great numbers of the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put to the ſword by the incenſed ſoldiery. Eight thouſand *Scythians*, part of the gariſon, finding the *Romans* maſters of the city, retired to the citadel, with a deſign to defend themſelves there to the laſt extremity. As the caſtle ſtood on a ſteep rock, and the *Romans* were already greatly fatigued, they ſeemed inclined to put off the aſſault to the next day. But *Zimiſces* advancing in perſon againſt the enemy, at the head of a ſmall band of choſen men, the whole army followed him, every one ſtriving who ſhould firſt thruſt himſelf between his prince and the danger that threatened him. The *Scythians* fought like men in deſpair; but the *Romans*, after a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, made themſelves in the end maſters of the place. All the *Scythians* were either driven down the rocks and precipices, or put to the ſword. In the city, when the firſt fury of the ſoldiery was over, the women and children were ſpared, and, together with ſuch men as were found without arms, made priſoners. Among the captives was *Boriſes*, king of the *Bulgarians*, who being conducted to the emperor in his royal robes, was received by him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, magnificently entertained, and releaſed with his wife, and children, and all the *Bulgarians*, *Zimiſces* declaring he was at war with none but the *Roſſi*. The city of *Perſthalba* was utterly deſtroyed; but the emperor, having cauſed it to be rebuilt, called it after his own name *Joannopolis*. From thence he marched to *Doroſterum*, a city of great ſtrength on the *Danube*, where he was met by the army of the *Roſſi*, three hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong. However, he reſolved to venture an engagement, which they not declining, one of the moſt bloody battles enſued we find mentioned in hiſtory. It continued from morning to night, victory inclining ſometimes to one ſide, and ſometimes to another. As night approached, the left wing of the *Roſſi* began to give ground, which the emperor obſerving, he charged them at the head of a choſen body with ſuch reſolution, that they betook themſelves in the end to a precipitous and diſorderly flight. Upon their retreat, the *Romans*, animated by the example of their prince, fell with freſh vigor upon the main body of the enemy, and bearing all down before them, carried the day. The *Roſſi* fled in the utmoſt confuſion to *Doroſterum*, whither the emperor purſued them, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place, which brought on a ſecond battle, wherein the *Roſſi* were defeated anew with great ſlaughter. However, they ſtill held out, and in their daily ſallies made a dreadful havock of the *Romans*, till their proviſions failing them, they unanimouſly agreed to quit the city, and open themſelves a way, ſword in hand, through the midſt of the *Roman* army. This they attempted with great boldneſs and reſolution, and ſucceeded in the attempt, though great numbers of them were cut in pieces, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. Their general, by name *Sphendoſthalbus*, finding himſelf no longer in a condition to make head againſt the *Romans*, ſent embaſſadors to the emperor, offering to relinquiſh *Bulgaria*, and conclude a peace upon the following terms; *viz.* That he

The emperor invades the country of the Roſſi.

Takes their metropolis by aſſault.

The citadel taken.

The Roſſi *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

Doroſterum *beſieged.*

The Roſſi *overcome in a ſecond battle.*

a he ſhould be acknowledged as a friend and ally of the empire; that he and his countrymen ſhould be ſuffered to return home unmoleſted; and that a free commerce ſhould be ſettled between the two nations. The emperor, who was grown weary of the war, readily agreeing to theſe articles, the treaty was concluded and ſigned by both parties. After this *Sphendoſthalbus* went to wait on the emperor, who received him in a very obliging manner, entertained him with great magnificence, and diſmiſſed him loaded with rich preſents. The *Roſſi* being obliged, on their way home, to paſs through the territories of the *Patcinacæ*, that fierce and ſavage people fell upon them unexpectedly, and cut off the general and moſt of his men. The war with the *Roſſi* being thus ended, to the great reputation of *Zimiſces*, and the

b ſafety of the empire, the emperor cauſed all the towns on the *Danube* to be fortified, and then returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. He was met at ſome diſtance from the city by the patriarch, the clergy, the ſenate, and the people, with crowns, and a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horſes richly capariſoned; but he, placing the image of the virgin *Mary* in the chariot, followed it in a ſolemn proceſſion, mounted on a white horſe, and thus entered the city amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people [g]. During the war with the *Roſſi*, ſeveral cities in the eaſt, which had been reduced by his predeceſſor, revolted, which obliged him to undertake another expedition. Leaving therefore *Conſtantinople*, he marched into the eaſtern provinces; and having reduced

c ſeveral cities, partly by force party by fair promiſes, he advanced as far as *Damaſcus*, and there reſided ſome time, applying himſelf with great care to the affairs of ſtate. During his ſtay in the eaſt, he was informed, that *Baſilius* the eunuch had engroſſed almoſt the whole wealth of thoſe provinces to himſelf; that moſt of the fine palaces and fruitful territories, which he obſerved on the road, belonged to him; that in the late reign he had oppreſſed the people in a moſt cruel manner, *&c.* Upon which he broke out with a ſigh in this expreſſion; *How unhappy is the preſent condition of the* Roman *empire, which is thus pillaged by an avaricious and aſpiring eunuch! Baſilius* had ſerved with great reputation under ſeveral emperors in their wars with the *Saracens*; and, as he was man of great authority, had not a little contributed to the

d promotion of *Nicephorus*, who out of gratitude raiſed him to the poſt of prime miniſter, in which he was continued by *Zimiſces*, on account of his great knowledge and experience in affairs of ſtate. As he had many friends at court, he was ſoon informed of the emperor's reflection; and apprehending he might be called to an account, he reſolved to prevent, by ſome means or other, the evil conſequences, which he had reaſon to fear would attend it. Accordingly, by large preſents and greater promiſes, he prevailed upon the emperor's cup-bearer to adminiſter him poiſon; which brought him to his end, before he reached *Conſtantinople*. Though he miſtruſted his prime miniſter, yet he would not ſuffer any inquiries to be made about the treaſon, but ſpent the ſhort time he lived in exerciſes of chriſtian piety. He died

e in 976, after having reigned ſix years and as many months, and was univerſally lamented, eſpecially by the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, whom he had eaſed of many heavy taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predeceſſors. He is deſervedly reckoned amongſt the beſt and greateſt emperors, on account of his equity, moderation, courage, and piety, in which he excelled moſt of his predeceſſors. He was the firſt who cauſed the image of our Saviour to be engraved on the coins, with this legend, *Jeſus Chriſt, the King of kings*. The writers of thoſe times tell us, that in the laſt battle with the *Roſſi*, a champion on a white horſe was obſerved by the whole army fighting before the firſt ranks; that to his ſingle valour was owing the

f victory gained on that occaſion; and that, as he had never been ſeen before and diſappeared after the battle, they all believed him to be St. *Theodore* the martyr, on whoſe anniverſary the victory was obtained, The emperor himſelf ſeemed to be of this opinion; for he repaired a church dedicated to that martyr, and changed the name of *Euchaneia*, the city in which it ſtood, to that of *Theodoropolis* [h].

Zimiſces, dying without children, appointed *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, the ſons of the late emperor *Romanus* by *Theophano*, for his ſucceſſors. But as both princes were under age, the eldeſt being but nineteen and the other ſeventeen, *Baſilius* the eunuch, took upon him the adminiſtration; and, the better to eſtabliſh his authority, recalled *Theophano*, the young princes mother, who had been baniſhed by *Zimiſces*.

His

A peace between the two nations.

Zimiſces *recovers ſeveral cities in the eaſt.*

He is poiſoned by Baſilius *the eunuch.*

His character.

Baſilius *and* Conſtantine.

[g] Curopalat. ibid. Cedren. & Leo Gramm. in Zimiſc. [h] Curopalat. ibid.

His next care was to remove *Bardas Sclerus*, of whom we have ſpoken above. He a had been rewarded for his eminent ſervices by *Zimiſces* with the chief command of all the forces in the eaſt, and was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, among whom he had been brought up from his youth. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to the prime miniſter, who thereupon deprived him of his command, and ſent him into *Meſopotamia*, to reſtrain the incurſions of the *Saracens* into that province. *Sclerus* broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Baſilius*; but the prime miniſter threatening to deprive him of all his employments and confine him to his houſe, he thought it adviſeable to obey the orders he had received, and to depart into the province which had been aſſigned him. He carried with him a firm reſolution of being revenged on his rival; and accordingly, ſoon after his arrival, he acquainted the chief officers b of the army with his deſign, who all to a man promiſing to ſtand by him, and encouraging him to ſet up for himſelf, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was ſaluted as ſuch with loud acclamations by the whole army. Having ſpent the winter in warlike preparations, and entered into an alliance with the *Saracens*, who ſent him large ſupplies of money and horſes, he ſet forward in the beginning of the ſpring towards *Conſtantiuople*. *Baſilius*, ſtruck with terror and diſmay at the news of his revolt, left no means unattempted to divert the impending ſtorm. He diſpatched orders to *Peter*, who had been appointed, in the room of *Sclerus*, commander of the forces in the eaſt, to draw together all his troops, and encamp with his whole army in the neighbourhood of *Cæſarea*. At the ſame time, *Syncellus*, c biſhop of *Nicomedia*, a man famed for his eloquence and the holineſs of his life, was ſent to try whether he could prevail upon *Sclerus* to quit his unjuſt pretenſions, and diſband his army. The uſurper received the prelate with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection; and, having heard him in appearance with great ſubmiſſion, returned him this ſhort anſwer; That having once appeared in the purple, he was firmly reſolved never to quit it but with his life, Upon the return of the biſhop to court, *Peter* was ordered to ſecure all the paſſes, and to prepare for a vigorous defence, in caſe he was attacked, but by no means to begin hoſtilities. *Peter*, purſuant to his orders, poſted ſtrong parties in all the paſſes; but *Scleras* having, in ſpite of all oppoſition, opened himſelf a way into *Cappadocia*, encamped at a ſmall d diſtance from the imperial army. Aereupon ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. But at length *Sclerus*, falling unexpectedly upon the emperor's army, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and, having forced the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight, made himſelf maſter of their camp, in which he found great ſums of money and an immenſe quantity of arms and proviſions. The fame of this victory induced moſt of the eaſtern provinces to renounce their allegiance to the young princes, and declare for *Sclerus*, who, elated with this ſucceſs, would not ſo much as admit to his preſence the embaſſadors, who were ſent to him with very honourable and advantagious propoſals. In the mean time, *Leo*, who had been appointed e to ſucceed *Peter* in the command of the army, arriving in *Phrygia*, marched from thence at the head of a ſtrong detachment into the eaſtern provinces, which had ſubmitted to the uſurper, but had been left quite deſtitute of troops. This obliged *Sclerus* to divide his army, and ſend a body of men to cover thoſe countries. But *Leo* falling in with them on their march, a battle enſued, in which the emperor's troops had the advantage, great numbers of *Sclerius*'s men being ſlain, and many taken priſoners. The uſurper, alarmed at the news of this defeat, left *Cappadocia*, and haſtening after *Leo*, came up with him in a few days march, engaged him, and gained a complete victory. Moſt of the chief officers in the emperor's army were ſlain, and *Leo* himſelf taken priſoner, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. Such of them as had abandoned *Sclerus* to ſide with *Leo*, had their eyes pulled out by the uſurper's orders at thee head of the army. As for *Leo* himſelf, he was treated with great civility, but kept under cloſe confinement. *Bardas*, animated with this ſucceſs, marched ſtrait to *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, not doubting, but he ſhould carry the place at the firſt aſſault. But *Manuel Eroticus*, whom *Baſilius* had ſent with a conſiderable body of troops to defend it, repulſed the uſurper in ſeveral ſucceſſive attempts with ſuch vigor, that, deſpairing of being able to take a place ſo well gariſoned by force, he reſolved to reduce it by famine. *Manuel*, appriſed of his deſign, and ſenſible of the great ſtreights to which the numerous gariſon would be ſoon reduced, filled the empty granaries with ſand, which he ſtrewed over with corn,

Bardas Sederus uſurps the ſovereignty.

And defeats the emperor's army.

He gains another victory.

He lays ſiege to Nice.

a corn, and ſhewed them to ſome priſoners he had taken; who, being diſmiſſed, repreſented to *Sclerus*, that he attempted in vain to reduce a place by famine, that was ſo plentifully ſupplied with corn. Soon after, *Manuel* ſent deputies to acquaint *Sclerus*, that, conſidering the doubtful events of war, he was willing to ſurrender upon certain conditions, one of which was, that the gariſon ſhould be allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and to paſs unmoleſted to *Conſtantinople*. To theſe conditions the uſurper readily conſented; but was highly provoked, when, entering the city, he diſcovered the deceit, and found the place quite deſtitute of proviſions [i]. *Sclerus*, after the reduction of *Nice*, was preparing to march to *Conſtantinople*, where he had many friends, who were ready to declare for him as ſoon as he

b appeared. But, in the mean time, *Bardas Phocas*, whom *Baſilius* had recalled from exile, and appointed commander in chief againſt *Sclerus*, as the only man in the empire able to contend with him, arriving, with all the troops he could draw together, at *Amorium*, the uſurper thought it adviſeable to march in the firſt place againſt him. Accordingly he haſtened with all his forces to *Amorium*; and coming there to an engagement, put *Phocas*'s army to the rout. Though *Phocas* himſelf diſcharged all the offices of a valiant ſoldier and experienced officer, yet his ſoldiers were ſo diſpirited by former defeats, that he could neither with words nor his example inſpire them with courage. *Phocas*, no longer able to keep the field, retired to *Phrygia*, and having there received large ſupplies out of *Iberia* and the other provinces, which

c continued ſtedfaſt in their allegiance, he reſolved to venture a ſecond engagement. Accordingly, leaving *Phrygia*, he advanced into *Cappadocia*, where he found *Sclerus* encamped on a large plain named *Pancalea*, and ready to receive him. Both armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but *Phocas*'s men beginning, after an obſtinate diſpute, to give ground, the brave general, determined to conquer or periſh, opened himſelf a way, ſword in hand, into the midſt of the enemy's ranks, and there engaging *Sclerus* himſelf, dangerouſly wounded him. Some of the enemy's officers, appriſed of the danger their general was in, haſtened to his reſcue; and finding him covered all over with blood, they carried him to a neighbouring foun-

d tain, there to waſh his wound and refreſh him, as he was fainting with drought. In the mean time, his horſe running in with his bloody main among the ranks, his ſoldiers concluded from thence, that their general was ſlain; which occaſioned ſuch conſternation in the army, that, inſtead of purſuing the emperor's troops, who had, in ſpite of *Phocas*'s utmoſt endeavours, begun to fly, they fled themſelves in the greateſt confuſion, ſome throwing themſelves headlong down vaſt precipices, others taking to the river *Halys*, in which great numbers were drowned. Thus was the fortune of the day turned, and the victory, by a lucky miſtake, ſnatched out of the hands of the enemy, who were purſued with great ſlaughter by *Phocas*. *Sclerus* eſcaped with a ſmall body of horſe to *Martyropolis*, and from thence to *Babylon*, to implore the protection and aſſiſtance of *Choſrhoes*, ſultan of the place; which the em-

e peror *Baſilius* no ſooner underſtood, than he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Choſrhoes*, repreſenting to him the evils that might accrue from one prince's protecting ſuch as had, by an open revolt, taken arms againſt another. The embaſſadors were at the ſame time injoined to aſſure *Sclerus* in the emperor's name, that he ſhould not only be pardoned, but received into favour and reſtored to his former honours, provided he renounced his pretenſions and returned home. *Choſrhoes*, finding the embaſſadors were privately treating with *Sclerus*, ordered both him and them to be thrown into priſon, whence we ſhall ſee him in a ſhort time releaſed, to raiſe new diſturbances in the empire.

The rebellion of *Sclerus* being thus ſuppreſſed, the emperor *Baſilius*, who had

f taken the adminiſtration into his own hands, reſolved to be revenged on the *Bulgarians*, who had made frequent inroads into the empire, while the emperor's troops were employed in the eaſt. With this view he put himſelf at the head of his army, and, without imparting his deſign either to *Phocas* or any other of his generals in the eaſt, he entered *Bulgaria*, and, leaving *Leo Meliſſenus* to ſecure the narrow paſſes behind him, marched ſtrait to *Sardica*. But while he was preparing to lay ſiege to that important place, *Stephen*, commander in chief of the weſtern forces, and an avowed and irreconcileable enemy to *Leo Meliſſenus*, coming in the dead of the night to the emperor's tent, conjured him to lay aſide all other deſigns whatſoever, and to return with all poſſible expedition to *Conſtantinople*, whither *Leo* had already marched, with a deſign

The place ſurrenders.

Bardas Phocas *defeated by* Sclerus.

Bardas *gains a complete victory over* Sclerus.

Who flies to Babylon.

Baſilius *enter* Bulgaria.

[i] Curopalat. Cedren. Leo Gramm. ibid.

a deſign to ſeize on the ſovereignty in his abſence. The emperor, alarmed at this unexpected news, and apprehending the enemy might, by ſeizing on the poſts which *Leo* was ſaid to have abandoned, cut off his retreat, ordered in a great fright his army to march the ſame night; which being obſerved by *Samuel*, prince of the *Bulgarians*, he fell upon them in their retreat, and put great numbers of them to the ſword. The emperor with great difficulty reached *Philippopolis*, where he found *Leo* carefully attending his duty on the ſtation which had been aſſigned him. Hereupon, highly provoked againſt *Stephen*, who had thus impoſed upon him, he immediately diſcharged him, and conferred his employment on his competitor. *Stephen*, however, maintained to the laſt, that *Leo* really intended to uſurp the empire; which incenſed the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he could not forbear ſtriking him, and dragging him in a violent paſſion on the ground by his hair and long beard [k]. The emperor had undertaken the *Bulgarian* expedition, as we have obſerved above, without imparting his deſign to *Bardas Phocas*, commander in chief of all the eaſtern forces. This that general highly reſented; and apprehending the young prince would act for the future without any regard to his counſels, he began to entertain thoughts of uſurping the ſupreme authority. The officers of the army, to whom he imparted the motive of his diſcontent, encouraged him in his attempt, and promiſed to ſupport him to the laſt; ſo that, after ſeveral private conferences, they all met at the houſe of one *Euſtathius Melenius*, and there inveſting *Phocas* with the imperial ornaments, unanimouſly proclaimed him emperor. At the ſame time, *Bardas Sclerus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, being ſet at liberty by *Choſrhoes* ſultan of *Babylon*, returned into the territories of the empire, at the head of three thouſand *Roman* captives, the ſultan having granted them their liberty, in regard of their eminent ſervices againſt the rebellious *Perſians*. With theſe *Sclerus* thought himſelf once more in a condition to renew his former pretenſions; and accordingly entering *Meſopotamia*, cauſed himſelf to be there acknowledged emperor. But being, in the mean time, informed of the revolt of *Phocas*, after having been ſome time in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould join him or *Baſilius*, he offered in the end to aſſiſt *Phocas*, and ſhare the empire with him; but at the ſame time he adviſed his ſon *Romanus* privately to abandon him, and fly to *Baſilius* at *Conſtantinople*. By this means, if *Phocas* prevailed, he thought he ſhould be able to obtain of him his ſon's pardon; and if *Baſilius* got the better, he did not doubt, but his ſon would have intereſt enough to obtain his of the emperor. *Romanus*, upon his arrival at *Conſtantinople*, was received by *Baſilius* with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, and raiſed to the firſt employments in the ſtate. But *Sclerus* met with a far different treatment from *Phocas*: they agreed at firſt to divide the empire between them; *Sclerus* was to have for his ſhare *Antioch*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, *Cœle-ſyria*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Egypt*; *Conſtantinople*, with the reſt of the provinces, was allotted to *Phocas*. This agreement being ratified and ſworn to by both parties, *Sclerus* and *Bardas* joined their forces; which was no ſooner done, than *Phocas* cauſed *Sclerus* to be privately ſeized; and, having ſtripped him of his imperial ornaments, committed him to cloſe priſon. His men at firſt mutinied; but, being overpowered with numbers, they were forced to ſubmit, and in the end prevailed upon with large promiſes to ſerve under *Phocas*; who, being thus reinforced, ſent *Calocyrus Delphinus* with part of his army to *Chryſopolis*, while he removed with the reſt to *Abydus*, in order to beſiege that important place, and, after reducing it, to block up *Conſtantinople* itſelf. But, in the mean time, the emperor *Baſilius*, acquainted with the enemy's motions, having paſſed the ſtreights in the night, fell unexpectedly upon *Delphinus*; and having put his army to flight at the firſt onſet, took him and ſome other officers of great note priſoners, who were all immediately nailed to ſeveral trees on the highway, to ſtrike terror into the reſt. *Phocas* met with a vigorous reſiſtance at *Abydus*, the inhabitants and gariſon being encouraged by the arrival of the imperial fleet, which was immediately followed by the emperor *Baſilius*, and he ſoon after by his brother *Conſtantine*. Upon the arrival of the two princes, *Phocas* reſolved to give them battle; and accordingly, leaving part of his forces before *Abydus* to purſue the ſiege, he drew up the reſt in a neighbouring plain. Some of the young princes generals adviſed them to throw themſelves into *Abydus*, and there wait the arrival of freſh ſupplies; but the greater part thinking it adviſeable to engage the enemy without loſs of time, they marched at the head of their forces in battle-array into

But returns with diſgrace.

Bardas Phocas *proclaimed emperor.*

Sclerus, *ſet at liberty, joins* Phocas.

They agree to divide the empire between them.

Phocas *betrays and ſeizes* Sclerus.

He lays ſiege to Abydus.

[k] Idem ibid.

a into the plain where the uſurper had drawn up his. But while both armies were ready to engage, or, as ſome write, when the battle was begun, *Phocas* was taken off. The manner of his death is differently related: ſome write, that his horſe threw him, and that he died of the fall; others, that he was killed in the firſt onſet. The emperor *Conſtantine* bragged, that he had killed him with his own hand; but the moſt received opinion is, that one of his domeſtics, by name *Symeon*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence, at the inſtigation of *Baſilius*, adminiſtered him poiſon before the battle, of which he died ſoon after. Be that as it will, the report of his death was no ſooner ſpread abroad in the army, than his men betook themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight. The emperor's forces purſued them cloſe, cut great b numbers of them in pieces, and having taken moſt of the leading men of the party priſoners, conveyed them to *Conſtantinople*, where they were puniſhed according to their deſerts, ſome being publicly executed, and others ſtripped of their eſtates and ſent into baniſhment. However, the death of *Phocas* and the defeat of his army did not put an end to the civil wars; for ſuch of the party as had the good luck to make their eſcape, having ſet *Sclerus* at liberty, encouraged him to purſue his former pretenſions; and he, though now in a very advanced age, hearkening to their ſuggeſtions, put himſelf at their head, and marching into *Cappodocia*, reduced great part of that province. But the emperor having written a friendly letter to him, offering him his favour and protection, and his ſon *Romanus* earneſtly intreating him at the ſame time not to involve the empire in new wars, but to enjoy the ſmall re- c mainder of his life in peace and tranquillity among his friends and relations, he was prevailed upon to quit his pretenſions, and return to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received by *Baſilius* with uncommon civility, entertained at his table, and declared great ſteward of the houſhold. Such of his followers as had enjoyed offices of honour or profit under him, were continued in the ſame employments, or preferred to others eqnally advantagious and honourable. We are told, that when he firſt appeared before *Baſilius*, ſupported, on account of his age and corpulency, by two of his domeſtics, the emperor, in reflecting how much he had dreaded him, could hardly forbear laughing.

Phocas *dies.*

Sclerus *ſet at liberty.*

He ſubmits.

d THE civil war being thus happily ended, *Baſilius* took a progreſs into *Thrace* and *Macedon*; and having left a ſufficient number of troops at *Theſſalonica* to awe the *Bulgarians*, he paſſed over into *Aſia* with the reſt, to ſettle the affairs of the eaſtern provinces. On his march through *Cappadocia*, he was entertained with his whole army by *Euſtathius Melenius*, commander of the troops in that province. The wealth which *Melenius* diſplayed on that occaſion gave the emperor ſuch umbrage, that, pretending a particular eſteem for him, he took him with him to *Conſtantinople*, whence he never after ſuffered him to depart, leſt he ſhould raiſe diſturbances in the empire; and, after his death, ſeized on his vaſt eſtate. The emperor, upon his return to *Conſtantinople*, was informed, that *Samuel*, king of the *Bulgarians*, had ſurpriſed the city of *Theſſalonica*, and, having croſſed the *Peneus*, was laying waſte *Theſ-* e *ſaly*, *Bœotia*, *Attica*; nay, that ſome of his parties had penetrated into the very heart of *Peloponneſus*. Hereupon *Nicephorus Uranus*, commander in chief of the weſtern forces, was diſpatched againſt him, at the head of a powerful army. *Uranus*, leaveing his baggage at *Lariſſa*, reached by long marches the *Sperchius*, and encamped with his whole army over-againſt the enemy, who lay on the oppoſite bank. As the river was greatly ſwelled with the heavy rains that had fallen, *Samuel*, not imagining the *Romans* would attempt to paſs it, ſuffered his troops to roam in large parties about the country in queſt of booty. But *Uranus*, having at length found out a place where the river was fordable, paſſed it in the dead of the night; and falling unexpect- f edly on the *Bulgarians*, who were left in the camp and lay for the moſt part aſleep, cut great numbers of them in pieces, took their baggage, with many priſoners, and made themſelves maſters of their camp. *Samuel* and his ſon were dangerouſly wounded, and would unavoidably have been taken, had they not all that day concealed themſelves among the dead. The next night they ſtole away to the mountains of *Ætolia*, and from thence made their eſcape into *Bulgaria*[1]. The following year 1001. the emperor *Baſilius* entered *Bulgaria* at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army; and having defeated *Samuel* in a pitched battle on the banks of the *Axius*, took *Vidina*, *Scopi*, and ſeveral other ſtrong cities. However, the emperor narrowly eſcaped

Baſilius *viſits the eaſtern provinces.*

His war with the Bulgarians.

Samuel, *king of the* Bulgarians *defeated.*

[1] Idem ibid.

eſcaped being cut off with his whole army in the ſtreights of *Cimba*, where he was a unexpectedly attacked by *Samuel*; but reſcued from the danger he was in by the ſeaſonable arrival of *Nicephorus Xiphias*, governor of *Philippopolis*, who falling upon the enemy's rear, put them to flight. *Baſilius* purſued them cloſe, and having taken an incredible number of priſoners, cauſed their eyes to be pulled out, leaving to every hundred a guide with one eye, that he might conduct them to *Samuel*; who, not able to ſtand the ſhock of ſo terrible and affecting a ſpectacle, fell into a deep ſwoon and died two days after. *Samuel* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Gabriel*, who was ſoon after murdered by *John Bladiſthlabus*, a perſon nearly related to him. *Bladiſthlabus*, having cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged prince of the *Bulgarians*, ſent embaſſadors to *Baſilius*, offering to ſubmit to any terms, and to own himſelf, and behave on all b occaſions, as a ſubject and vaſſal of the empire. The emperor received the embaſſadors in a very obliging manner, but the new prince declining, under various pretences, to execute the conditions agreed on, *Baſilius* returned the following year into *Bulgaria*, firmly reſolved not to ſheath his ſword, till he had intirely reduced it. Accordingly, having in the ſpace of two years made himſelf maſter of moſt of the enemy's ſtrong-holds, and gained ſeveral victories over *Bladiſthlabus*, who had defended his country with incredible valour, but was at length ſlain in a battle fought near *Achridus*, the *Bulgarians* ſent deputies to the *Roman* camp, with offers of a total and unfeigned ſubmiſſion. *Baſilius* received them with his uſual civility; and having raiſed to the rank of patricians ſuch of the *Bulgarian* nobility as ſeemed c moſt forward in ſurrendering their caſtles and ſtrong-holds, he was received with loud acclamations into the city of *Achridus*, where he found the vaſt treaſures of the *Bulgarian* princes, which he diſtributed, by way of donative, amongſt his ſoldiers. Soon after, the widow of the late king, with her ſix daughters and three of her ſons, delivered herſelf up to the emperor, who received her with the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect, and entertained her ſuitable to her rank. This obliging behaviour in the emperor encouraged her three other ſons, with moſt of the princes of the blood, who had taken ſhelter among the mountains, to ſubmit and throw themſelves upon the emperor's mercy. However, *Ibatzes*, a perſon nearly allied to the royal family, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner during the whole courſe of the war, d refuſing to ſubmit, fled to a ſteep and craggy mountain, with a deſign to defend himſelf there to the laſt extremity. *Baſilius* endeavoured by fair means to induce him to ſubmit to neceſſity, and comply with the preſent poſture of affairs; but he equally deſpiſing the emperor's threats and promiſes, *Euſtathius Daphnomelus*, whom *Baſilius* had lately appointed governor of *Achridus*, without imparting to any one his deſign, repaired, with two perſons in whom he could confide, to the mountain where *Ibatzes* had fortified himſelf. He hoped to paſs undiſcovered among the many ſtrangers, who flocked thither to celebrate the approaching feaſt of the aſſumption of the virgin *Mary*, for whom *Ibatzes* had a particular veneration; but being known to the guards, he was ſeized and carried before *Ibatzes*, to whom he pretended to have matters of e the greateſt importance to communicate. *Ibatzes* received him in a very obliging manner; and having, at his requeſt, followed him into a remote place, *Daphnomelus* threw himſelf all on a ſudden upon him; and his two men, who attended at ſome diſtance, and with whom the whole ſcheme had been concerted before-hand, coming up, and thruſting their cloaths violently into his mouth, pulled out both his eyes, and got ſafe to an abandoned caſtle on the top of the hill; which *Ibatzes*'s men inveſted on all ſides, as ſoon as they heard of the misfortune which had befallen their leader. But *Daphnomelus* exhorting them to follow the example of their countrymen, and, now that they were deſtitute of a leader, to ſubmit to the emperor, by whom, he aſſured them, they ſhould be well received and amply rewarded, inſtead of f attacking the caſtle, they congratulated *Daphnomelus* on his ſucceſs, and took an oath of allegiance to the emperor of the *Romans*. Hereupon *Daphnomelus*, quitting the caſtle, carried *Ibatzes*, without the leaſt oppoſition, to *Baſilius*, who, no leſs ſurpriſed at the boldneſs than the ſucceſs of the attempt, rewarded his officer with the government of *Dyrrhachium* and all the rice moveables of his priſoner. *Baſilius*, having thus at length accompliſhed the intire reduction of *Bulgaria*, returned with an incredible number of priſoners and hoſtages to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy by the ſenate and people. After the concluſion of this war, which began in 995. and ended in 1019. the emperor undertook an expedition into *Iberia*; but with what ſucceſs, we are no where told. During his abſence, *Xiphias*,

Samuel *dies.*

The Bulgarians *ſubmit to the emperor.*

Ibatzes *alone holds out.*

A deſperate attempt of Daphnomelus.

Bulgaria *intirely ſubdued.*

a *Xiphius* and *Nicephorus*, the ſon of *Bardas Phocas*, revolted; but *Xiphius*, being gained over by *Baſilius*, put a ſtop to the rebellion, by diſpatching his fellow-conſpirator. *Baſilius* proceeded with great ſeverity againſt all who had been, or were only ſuſpected of having been, privy to the conſpiracy. Great numbers of the nobility were on this occaſion either put to death, or ſent into exile; which occaſioned ſome commotions at *Conſtantinople*: but the ringleaders being ſeized and publicly executed, the city was reſtored to its former tranquillity. In 1025, the emperor, though then in the ſeventieth year of his age, reſolved to engage in a new war againſt the *Saracens*, who had ſettled in *Sicily* and committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of *Naples* and *Calabria*; which countries were ſtill ſubject to the empire. Accordb ingly, having aſſembled a powerful army and equipped a mighty fleet, he ſent before a ſtrong body of forces, under the conduct of *Oreſtes* his favourite eunuch, with a deſign to follow in perſon ſoon after with the reſt of the army; but was prevented by death, which overtook him in the month of *December* of the year 1025, after he had lived ſeventy years, and reigned fifty. He was highly eſteemed by his ſubjects, on account of his application to public affairs, and his ſucceſs in the long and bloody war, which he undertook againſt the *Bulgarians*. But as his jealouſy increaſed with his years, towards the cloſe of his reign he grew inexorably ſevere; on which account he was rather feared than beloved by his ſubjects. The abſolute conqueſt of *Bulgaria*, which had been in vain attempted by ſo many of his predeceſſors, but was happily c accompliſhed by him, has rendered the name of *Baſilius* II. famous among the *Roman*, or rather the *Conſtantinopolitan*, princes.

Baſilius reſolves to make war upon the Saracens;

But is prevented by death.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Baſilius II. *to the taking of* Conſtantinople *by the* Latins.

Conſtantine.

d BY the death of *Baſilius*, *Conſtantine*, who had borne the name of emperor in conjunction with his brother, remained ſole maſter of the empire. As he was an effeminate, vicious, and indolent prince, he intirely neglected all public affairs, to follow his private diverſions, ſuffering his miniſters, moſt of them perſons no leſs infamous than himſelf, to oppreſs the provinces without controul, and lay on the people what burdens they thought fit. By this means the empire, which had begun to revive under *Nicephorus*, *Zimiſces*, and *Baſilius*, was, in the ſhort reign of *Conſtantine*, brought to as low an ebb as it had ever been at. Such perſons as had, either by their exploits or virtues, acquired reputation in the late reign, were removed from their employments, to make room for the emperor's companions in his debaucheries. e *Nicephorus Comnenus*, a perſon no leſs eſteemed for his virtue than his experience in war, was at the ſame time deprived of his command and his ſight, under pretence of conſpiring againſt the emperor, though, in reality, his eminent virtues, which gave umbrage to the abandoned prince, were his only crimes. *Bardas*, the ſon of the celebrated *Phocas*, who had ſerved *Baſilius* with the utmoſt fidelity, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions in a moſt eminent manner, was treated with the like ſeverity, for no other reaſon, but becauſe his extraordinary merit gave umbrage to the emperor's favourites. Many other perſons of great diſtinction, who ſeemed to diſlike the emperor's conduct, were, under various pretences, either put to death, or ſent into exile. Such proceedings raiſed a general diſcontent at home, and at the ſame f time encouraged the nations abroad to make irruptions into the territories of the empire; but they were reſtrained by the care and vigilance of thoſe who commanded on the borders. It was happy for the ſtate, that *Conſtantine*'s reign was ſhort; for he had ſcarce governed three years alone, when he fell dangerouſly ill, and was given over by his phyſicians; which divided the court into two factions concerning his ſuc-

His wicked reign.

Several perſons of diſtinction put to death, or ſent into exile.

ceſſor, ſome propoſing *Conſtantine Delaſſenus*, commander of the forces in *Armenia*, a
and others uſing all their intereſt in favour of *Romanus Argyrus*, a perſon of an antient
family and nearly related to the emperor. As *Conſtantine* had three daughters, it
was agreed, that whoever ſucceeded him ſhould marry one of them. *Romanus* was
already married, and therefore ſeemed by this agreement to be excluded from the
empire; but his friends, who were the moſt powerful at court and the emperor's
chief favourites, prevailed upon the prince to declare in his favour, and ſending for
him, to put it to his choice, either to be deprived of his ſight, or to divorce his wife,
and, marrying one of the emperor's daughters, be raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar*.
Romanus ſeemed at firſt inclined rather to loſe his eyes and the imperial dignity, than
part with his wife, whom he tenderly loved; but ſhe, informed of what paſſed, b
retired immediately to a monaſtery, and, by embracing there a monaſtic life, made
room for *Zoe*, the emperor's ſecond daughter, to whom *Romanus* was married, and
Conſtantine *dies.* at the ſame time created *Cæſar*. Three days after the nuptials, *Conſtantine* died, in
the year 1028, the ſeventieth of his age, and third of his reign without a collegue.

Romanus II. *Romanus*, thus raiſed to the empire, began his reign by eaſing the people of the
many taxes, with which they had been burdened by his predeceſſor; which gained
him the hearts of his ſubjects. His liberality to the church knew no bounds, and his
indulgence to the unhappy captives, who had been taken in the late wars, was no leſs
remarkable; for they were all ranſomed at his private expence, ſupplied with money
to defray the charges of their journey, and ſent back to their reſpective countries [m]. c
In his ſecond year, the *Saracens*, who had continued quiet in the reign of *Baſilius*,
but had begun to prepare for war in that of *Conſtantine*, broke into that part of *Syria*
which belonged to the *Romans*, and, with their daily incurſions, greaty haraſſed the
territory of *Antioch*. *Spondyles*, who commanded the troops quartered in *Antioch* and
that neighbourhood, endeavoured to reſtrain them; but being in ſeveral encounters
worſted and put to flight, the emperor reſolved to march in perſon into *Syria*, and
He marches in perſon againſt the Saracens. retrieve, if poſſible, the reputation of the *Roman* arms there. Purſuant to this reſo-
lution he ſet out from *Conſtantinople*, at the head of a very numerous and formidable
army. But before he had advanced far on his way, he was met by embaſſadors from
the *Saracens* of *Beræa*, who, alarmed at his vaſt preparations, were come to ſue d
for peace, promiſing at the ſame time to pay their uſual tribute for the future, and
never more to infeſt the territories of the empire. Moſt of the officers in the army
adviſed *Romanus* to accept of their ſubmiſſion, and not to engage raſhly in a war,
which, in all likelihood, would prove both bloody and expenſive. But he, promiſe-
ing himſelf great glory and advantages from that expedition, diſmiſſed the embaſſa-
dors with diſdain, and entering *Syria*, detached a ſtrong party to obſerve the enemy's
motions. The party, falling unhappily into an ambuſcade, were all cut off to a man;
and the *Saracens*, elated with this ſucceſs, attacked unexpectedly *Conſtantine Delaſſe-*
nus, who had been ſent out with a ſtrong body of troops to cover the *Roman* foragers,
put him to flight at the firſt onſet, and purſued him to the very gates of the camp, e
which they inveſted on all ſides. The emperor's army being ſoon reduced to the
utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions, and above all of water, it was agreed in a
council of war, that they ſhould decamp in the night and march to *Antioch*. But
the *Saracens*, who carefully watched their motions, falling upon them with great vio-
His army is cut off. lence in their retreat, put moſt of them to the ſword, the emperor himſelf eſcaping
with the utmoſt difficulty to *Antioch*. The enemy took all the emperor's baggage;
The baggage of the army recovered by Maniaces. which, however, was recovered by *George Maniaces*, at that time governor of a ſmall
town in thoſe parts, in the following manner: Eight hundred *Saracens*, loaded with
the rich plunder of the emperor's camp, appeared before the place, and, affirming that
the emperor himſelf was taken and his army totally defeated, ſummoned *Maniaces* f
to ſurrender. *Maniaces*, already informed of the emperor's eſcape, but pretending
to give credit to what they ſaid, ſent them out a great quantity of proviſions to refreſh
themſelves that night, and promiſed to deliver up the town to them as ſoon as it was
light. Hereupon the enemy, without the leaſt diſtruſt, paſſed the greater part of
the night in mirth and jollity; but when, after having eaten and drank to a great
exceſs, they were all aſleep, *Maniaces*, ſallying out, cut them all off to a man, with-
out the leaſt oppoſition; and having taken two hundred and eighty camels loaded
with the ſpoils of the *Roman* army, he ſent them to the emperor, who rewarded him
for

[m] Curopalat. in Roman.

for this ſeaſonable piece of ſervice with the government of *Media* [n]. In the mean time, *Romanus*, having with much-ado reached *Cappadocia*, returned from thence, with the remains of his ſhattered army, to *Conſtantinople*; and there laying aſide all thoughts of any warlike attempts for the future, made it his whole ſtudy to fill the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality and extravagance of his predeceſſor. In order to this, he renewed his claim to old debts, thought to have been utterly forgotten, and proceeded with ſuch rigor in the recovery of them, that many perſons of diſtinction were driven from their eſtates, and reduced with their families to beggary. Theſe ſevere exactions raiſed a general diſcontent in the people, which gave ſuch riſe to ſeveral plots and conſpiracies, for the moſt part carried on by *Theodora*, the late emperor's youngeſt daughter, who was on that account confined to a monaſtery, and obliged to take the religious habit; which we ſhall ſee her hereafter exchange for the imperial purple. In 1033, the fourth of *Romanus*'s reign, a dreadful plague broke out in *Cappadocia*, and raged with ſuch violence in that province, as well as in *Paphlagonia* and *Armenia*, that the inhabitants were forced to abandon their dwellings and retire to other parts of the empire. The plague was followed by a terrible famine, and that by earthquakes, which deſtroyed ſeveral cities, and overturned many ſtately edifices at *Conſtantinople*, where it was felt for the ſpace of forty days. At the ſame time, a comet appeared, which paſſed with a terrible noiſe from the north to the ſouth, the whole horizon ſeeming to be in a flame. *Romanus*, alarmed at theſe and ſeveral other public calamities and prodigies, with which the hiſtories of thoſe times are filled, applied himſelf wholly to the works of piety, hoping by that means to avert the wrath of Heaven, which ſeemed to threaten the empire. He erected ſeveral hoſpitals for the relief of the poor, repaired thoſe which had been deſtroyed by the late earthquakes, rebuilt the aqueducts, ſupplied the city with water, of which it began to be in great want, and, above all, enriched with large donations the monaſteries, beſtowing on the monks whole cities and the moſt fruitful lands in the provinces, purchaſed by him at the public expence. In the mean time, the empreſs *Zoe*, a moſt lewd and incontinent woman, deſpiſing her huſband, now in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, caſt her eyes on *Michael*, the brother of *John* an eunuch, in great authority with the emperor. As *Michael*, though meanly born, was a man of a moſt comely aſpect, of a graceful perſon, and great addreſs, the empreſs began to entertain a violent paſſion for him; which, as ſhe abandoned herſelf to it, grew in a ſhort time ſo powerful, that ſhe reſolved to diſpatch her huſband and marry him. Accordingly, having imparted her deſign to ſuch of her creatures as ſhe could confide in, poiſon was adminiſtered by them to the unhappy prince, which, in a ſhort time, reduced him to a moſt deplorable condition. However, the empreſs thinking it too ſlow in its operation, hired an aſſaſſin to diſpatch him, who, entering the bath where the emperor was refreſhing himſelf, held his head under water till he expired. His death happened on the eleventh, or as others write on the fifteenth, of *April* of the year 1034, after he had reigned five years and ſix months.

Romanus *oppreſſes the people.*

Several public calamities.

The emperor applies himſelf wholly to works of piety.

The empreſs falls in love with Michael.

Romanus *murdered.*

Romanus being dead, the empreſs *Zoe* ſent for the patriarch *Alexius* in great haſte, who was then celebrating in the church the office appointed for *Good-friday*; for on that day the emperor was murdered. As *Alexius* had been ſent for in *Romanus*'s name, he was greatly ſurpriſed, when he heard he was dead; and much more when the empreſs, upon his being introduced to her, ordered him to marry her to *Michael*. Struck with horror and amazement, he declined the office for ſome time; but was in the end, with a preſent of an hundred pounds weight of gold, prevailed upon to comply. When the ceremony was over, the new emperor acquainted the people with the death of *Romanus* and his own marriage with *Zoe*, who, he ſaid, had taken him for her partner in the empire, to which ſhe had an undoubted right. Letters to the ſame purpoſe were diſpatched into the provinces, where none of the great men ſeemed diſpleaſed at the promotion of *Michael*, except *Conſtantine Delaſſenus*, who had been named by ſome to ſucceed *Baſilius* II. and being, on account of his rank and family, the firſt man in the empire, was highly offended, that a perſon of *Michael*'s obſcure birth ſhould be preferred to him. But *John* the eunuch *Michael*'s brother, having, with repeated oaths, promiſes, and aſſeverations, prevailed upon him to come to court, baniſhed him, as ſoon as he had him in his power, to the iſland *Prota*, whence he was removed to a ſtrong tower, and there kept under cloſe confinement,

Michael *the* Paphlagonian *marries* Zoe, *and is raiſed to the empire.*

[n] Curopalat. Cedren. Zonar.

finement, till he was ſent for to court by the empreſs *Zoe*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. a

Several perſons of diſtinction baniſhed by John *the eunuch.*

At the ſame time, *John* took care to remove, and, under various pretences, to ſend into exile, ſuch as gave him the leaſt umbrage, or ſeemed to be ill-affected to his family: *Conſtantius Monomachus*, afterwards emperor, was confined to a caſtle; *Maniaces*, who was highly eſteemed and beloved by the people, was ſent into *Upper Media*, under pretence of reſtraining the incurſions of the *Saracens*; all the friends and relations of the late emperor were driven from their eſtates and employments, and the government of the provinces, as well as the charge of civil affairs, committed to none but eunuchs. *John*, having thus eſtabliſhed his brother's intereſt in the provinces, began to reflect on the fate of *Romanus*; and diſtruſting the fickle temper of *Zoe*, removed from her all the women, in whom ſhe repoſed any confidence; and b
diſcharging her eunuchs, appointed others, in whom he could confide, to attend, or rather to watch, her; ſo that ſhe could not ſtir out of the palace without his knowledge and conſent. The empreſs, highly provoked at the reſtraint put upon her, and looking upon *John* as no other than her goaler, endeavoured to get rid of him by poiſon; but the deſign being diſcovered, before it could be put in execution, the miniſter ſtood thenceforth on his guard, and watched her more narrowly. As for

Who governs without controul.

Michael the emperor, he ſuffered *John* to govern with an abſolute ſway, applying himſelf wholly to his devotions. Being conſcious of the heinous crime he had committed in murdering his ſovereign, he hoped to atone for it by works of piety, by his liberality to the poor, and by erecting and endowing churches, hoſpitals, oratories, c
&c. As he began to grow diſtempered in his body and diſordered in his mind, *John*, concluding that, if he died, the empreſs would endeavour to recover her authority, and would not fail, if ſhe ſucceeded therein, to gratify her revenge with the utter ruin of him and his family, prevailed upon the emperor to prefer *Michael*, ſurnamed *Calaphates*, his ſiſter's ſon, to the dignity of *Cæſar*, and to baniſh all the friends and relations of the empreſs *Zoe*[o]. In the third year of *Michael*'s reign, a peace for thirty years was concluded between him and the *Saracens* of *Egypt*, whoſe kalif being dead, his widow is ſaid to have embraced the chriſtian religion, and to have brought about an agreement between her ſubjects and the *Romans*. The following year 1036. was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which overturned ſeveral cities in different parts d
of the empire, and for an attempt of the *Saracens* on the city of *Edeſſa*, which narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. Twelve of the chief men of their nation, preſenting themſelves before the gates, with five hundred horſes and as many camels, loaded with large cheſts, demanded admittance, pretending they were carrying preſents to the emperor. The governor received into the city the twelve embaſſadors, as they ſtyled themſelves, and entertained them at a banquet; but could not be prevailed upon to admit the horſes and camels: which diffidence preſerved the place; for the cheſts were filled with armed men, who, in the dead of the night, were to be let out, and, killing the centinels, to ſeize on the city. The deſign was diſcovered by an *Armenian* to the governor; who, ſuddenly withdrawing from the banquet, e
and taking a ſufficient force with him, ſurpriſed and put to the ſword all the *Saracens* without the town; then returning to his gueſts, treated them in the like manner, ſparing but one, whoſe hands, ears, and noſe he cut off, and ſent him home in that condition, to give his countrymen an account of what had happened[p]. The following year, the *Bulgarians* revolted, and, ſhaking off the yoke, choſe one *Deleanus*, or as ſome call him *Dolianus*, for their king. He was ſervant to a citizen of *Conſtantinople*; but eſcaping from his maſter, fled into *Bulgaria*, his native country; and there gave out that he was the ſon of *Gabriel* and grandſon of *Samuel*. The *Bulgarians*, weary of the yoke, to which they had but lately ſubmitted, received him as their deliverer, and having proclaimed him king, murdered all the *Romans*, who had the f
misfortune to fall into their hands. At the ſame time, the inhabitants of *Dyrrachium*, no longer able to bear the cruel exactions of their governor *Michael Dermocaites*, roſe up againſt him, drove him out of the town, and, deſpairing of pardon, openly revolted, and choſe one *Teichomerus*, a ſoldier of great reputation amongſt them, for their king. *Deleanus*, the new king of *Bulgaria*, no ſooner heard of this revolt, than he wrote an obliging letter to *Teichomerus*, offering to take him for his partner in the kingdom of *Bulgaria*, provided he joined him with all his followers. *Teichomerus*, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, readily received him into *Dyrrachium*; but *Deleanus*,

An attempt of the Saracens *upon* Edeſſa *defeated.*

Michael Calaphates *created* Cæſar.

The Bulgarians *revolt.*

And the inhabitants of Dyrrachium

o Idem ibid. p Idem ibid.

a *Deleanus*, inſtead of performing his promiſe, cauſed the credulous and unhappy *Teichomerus* to be put to death; and then marching without loſs of time to *Theſſalonica*, where the emperor lay encamped, ſtruck with his unexpected approach ſuch terror into the *Roman* army, that they fled with *Michael* in the utmoſt confuſion to *Conſtantinople*, leaving all their baggage behind them to the care of *Manuel Ibatza*, who, betraying his truſt, delivered it up to the enemy. In the mean time, *Aluſianus*, the brother of *John* the laſt king of *Bulgaria*, who, when that country ſubmitted to *Baſilius*, had been raiſed to the dignity of a patrician, having made his eſcape from *Conſtantinople* and got undiſcovered into *Bulgaria*, was there received by his countrymen with great demonſtrations of joy. As he was a real deſcendant of the royal
b family, his arrival gave no ſmall umbrage to *Deleanus*, who nevertheleſs, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, took him for his collegue in the empire, and ſent him, at the head of forty thouſand men, to lay ſiege to *Theſſalonica*. *Aluſianus* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that occaſion in a very eminent manner; but the vigorous oppoſition he met with from *Conſtantine* the patrician, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege and retire, after he had loſt fifteen thouſand men in the undertaking. *Deleanus* laid hold of this opportunity to leſſen the credit of his collegue, giving out, that he maintained a private correſpondence with the *Romans*. But *Aluſianus*, appriſed of his evil deſigns, reſolved to be before-hand with him; and accordingly, having invited him to an entertainment, he cauſed his eyes to be plucked out; and then, diſtruſting the fickle
c humour of the *Bulgarians*, returned to *Conſtantinople*, after his friends had obtained of the emperor his pardon. Upon his return, *Michael*, though grivouſly afflicted with a dropſy, entered the enemy's country at the head of a powerful army, and falling upon the *Bulgarians*, now deſtitute of a head to adviſe and command them, put them to flight, and obliged them to ſubmit anew to the yoke. After this, the emperor returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*; but finding his diſtemper daily increaſed, he ſoon after diveſted himſelf of the imperial purple, and entering into a monaſtery, which he himſelf had built, ſpent there the remaining part of his life in acts of piety and repentance. He died on the tenth of *December* 1041. after he had reigned ſeven years and eight months. Upon his death, *Michael Calaphates*, his ſiſter's ſon, who
d had been created *Cæſar*, and at the ſame time adopted by *Zoe*, as ſome authors write, was proclaimed emperor. He, upon his acceſſion to the empire, probably out of complaiſance to *Zoe*, who appeared very zealous in his intereſt, baniſhed his uncle *John* the eunuch, and proceeded with the like unnatural ſeverity againſt his other relations, cauſing moſt of them, without any regard to their age or circumſtances, to be made eunuchs. Over-jealous of his authority, he cauſed in the end the empreſs *Zoe* to be confined to a monaſtery, under pretence, that ſhe had, by witchcraft and ſorcery, attempted to take away his life. His monſtrous ingratitude to one, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in his promotion, and was ſtill held in great veneration by the people, on account of her high birth, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that,
e breaking out into a general ſedition, with an unanimous conſent they ſent for *Theodora*, the emperor *Conſtantine*'s youngeſt daughter, who had been ſhut up in a monaſtery, as we have obſerved above, and ſaluted her empreſs, with her ſiſter *Zoe*. *Michael*, finding the people univerſally bent againſt him, retired of his own accord, with his uncle *Conſtantine*, to a monaſtery, where they both took the religious habit, hoping by that means to appeaſe the inraged multitude. But *Theodora*, who was more incenſed againſt them than *Zoe* herſelf, moving that their eyes ſhould be plucked out, the populace, breaking into the church of St. *John the baptiſt*, where they had taken refuge, dragged them from the altar to the forum, and there, in a moſt cruel manner, deprived them of their ſight. After this, they were baniſhed, with all their relations
f and adherents, *Michael* having enjoyed the ſovereignty ſcarce four months [q].

Zoe, ſeeing herſelf once more inveſted with the ſovereignty, baniſhed all the friends of the late tyrants, and recalled from exile ſuch as had ſerved her father and uncle, preferring them to the firſt employments in the ſtate and army. Among the reſt *Maniaces*, of whom we have ſpoken above, was ſent for to court, and appointed commander in chief of all the weſtern forces. *Zoe* had ſcarce reigned three months, when the people preſſing her to marry, and by that means prevent the diſturbances that might ariſe among competitors for the empire, ſhe recalled from baniſhment *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed *Monomachus*, a perſon of a noble extraction and comely aſpect; and

The emperor is put to flight.

Theſſalonica *beſieged.*

The emperor enters Bulgaria, *and reduces it; but reſigns the empire.*

Michael Calaphates.

Zoe and Theodora *raiſed to the ſovereignty.*

Michael *depoſed and baniſhed.*

[q] Curopalat. Zonar. Cedren. ibid.

Zoe *marries* Conſtantine Monomachus, *who is declared emperor.*

and having married him, cauſed him to be crowned by the patriarch with the uſual a ſolemnity. He had been baniſhed, during the reign of *Michael*, to the iſland of *Leſbos*, and from thence removed, at the inſtigation of *John* the eunuch, to *Mitylene*, where he was when ſent for to court, and raiſed to the empire. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the imperial dignity, than he baniſhed the eunuch to the iſland of *Leſbos*; where, his eyes being pulled out by the emperor's orders, he died ſoon after. In the very beginning of *Conſtantine*'s reign, *Maniaces*, not able to brook the ill treatment he met with from *Sclerus*, one of the emperor's chief favourites, revolted with the troops under his command, and, aſſuming the imperial ornaments, paſſed with his army into *Bulgaria*, where he was joined by the malecontents of that country. *Conſtantine* diſpatched *Stephen Sebaſtophorus* againſt him, at the head of a very nume- b rous army; which, however, was defeated and put to flight by *Maniaces* at the firſt onſet. *Maniaces* did not live to reap the fruit of his victory, being ſlain a few days after it, by a perſon unknown, who had the good luck to make his eſcape. Upon his death, thoſe who had been moſt forward in the rebellion, were the firſt who threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to *Stephen*, the emperor's general, who, notwithſtanding his defeat, was, on his return to *Conſtantinople*, honoured with a triumph.

Maniaces *revolts; but is murdered.*

The ſame year 1043. the *Roſſi*, who had continued long quiet, appeared unexpect- *The* Roſſi *de-* edly before *Conſtantinople* with a mighty fleet; but being defeated by the emperor's *feated.* navy in the ſtreights, they were glad to renew their antient alliance with the empire. Upon their retreat, the emperor marched in perſon into the eaſt, and there recovered c ſeveral cities, which the *Saracens* had ſeized in the two late reigns. But while he was purſuing the war with great ſucceſs, *Leo Tornicius*, eſcaping out of a monaſtery, to which he had been confined, aſſumed the purple, and cauſed himſelf to be pro- Leo Tornicius *revolts, and beſieges* Conſtanti- claimed emperor. *Leo* was a perſon of extraordinary parts, and nearly related to the emperor, by whom he had been, out of jealouſy, removed from his government of *Iberia*, and ſhut up in a monaſtery; but having found means to make his eſcape from thence, he fled to *Adrianople*, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who had been lately diſobliged by *Monomachus*. Being joined there by great multitudes, who flocked to him from all parts, he advanced to *Conſtantinople*, and laid ſiege to that metropolis; but meeting, contrary to his expectation, with a vigor- d ous oppoſition from the inhabitants, and ſeveral of his accomplices falling off from him, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired to *Arcadiopolis*, where he defended himſelf for ſome time againſt the forces the emperor had ſent to reduce him; but being in the end overpowered with numbers, he was taken, and ſent in chains to *Monomachus*, who firſt cauſed his eyes to be pulled out, and then confined him to a remote iſland. The rebellion being thus happily ſuppreſſed almoſt in its birth, and the *Saracens* in the eaſt awed by the emperor's preſence, a profound tranquillity reigned the two fol- lowing years throughout the provinces. But in 1048. the *Roman* dominions were invaded by a new enemy, ſcarce mentioned before in hiſtory; but reſerved by pro- e vidence for the utter deſtruction of the empire, which we ſhall ſee them accompliſh four hundred years hence, and put a period to the very name of a *Roman* empire. Theſe were the *Turks*, who, quitting their antient habitations in the neighbourhood of mount *Caucaſus*, and paſſing the *Caſpian* ſtreights, had ſettled in *Armenia Major*, about the year 844. There they continued an unknown and deſpicable people, till the wars of the *Saracens* among themſelves gave them an opportunity of aggrandizing their nation. The *Saracens*, having, with amazing ſucceſs and rapidity, ſubdued *Perſia*, *Aſſyria*, *Egypt*, *Africa*, and a conſiderable part of *Europe* itſelf, divided their vaſt ſpreading dominions into ſeveral governments or principalities, which were ruled by their reſpective ſultans or commanders, who, in proceſs of time quarrelling with one another, haſtened the ruin of the empire, which they had ſo ſucceſsfully eſtabliſhed. About the year 1030. *Mohammed*, the ſon of *Sambrael*, ſultan of *Perſia*, not finding himſelf a match for *Piſaris*, ſultan of *Babylon*, with whom he was at war, had recourſe to the *Turks*, who ſent him from *Armenia Major*, where they ſettled, as we have obſerved above, three thouſand of their nation, under the conduct of one *Tangrolipix*, a leading man amongſt them. *Mohammed*, ſtrengthened with this ſupply, gained a complete victory over the ſultan of *Babylon*; but when the *Turks*, to whom it was chiefly owing, deſired leave to return home, he refuſed to comply with their juſt demand, being unwilling to part with them, till he had ended the war. in which he was engaged with the *Indians*. Hereupon the *Turks*, withdrawing with- out his conſent to the deſart of *Carbonitis*, and being there joined by ſeveral diſcon-

He raiſes the ſiege, is taken, and deprived of his ſight.

tented

a tented *Perſians*, began to make frequent inroads into the territories of the *Saracens*. *Mohammed* immediately diſpatched an army of twenty thouſand men againſt them, who were ſurpriſed in the night by *Tangrolipix*, and utterly defeated. The fame of this victory, and the immenſe booty which the *Turks* acquired by it, drew multitudes to them, from all parts, of criminals, fugitive ſlaves, robbers, &c. inſomuch, that *Tangrolipix* ſaw himſelf in a ſhort time at the head of fifty thouſand men. *Mohammed*, enraged at the defeat of his forces, ordered the ten generals, who had commanded them, to be deprived of their ſight, and at the ſame time a new army to be raiſed, which he headed in perſon; but as he was riding about in the heat of the engagement to animate his men, he fell from his horſe, and ſoon after died of the fall. His death

The Turks *conquer* Perſia *under the conduct of* Tangrolipix.

b was no ſooner known, than his men threw down their arms, and ſubmitting to *Tangrolipix*, proclaimed him king of *Perſia*. This battle, which gave riſe to the *Turkiſh* power, was fought about the year 1034. in the neighbourhood of *Aſpacan*, now *Iſpahan*, the metropolis of *Perſia*[r]. *Tangrolipix*, now maſter of *Perſia*, having firſt opened a paſſage for his countrymen into that kingdom over the *Araxes*, parting it from *Armenia*, made war upon *Piſaris* or *Piſaſiris*, kalif of *Babylon*, whom he at length ſlew, and annexed his dominions to his own. He then ſent his nephew, *Cutlu-Moſes* or *Cuthimuſes*, againſt the *Arabians*; but he was overthrown by them in a pitched battle, and obliged to take ſhelter in *Media*, through which *Stephen*, the *Roman* governor, denying him a paſſage, he put his troops to flight, took the governor

c himſelf priſoner, and, without any further oppoſition, reached *Briſcium*, on the confines of *Perſia*, where he ſold *Stephen* for a ſlave. Returning from thence to *Tangrolipix*, he excuſed, in the beſt manner he could, the bad ſucceſs of his expedition, acquainting him at the ſame time with his victory over the *Romans* in *Media*, and encouraging him to invade that fertile country, which, he ſaid, might be eaſily ſubdued, as it was inhabited by none but women, meaning the *Romans*. *Tangrolipix* did not then hearken to his advice, being wholly bent on revenging the late defeat on the *Arabians*, againſt whom he marched in perſon, at the head of a numerous army; but being himſelf defeated and put to flight by that warlike nation, he gave over all thoughts of reducing them; and reflecting on what *Cultu-Moſes* had told him, he

Tangrolipix *proclaimed ſultan of* Perſia.

Is defeated by the Arabians.

d ſent *Aſan*, his brother's ſon, ſurnamed the *Deaf*, with an army of twenty thouſand men, to reduce *Media*; which *Aſan* entered, committing every-where dreadful ravages. But being in the end drawn into an ambuſh by the *Roman* generals, he was cut off, with his whole army. *Tangrolipix*, no-ways diſcouraged at this misfortune, ſent a new army into *Media*, near an hundred thouſand ſtrong; who, after having laid waſte the country without oppoſition, the *Romans* ſhutting themſelves up in their ſtrong-holds, laid ſiege to *Artza*, a place of great trade, and on that account eſteemed the moſt wealthy in thoſe parts; but not being able by any other means to maſter it, they ſet fire to it, which in a ſhort time reduced it to aſhes. Of the inhabitants an hundred fifty thouſand, and upwards, are ſaid to have periſhed, either by the ſword,

Invades Media.

e or in the flames. After this, *Abraham Halim*, half-brother to *Tangrolipix*, who commanded the *Turks*, hearing that the *Romans*, reinforced with a body of troops under the command of *Liparites*, governor of *Iberia*, had taken the field, marched againſt them, and offered them battle; which they not declining, the two armies engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. The victory continued long doubtful; but at length inclined to the *Romans*, who nevertheleſs did not think it adviſeable, as their general *Liparites* was taken priſoner, to purſue the fugitives. The emperor, greatly concerned for the captivity of *Liparites*, diſpatched embaſſadors, with rich preſents and a large ſum, to redeem him, and at the ſame time to conclude an alliance with *Tangrolipix*. The ſultan received the preſents; but generouſly returned them, with

Is defeated by the Romans.

f the money, to *Liparites*, whom he ſet at liberty without ranſom, only requiring him, at his departure, never more to bear arms againſt the *Turks*. Not long after, *Tangrolipix* ſent a perſon of great authority among the *Turks*, with the character of embaſſador, to *Conſtantinople*, who, having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to ſubmit to his maſter, and acknowledge himſelf his tributary, was by *Monomachus* diſmiſſed with ſcorn, and driven out of the city. On his return, he acquainted *Tangrolipix* with the reception he had met with; who thereupon reſolved to renew the war. *Monomachus*, on the other hand, did not neglect the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy; but was diverted from it by a war, which ſuddenly broke out between

[r] Niceph. Bryenn. l. i. c. 3.

The Partinacæ *break into the empire;*

between him and the *Patzinacæ*, a *Scythian* nation, whoſe king, by name *Tyrach*, highly provoked at the kind reception *Kegenes*, after revolting from him, had met with from the *Romans*, paſſed the *Danube* on the ice, and entering, if the authors of thoſe times are to credited, with eight hundred thouſand men the *Roman* provinces, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. *Conſtantine Arianites* was ſent againſt them with all the troops quartered in *Macedon* and *Bulgaria*; but he, not thinking it adviſable to venture an engagement, ſuffered them to ravage the country without controul, till great multitudes of them being ſwept off by the diſtempers which raged in their army, he was adviſed by *Kegenes*, who joined him with twenty thouſand men, to fall upon them ſuddenly; which he did with ſo much reſolution, that the barbarians, weakened with ſickneſs, and terrified at ſo ſudden an onſet, threw down their arms and ſubmitted. Great numbers of them were allowed to ſettle at *Sardica*, *Naiſſus*, *Eutzapolis*, and in other cities of *Bulgaria*; ſome returned to their own country; but *Tyrach* and an hundred and forty of the moſt noble among them were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where they were kindly received by the emperor; and upon their embracing the chriſtian religion, as *Kegenes* had done before, with all his followers, they were entertained in a manner ſuitable to their rank, and even raiſed to conſiderable employments. However, the emperor having ſent fifteen thouſand of thoſe who had ſettled in *Bulgaria*, under the conduct of *Catalunes*, one of their own officers, to reinforce the army in *Iberia*, they revolted on their march; and being joined by great numbers of their countrymen, encamped on the banks of the *Danube*, making from thence frequent incurſions into the *Roman* territories. The emperor ſent ſome of his beſt generals againſt them; but was not able to ſuppreſs them, his forces being, in three ſucceſſive engagements, put to the rout. Having at length reſolved to employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt them, they were ſo terrified at the noiſe of the preparations the emperor was making, that they ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which was readily granted them for thirty years [s]. During this war, *Tangrolipix*, affronted at the reception of his embaſſador, as we have related above, entered *Iberia*, and having laid the country waſte far and near, returned from thence into *Media*, and laid ſiege to *Mantzichierta*, a place defended by a numerous gariſon, and fortified with a triple wall and deep ditches. However, as it was ſituated in a plain and open country, he hoped to be maſter of it in a ſhort time; but finding, after he had continued before it thirty days together, that the beſieged were reſolved to defend themſelves to the utmoſt extremity, deſpairing of ſucceſs, he reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, when *Alcan*, one of his chief officers, prevailed upon him to continue it but one day longer, and to commit to him the conduct and management of the attacks. This being granted, *Alcan* the next day diſpoſed his men with ſuch ſkill, and encouraged them by his example to fight with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition they met with, the place would, in all likelihood, have been taken, had not *Alcan* been ſlain, while, in ſpite of the inceſſant ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, *&c.* he was mounting the wall. The beſieged, knowing him by the richneſs of his armour, drew him by the hair into the city, and cutting off his head, threw it over the wall amongſt the enemy, who, diſheartened at that ſight, gave over the aſſault, and retired, *Tangrolipix* pretending ſome urgent affairs had called him home. However, he returned the ſpring following, and ravaging *Iberia*, ſpared neither ſex nor age. But upon the approach of *Michael Acoluthus*, who was ſent againſt him at the head of a conſiderable army, he retired to *Tauris*, leaving thirty thouſand men behind him, to infeſt the frontiers of the empire; which they did with great ſucceſs, the borders being, through the avarice of *Monomachus*, left unguarded; for, till his time, the provinces bordering on the countries of the barbarians, had maintained, at their own charge, forces to defend them, and were on that account exempted from paying tribute. But *Monomachus* exacting of them the ſame ſums that were paid by the other provinces, they were no longer in a condition to reſtrain the incurſions of the enemy [t]. About this time died the empreſs *Zoe*, and ſoon after the emperor himſelf. Though he had always expreſſed a great eſteem and regard for *Theodora*, the ſiſter of *Zoe*, yet he was prevailed upon by the eunuchs at court to name for his ſucceſſor *Nicephorus*, who commanded the forces in *Bulgaria*, and was privately ſent for, wheh the emperor's recovery was deſpaired of. But *Theodora*, informed by her friends at court of the emperor's intention, privately withdrew

But are Partinacæ *forced to retire;*

Iberia *laid waſte by the* Turks;

Who beſiege Mantzichierta;

But are forced to raiſe the ſiege.

The empreſs Zoe *dies.*

[s] Niceph. Bryenn. Curopal. Cedren. Zonar. in Monomach. [t] Niceph. Bryenn. c. 4. Curop. ibid.

a drew from the monaſtery of St. *George*, whither ſhe had attended him; and returning to *Conſtantinople*, attended by her moſt faithful friends, cauſed herſelf to be proclaimed, and ſaluted empreſs; which gave *Monomachus* ſo much concern, that he fell into a ſwoon, and died ſoon after, having reigned twelve years and eight months. Some authors write, that both he and *Zoe* died of the plague, which indeed raged at that time with great fury in *Conſtantinople*; but moſt authors aſcribe his death to the gout, which he increaſed by his intemperance, lewdneſs, and debaucheries. *And* Monomachus.

Theodora no ſooner received the news of his death, than ſhe cauſed all thoſe to be ſecured, who had propoſed the promotion of *Nicephorus*; and depriving them of their employments, named others in their room, in whom ſhe thought ſhe could b confide. *Theodorus*, the eunuch, was ſent at the head of a conſiderable army into the eaſt to awe the *Turks*, who, hearing of the emperor's death, were preparing to renew the war. He prevented with his care and vigilance the enemy from making inroads into the *Roman* territories; ſo that the eaſtern provinces enjoyed, during *Theodora*'s ſhort reign, a profound tranquillity, to which they had been long ſtrangers. Her prudent choice of the great officers and miniſters of ſtate, her impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, (for ſhe heard all cauſes herſelf) and her great moderation in the uſe of the authority with which ſhe was inveſted, gained her the affections of her people, and the reſpect and eſteem of all foreign nations. But the empire did not long enjoy the many valuable bleſſings that attended her adminiſtration; for c in the ſecond year of her reign ſhe was ſeized with a violent pain in her bowels, which in a few days put an end to her life. Before ſhe died, ſhe was perſuaded by *Leo Straboſpondylus*, her prime miniſter, and her favourite eunuch, to bequeath the empire to *Michael Stratioticus*, a perſon ſtricken in years, and altogether ignorant of ſtate-affairs, which chiefly recommended him to the eunuchs, who hoped to govern in his name with an abſolute ſway. *Theodora* died, ſoon after ſhe had named him, in the month of *Auguſt* 1056. having reigned one year and nine months. The death of *Theodora*, and promotion of *Michael*, which had been managed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, being known at the ſame time, *Theodorus*, couſin-german to the deceaſed emperor, laying claim to the empire, as of right belonging to him, pro- d teſted againſt what had been done in favour of *Michael*; and ſummoning all his friends, ſervants, and dependants, moved in the evening with a great train through the moſt frequented ſtreets to the palace; but finding the gates ſhut and well guarded, he went from thence to the great church, not doubting but he ſhould be well received there by the patriarch and the clergy. But they refuſing, contrary to his expectation, to admit him, he had recourſe to the people, who, unmoved by his offers and promiſes, continued firm in the reſolution they had taken a few hours before to ſupport *Michael*. *Theodorus*, now well appriſed he could not ſucceed in his attempt, and dreading the reſentment of the new emperor, renounced all claim to the imperial dignity, and took refuge with his ſon in the church; but he was ſoon dragged from thence by the emperor's orders, and baniſhed to *Pergamus*, where he e died ſome years after. The rebellion being thus ſuppreſſed, *Michael* enjoyed the imperial dignity without a competitor, but ſoon ſhewed himſelf altogether unequal to ſo eminent a poſt. As he was an intire ſtranger to ſtate-affairs, having been brought up from his youth in the camp, he ſuffered the eunuchs, to whom he was indebted for his promotion, to govern without controul. At their inſtigation he diſobliged moſt of the general officers of the army, whom he ought to have regarded as his chief ſupport, and among the reſt, *Iſaac Comnenus*, and *Ambuſtus Cataclale*, f men renowned for their eminent ſervices and experience in war. The former he deprived of his command in the army, and the latter he removed from the government of *Antioch*, recalling *Bryennius*, a man of a turbulent and reſtleſs ſpirit, who had been baniſhed by *Theodora*, and appointing him commander in chief of the eaſtern forces. *Bryennius*, upon his return to court, petitioned the emperor for his eſtate, which had been confiſcated in the late reign, but met with a ſurly denial; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to revolt, and employ the forces under his command againſt the perſon who had entruſted him with them. Having imparted his deſign to *Ambuſtus*, *Comnenus*, and ſeveral others, who had been diſobliged by *Michael*, they all met, in order to proceed to the election of a new emperor, when, by the unanimous conſent of the whole party, *Ambuſtus* was g choſen; but he declining the burden on account of his age, *Iſaac Comnenus* was

Theodora.

Her excellent government.

Her death.

Michael Stratioticus.

A rebellion ſuppreſſed.

Michael *diſobliges the officers of the army.*

Several of them conſpire againſt him.

propoſed next, as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified for ſo great a truſt. As a the propoſal was received by all with great applauſe, *Comnenus* did not oppoſe it, but ſuffered the conſpirators to take an oath of allegiance to him, promiſing at the ſame time to govern with juſtice and moderation. After this, they all departed from *Conſtantinople*, where they had met, according to cuſtom, at *Eaſter*, and repaired to their ſeveral poſts, where each of them was, in his reſpective ſtation, to promote the general deſign. *Bryennius* haſtened to the army in the eaſt; but falling out there with *John Opſaras*, a patrician, whom the emperor had appointed to diſtribute a largeſs among the ſoldiers, the quarrel was carried to ſuch a height, that *Bryennius*, in defiance of the emperor's orders, committed *Opſaras* to cuſtody, after having cauſed him to be publicly beaten with rods. Hereupon *Lycanthes*, who commanded b in that neighbourhood a ſtrong body of *Lycaonians* and *Piſidians*, concluding that *Byrennius* deſigned to revolt, fell upon him unexpectedly in his camp; and having taken him priſoner, delivered him to *Opſaras*, by whoſe orders his eyes were pulled out. The officers of the eaſt, informed of his misfortune, and apprehending he might, upon examination, reveal their deſigns, (for he was ſent in chains to the emperor) reſolved openly to declare themſelves; and accordingly having drawn together in a ſpacious plain, all the forces under their command, they ſent for *Comnenus*, who was then at his houſe in *Paphlagonia*, and preſented him in the imperial robes to the ſoldiery, by whom he was, with univerſal conſent, ſaluted emperor on the eighth of *June* 1057. c

Iſaac Comnenus *ſaluted emperor.*

Comnenus, thus raiſed to the imperial dignity, took upon him the command of the army, which he immediately marched over the river *Sangarius* in *Phrygia Major*, bending his rout towards *Nice*, which he ſurpriſed, moſt of the ſoldiers, who garriſoned it, being retired to their own homes. In the mean time, *Stratioticus*, receiving news of the revolt, aſſembled all the forces quartered in the weſt; and having muſtered his army, choſe for his generals *Theodorus* the eunuch, and *Aaron Ducas*, an officer of great experience in war, and brother to the wife of *Comnenus*. The two generals marched at the head of their army to *Nicomedia*, and from thence to *Nice*, in the neighbourhood of which city they found *Comnenus* encamped. Upon their approach, he drew up his army, *Ambuſtus* having the command of the left wing, *Romanus Sclerus* of the right, and *Comnenus* himſelf of the main body. The emperor's generals accepted the challenge, and the two armies engaged with great reſolution and intrepidity. At firſt *Aaron*, who commanded the left wing of the imperial army, broke the oppoſite wing of the enemy, took *Romanus* himſelf priſoner, and purſued the fugitives to their camp. But *Ambuſtus*, on the other hand, bearing all down before him, pierced into the enemy's camp, which he took and plundered; and then charging with freſh vigor the emperor's left wing, obliged them to give over the purſuit, and retire in ſome confuſion. In their retreat they were attacked by *Comnenus*, and eaſily put to flight; which ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the emperor's troops, that, throwing away their arms, they fled in great diſorder. *Comnenus*, having e thus gained a complete victory, began his march to *Conſtantinople*, not doubting, but the citizens would open their gates to him, as ſoon as he appeared before them. In the mean time, *Stratioticus*, informed of the overthrow of his forces, ſent ſome of the chief men in the ſenate to *Comnenus*, with propoſals for an agreement, which was concluded on the following terms: That *Comnenus* ſhould be declared *Cæſar*; that a full pardon ſhould be granted to all his followers; and that ſuch of them as enjoyed employments, ſhould be continued in them, and confirmed by the emperor. But this agreement was made void by the emperor himſelf ſoon after he had ratified it: for, at the inſtigation of ſome about him, he obliged, partly by promiſes, partly by menaces, the ſenate and people to bind themſelves by a moſt ſolemn oath never f to give *Comnenus* the title of emperor, nor own him for their ſovereign. This oath was exacted, when *Comnenus* was ſtill in *Aſia*; but news was no ſooner brought, that he was within a day's march of *Conſtantinople*, than he was, by a decree of the ſenate, and the unanimous conſent of the people, proclaimed emperor, and all thoſe, who ſhould oppoſe him, adjudged enemies to their country. The decree being paſſed in the ſenate without oppoſition, the patriarch diſpatched meſſengers to *Comnenus*, inviting him to the city, and at the ſame time ſome biſhops to *Stratioticus*, commanding him in the name of the ſenate and people to reſign the imperial dignity, and quit the palace. We are told, that when the biſhops delivered their meſſage, *Stratioticus* aſked them, What they intended to give him in exchange for the empire?

An army ſent againſt him;

Which is defeated by Comnenus.

Stratioticus *forced to reſign*

a empire? and that they anſwering, The kingdom of heaven, he immediately diveſted himſelf of the purple, and, quitting the palace, retired to his own houſe, and from thence to a monaſtery, after he had reigned one year. *Comnenus* arrived the ſame evening, and was the next day, the firſt of *September* 1057. crowned in the great church by the patriarch *Michael Cerularius*[t]. The new emperor's firſt care was to reward thoſe, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his promotion, and above all the patriarch, whoſe nephews and relations he preferred to the firſt employments in the ſtate. As he was well ſkilled in military affairs, and had given ſignal proofs of his courage and reſolution, the neighbouring barbarians continued quiet, during his ſhort reign. At home he was more feared on account of his ſeverity, than b beloved. As he found the exchequer quite drained, he loaded the people with heavy taxes, and at length fell upon the monaſteries, depriving them of the immenſe wealth, with which they had been enriched by his predeceſſors. This the patriarch highly reſented, and with great arrogance threatened to pull him down from the throne, to which he had raiſed him, unleſs he reſtored to the monaſteries the eſtates which he had unjuſtly ſeized. But the emperor, inſtead of yielding to his threats, immediately baniſhed him, and raiſed *Conſtantine Lichudes* to the patriarchal ſee in his room. *Iſaac* had not reigned above two years, when he was ſeized with a violent diſtemper, occaſioned, as ſome authors write, by a flaſh of lightning. Being ſenſible that his end approached, and at the ſame time touched with remorſe in c reflecting by what means he had obtained the imperial dignity, he voluntarily reſigned it, and retiring to a monaſtery, there ſpent the remainder of his days in exerciſes of piety, having reigned but two years and three months. Being adviſed, before he reſigned, to chuſe a ſucceſſor, though he had ſeveral children and near relations of his own, yet, preferring the public good to his private intereſt, he named *Conſtantine Ducas*, a perſon generally eſteemed the beſt qualified in the whole empire for ſo eminent a ſtation. *Ducas*, thus choſen by *Comnenus*, and received by the ſenate and people, was crowned with the uſual ſolemnity by the patriarch. He applied himſelf with great diligence to the affairs of ſtate, adminiſtered juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, reformed ſeveral abuſes, which had prevailed under his predeceſſors, d and behaved on all occaſions with ſuch moderation, that he might have been reckoned amongſt the beſt princes, had not his inſatiable avarice drowned, in a manner, all his good qualities. He choſe rather to leave the frontiers naked and unguarded, than to maintain the neceſſary gariſons; which encouraged the *Turks* to extend their conqueſts on all ſides, and the *Uzians*, a *Scythian* nation, to paſs the *Danube* to the number of five hundred thouſand men, and ravage the neighbouring countries. *Nicephorus Botoniates*, afterwards emperor, and *Baſilius Apocapes*, were ſent againſt them. But the barbarians having put the emperor's forces to flight at the firſt onſet, and taken both the generals in the purſuit, laid waſte all *Thrace* and *Macedon*; and, penetrating without oppoſition into *Greece*, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. The e emperor, affected with the calamities of his ſubjects, but yet unwilling to be at the charge of raiſing the neceſſary forces to deliver them from the oppreſſion under which they groaned, endeavoured at firſt to purchaſe a peace with rich preſents, and even with promiſing to pay them an annual tribute. To ſuch meanneſs was the emperor brought by his ſordid temper. But the barbarians refuſing to hearken to any terms, he ordered a general faſt to be obſerved throughout his dominions, and then marched out againſt them with a handful of men. But, in the mean time, the enemy being greatly weakened by a plague that began to reign among them, the *Hungri* or *Hungarians*, whoſe country they had ravaged, fell unexpectedly upon them, and cut them off almoſt to a man. Nothing elſe happened, during this f unactive prince's reign, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity, except a dreadful earthquake, which overturned ſeveral ſtately edifices at *Conſtantinople*, and the appearing of a comet, which was ſeen for forty days together, and thought to portend the emperor's approaching fate. And indeed *Conſtantine* was ſoon after ſeized with a violent diſtemper, which in a few days put an end to his life. He left the empire to his three ſons, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Conſtantine*; but as they were yet very young, he appointed the empreſs *Eudocia*, their mother, regent during the minority, after having required of her an oath never to marry, which was lodged with great ſolemnity in the hands of the patriarch. He likewiſe obliged the

Iſaac Comnenus crowned emperor.

He baniſhes the patriarch.

He reſigns the empire to Conſtantine Ducas

The Uzians invade the empire;

But are cut off by the Hungarians.

[t] Curo palat. Cedren. Zonar. in Stratiot. & Iſaac Comn.

the ſenators ſolemnly to ſwear that they would acknowledge none for their ſove- a
reign but his three ſons. Having thus ſecured, as he thought, the imperial crown
to his family, he died in 1067. after having reigned five years and ſix months [u]. He
The Turks *invade the empire.* was no ſooner dead, than the *Turks*, hearing the empire was governed by a woman,
broke with great violence into *Meſopotamia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, deſtroying all
with fire and ſword. The empreſs was no-ways in a condition to oppoſe them, the
greater part of the army having been diſbanded in her huſband's life-time, and the
troops, that were ſtill on foot, being undiſciplined and altogether unfit for ſervice.
This gave the empreſs great concern, which was aggravated by the ſeditious ſpeeches
of a diſcontented party at home, repeating in all aſſemblies, that the preſent ſtate
of the empire required a man of courage and addreſs at the helm, inſtead of a weak b
and helpleſs woman. As they imagined the empreſs would never think of marrying,
in regard of the oath ſhe had taken, they hoped by theſe ſpeeches to induce the
people to revolt, and chuſe a new emperor. This *Eudocia* was aware of; and there-
fore, to prevent the evils that threatened her and her family, ſhe reſolved to marry
ſome perſon of merit, capable of defeating the deſigns of her enemies both at home
Romanus Diogenes. and abroad. At this time, *Romanus Diogenes*, a perſon of a moſt beautiful aſpect,
extraordinary parts, and an illuſtrious birth, for he was deſcended from the emperor
Romanus Argyrus, being accuſed of aſpiring at the empire, tried and convicted, was
brought forth to receive the ſentence of death, which his ambition had deſerved.
But the empreſs, touched with compaſſion at the appearance of the unhappy pri- c
ſoner, who, ſhe thought, deſerved a better fate, put a ſtop to the ſentence; and,
having gently upbraided him with his ill-timed ambition, ſet him at liberty, and
ſoon after appointed him commander in chief of all her forces; in which ſtation he
acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the empreſs reſolved to marry him, if ſhe could but
recover the writing, in which her oath was contained, out of the hands of the patri-
arch. In order to this, ſhe applied herſelf to a favourite eunuch, who, going to the
patriarch, told *John Xiphiline*, that the empreſs was ſo taken with his nephew, by
name *Bardas*, that ſhe was determined to marry him, and raiſe him to the empire,
provided he abſolved her from the oath ſhe had lately taken, and convinced the
ſenate of the lawfulneſs of ſuch a marriage. The patriarch, though a man of great d
probity and learning, yet dazzled with the proſpect of his nephew's promotion,
readily undertook to perform both; and accordingly, having firſt obtained the con-
ſent of the ſenate, by repreſenting to them the dangerous condition of the empire,
and exclaiming againſt the raſh oath, which the jealouſy of the late emperor had
extorted from the empreſs, he publicly diſcharged her from the obſervance of it,
reſtored the writing to her, and exhorted her to marry ſome deſerving perſon, who,
being entruſted with an abſolute authority, might protect her and her children, and
defend the empire againſt the many enemies, who threatened it, and were not to
be repreſſed by the hands of a weak woman, or awed by three young children.
The empreſs, thus diſcharged from her oath, married a few days after, to the great e
The empreſs marries him. diſappointment of the patriarch, *Romanus Diogenes*, who was thereupon proclaimed
emperor. As he was a man of great activity and experience in war, he no ſooner
ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power, than, taking upon him the command
He paſſes over into Aſia. of the army, he paſſed over into *Aſia* with the few forces he could aſſemble, recruit-
ing and inuring them on his march to the military diſcipline, which had been utterly
neglected in the preceding reigns. Upon his arrival in *Aſia*, he was informed, that
the *Turks*, having ſurprized and plundered the city of *Neocæſarea*, were retiring with
a rich booty. Hereupon, haſtening after them at the head of a choſen body of
light-armed troops, he came up with them the third day; and falling upon them,
while they were marching in diſorder, without the leaſt apprehenſion of an enemy, f
cut great numbers of them in pieces, and recovered the booty. He then purſued
his march to *Aleppo*, which he retook, together with *Hierapolis*, where he built a
ſtrong caſtle. As he was returning to join the forces he had left behind him, he
was met by a numerous body of *Turks*, who attempted to cut off his retreat; but
His ſucceſs againſt the Turks. the emperor, pretending at firſt through fear to decline an engagement, attacked
them afterwards, when they leaſt expected it, with ſuch vigor, that he put them
to flight at the firſt onſet, and might have gained a complete victory, had he
thought it adviſeable to purſue them. After this, ſeveral towns ſubmitted to him,
the

[u] Idem ibid. & Niceph. Bryenn.

a the *Turks* abandoning them upon the firſt news of his approach. But the autumn being already far ſpent, he retired to *Cilicia*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*. The following year, he paſſed over into *Aſia* early in the ſpring; and being informed, that the *Turks*, having defeated *Philaretus*, who had been left to guard the banks of the *Euphrates*, were advanced into *Cilicia*, and had there ſurpriſed and ſacked *Iconium*, the moſt rich and populous city of that province, he marched in perſon againſt them. But the *Turks*, not thinking it adviſeable to wait his arrival, retired in great haſte. However, the *Armenians*, encouraged by the approach of the emperor's army, fell upon the enemy in the plains of *Tarſus*, put them to flight, and ſtripped them both of their baggage and the booty they had taken. The enemy being
b retired, the emperor ſpent the remaining part of the ſummer in ſettling the affairs of the provinces; and, upon the approach of winter, returned once more to *Conſtantinople*, which he entered in triumph, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people. The ſpring following, the emperor marched anew into *Aſia*, at the head of a conſiderable army, which he had raiſed, and with incredible pains diſciplined, during the winter. As the *Turks* had already taken the field, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the parties detached from the two armies, in one of which *Nicephorus Baſilacius*, one of the emperor's chief officers, was taken priſoner, and carried to *Axan*, the *Turkiſh* ſultan, and ſon of the celebrated *Tangrolipix*, who received and entertained him with great civility. When the two armies drew near, the ſultan, obſerve-
c ing the diſpoſition and number of the emperor's forces, and dreading, as he was a man of great experience and ſagacity, the uncertain iſſues of war, ſent embaſſadors to *Romanus*, with propoſals for a laſting and honourable peace, which being rejected by the emperor with diſdain, both armies prepared for an engagement. Though the emperor's troops were not near ſo numerous as thoſe of the enemy, *Ruſelius*, one of his beſt commanders, having been detached a little before with a conſiderable body; yet *Romanus*, preſuming upon the courage of his men and the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended his arms, cauſed the ſignal to be given; and falling with great fury upon the enemy, put them into ſome diſorder. However they ſoon rallied, and charged with freſh vigor, ſo that the diſpute continued with various ſucceſs, till the emperor, fearing the ſultan ſhould ſend part of his army to attack his camp,
d which he had left weakly guarded, cauſed, as the day was already far ſpent, a retreat to be ſounded, and retired in good order with that part of the army, which he commanded in perſon. But *Andronicus*, the ſon of *John Ducas* brother to the late emperor *Conſtantine*, and in his heart an enemy to *Romanus*, whoſe good fortune he envied, cried out, that the emperor was put to flight; and at the ſame time, turning his horſe about, fled with great precipitation to the camp. The reſt of the army followed his example, and were purſued by the *Turks*, who in that confuſion put great numbers of them to the ſword. The emperor did all that lay in his power to make them rally and face the enemy; but, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, they continued their flight, every one ſhifting for himſelf in the beſt manner
e he could. The emperor, though thus forſaken by his army, yet ſtood his ground, till he himſelf being wounded and his horſe killed under him, he was at length overpowered with numbers and taken priſoner. When news was firſt brought to the ſultan of his captivity, he could hardly give credit to it. But being aſſured of the truth, both by the embaſſadors, whom he had ſent to him before the battle, and by *Baſilacius* his captive, he ordered the emperor to be brought before him, and tenderly embracing him, *Grieve not, noble emperor*, ſaid he, *at your misfortune; for ſuch is the chance of war, ſometimes overwhelming one, and ſometimes another; you ſhall have no occaſion to complain of your captivity; for I will not uſe you as my priſoner, but as an emperor:* which he did accordingly, lodging him in a royal pavilion,
f aſſigning him attendants, with an equipage ſuitable to his quality, and diſcharging ſuch priſoners as he deſired. After he had entertained for ſome days his royal captive with extraordinary magnificence, a perpetual peace was concluded between them, and the emperor diſmiſſed with the greateſt marks of honour imaginable. Being thus ſet at liberty, he proceeded, attended by the ſultan's embaſſadors, for *Conſtantinople*, where the peace was to be ratified. He ſtopped at *Theodoſiopolis*, and continued ſome days there to have his wounds dreſſed, with a deſign to purſue his journey to the imperial city, as ſoon as he was able to travel. But, in the mean time, he was informed, that *John*, the brother of *Conſtantine Ducas*, with *Pſellus*, a leading man in the ſenate,
g and ſeveral others, having, upon the news of his captivity, driven *Eudocia* from the

He rejects the propoſals of the ſultan.

He is defeated, and taken priſoner.

But kindly entertained, and ſet at liberty, by the ſultan.

throne, and ſhut her up in a monaſtery, had proclaimed her eldeſt ſon *Michael* a
Michael Ducas *proclaimed emperor.* *Ducas* emperor. Upon this intelligence he left *Theodoſiopolis*, and repairing to a ſtrong caſtle called *Docia*, he fortified himſelf there, not doubting, but he ſhould be ſoon joined by his friends, and by great numbers of the officers and ſoldiers, who had ſerved under him. But, in the mean time, *John*, who had taken upon him to act as guardian to the young prince, and governed with an abſolute ſway, diſpatched his eldeſt ſon *Andronicus* againſt him with a ſtrong body of troops, who having defeated the ſmall army the unfortunate prince had with him, purſued him to *Adana*, a city in *Cilicia*, where he was cloſely beſieged, and in the end forced to ſurrender. *Andronicus* carried his priſoner into *Phrygia*, where he fell dangerouſly ill, being, as was ſuſpected, ſecretly poiſoned. But the poiſon being too ſlow in its operation, *John* b
Romanus *dies.* ordered his eyes to be pulled out, which was done with ſuch cruelty, that he died ſoon after in the iſland *Prota*, to which he had been confined, having reigned three years and eight months[w]. *Romanus Diogenes* being thus removed, *Michael Ducas* was univerſally acknowledged emperor; but he being an indolent and unactive prince, the whole power was lodged in *John* his uncle, who preferred ſuch only as had been inſtrumental in the late revolution, and, under various pretences, baniſhed thoſe who gave him the leaſt umbrage.

In the mean time, *Axan*, the *Turkiſh* ſultan, hearing of the unhappy end of the late emperor, reſolved to revenge the death of his friend and ally; and accordingly, c
The Turks *invade the empire.* having raiſed a powerful army, he broke into the territories of the empire, not with a deſign only to ſpoil and plunder, as formerly, but to conquer and hold what he had once conquered. The emperor, alarmed at the motions of the *Turks*, diſpatched *Iſaac Comnenus*, ſon to the late emperor of that name, againſt them, who gained at firſt ſome advantages over them; but having ſoon after ventured a general
Defeat the emperor's army. engagement, his army was, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, utterly defeated, and he himſelf taken priſoner. Another army was ſoon diſpatched againſt them, under the command of *John Ducas*, the emperor's uncle, who gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, and would, in all likelihood, have put a ſtop to their farther conqueſts, had he not been diverted by *Ruſelius*, or *Urſelius*, a native of *Gaul*, who, revolting with the troops of his own nation under his command, reduced ſeveral cities in *Phry-* d
gia and *Cappadocia*, cauſing himſelf to be every-where proclaimed emperor. Againſt him *John* marched with all his forces, ſuffering the *Turks* in the mean time to purſue their conqueſts; but coming to an engagement with the rebels on the banks of the *Sangarius*, he received a total overthrow and was taken priſoner. Notwithſtanding this victory, *Ruſelius*, to ſtop the progreſs of the *Turks*, who threatened the empire with utter deſtruction, not only releaſed his priſoner, but joined him againſt the
Gain a ſecond victory. common enemy, by whom they were both overcome and taken priſoners. However, *Axan* was for ſome time diverted from purſuing his conqueſts, and reaping the fruit of his victory, by *Cutlu-Moſes*, couſin to the late ſultan *Tangrolipix*, from whom he had revolted; but being defeated by him in a pitched battle, he had taken e
refuge in *Arabia*, whence he now returned, at the head of a conſiderable army; and laying claim to the ſovereignty, was preparing to decide the controverſy by dint of ſword. But while the two armies were ready to engage, the kalif of *Babylon*, who had been deprived of his temporal juriſdiction by *Tangrolipix*, as we have related above, but ſtill continued to exerciſe his authority in matters of religion, being looked upon as the ſucceſſor of their great prophet, interpoſed; and by repreſenting to them the dangers, to which their inteſtine diſſentions expoſed them, brought them to this agreement; that *Axan* ſhould enjoy undiſturbed the monarchy lately erected by his father *Tangrolipix*, and that *Cutlu-Moſes*, and his family, ſhould quietly poſſeſs ſuch provinces of the empire as he or his ſons ſhould, in proceſs of time, conquer. f
The progreſs of the Turks. This agreement being made, *Cutlu-Moſes* turned all his forces againſt the empire; and being aſſiſted by *Axan*, made himſelf, in this and the following reign, maſter of all *Media*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*, fixing the ſeat of his new empire at *Nice* in the latter province. While the *Turks* were buſied in reducing the above-mentioned provinces, *Ruſelius*, who had been ranſomed by his wife, and, notwithſtanding his late revolt, reſtored to favour and entruſted with a conſiderable com-
Ruſelius *revolts.* mand in *Aſia Minor*, revolted anew, and, depending upon the aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, with whom he had privately entered into an alliance, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.

[w] Niceph. Bryenn. c. 2---10. Curopalat. in Rom. Diog.

a emperor. *Michael* ſent the beſt commanders in the empire againſt him; but they were all ſucceſſively overcome in the ſeveral battles that were fought, *Ruſelius* being powerfully ſupported by the *Turks*, whoſe intereſt it was to ſow and maintain diviſions in the empire. At length the emperor was adviſed to ſend *Alexius Comnenus* againſt him, he being eſteemed, though then very young, a man of uncommon addreſs and well ſkilled in the art of war. *Alexius*, by intercepting the enemy's proviſions, and conſtantly haraſſing them on their marches, without ever coming to an engagement reduced them in a ſhort time to ſuch ſtreights, that they were forced to take refuge in the dominions of the ſultan, where they were kindly entertained, and ſupplied with neceſſaries at the public expence. But *Alexius* applying to *Tutach*, the *Turkiſh*
b commander in thoſe parts, he prevailed upon him with a large ſum to ſeize on *Ruſelius*, and ſend him in chains to *Amaſia*, whence he was conveyed to *Conſtantinople*. The rebels, deſtitute of a leader, readily ſubmitted, and ſurrendered the cities and ſtrong-holds which they had reduced. The civil war being thus ended, *Alexius* returned to the imperial city, which he found highly diſſatisfied with the emperor's conduct, and grievouſly afflicted with a famine, during which the emperor, inſtead of relieving the diſtreſſed inhabitants, had leſſened the meaſure of the corn, which deſervedly procured him the nick-name of *Parapanaces*. The averſion which people of all ranks had for the emperor, on account of his avaricious temper, encouraged *Nicephorus Botoniates*, who commanded the forces in *Aſia*, to revolt, and enter into an
c alliance with the *Turks*, upon whom he had been ſent to make war. *Cutlu-Moſes* promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power; upon which he aſſumed the purple, and was ſaluted emperor by the army under his command. At the ſame time, *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who commanded in *Dyrrhachium*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor there; and depending upon the affection of his ſoldiers, whom he had obliged with his liberality, was preparing to march ſtrait to *Conſtantinople*. *Michael*, well appriſed that he was not in a condition to oppoſe either of the two competitors, reſolved to reſign the empire, and leave the throne empty for which of them ſhould prevail. Accordingly, diveſting himſelf of the imperial ornaments, he retired to a monaſtery, where he took holy orders, and was ſoon after raiſed to the ſee of *Epheſus* x. He had
d reigned ſix years and as many months, and reſigned in the year 1078. Upon his reſignation, *Botoniates* entered *Conſtantinople* without oppoſition; and being crowned by the patriarch on the twenty-fifth of *March* 1078. he immediately diſpatched *Alexius Comnenus* with the flower of his army againſt *Bryennius*, who was advancing with long marches to the imperial city at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army, and received with loud acclamations in all the places through which he paſſed, he being univerſally beloved by the people, and looked upon as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified for the empire. The two armies met at *Calaura* in *Thrace*; and an engagement enſuing, the fortune of the day continued doubtful, till the *Scythians*, who ſerved under *Bryennius*, purſuing the advantage they had gained over
e the forces of *Alexius*, fell upon his baggage and began to plunder; which occaſioned great confuſion in the army of *Bryennius*, the reſt of his troops following the example of thoſe barbarians. Of this *Alexius* took advantage, and charging them with freſh vigor, put them to flight. However, they rallied, and, encouraged by *Bryennius*, returned to the charge; but *Alexius* having, in the mean time, taken the horſe of *Bryennius*, adorned as he was, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, with the imperial ornaments, he ordered him to be led up and down the ranks, giving out that the general was ſlain. His own men being, by this device, greatly encouraged, and thoſe of the enemy equally deſpirited, the victory continued no longer doubtful.
f *Bryennius*, by ſhewing himſelf at the head of his army, convinced them of their miſtake; but, as they were already put into diſorder, and had begun to give ground, after having attempted in vain to ſtop their flight, he was himſelf obliged to fly with the reſt. As he was purſued cloſe by the emperor's forces, he had the misfortune to fall into their hands, after having given extraordinary proofs of his perſonal valour. *Alexius* received him in a moſt obliging manner, entertained him at his own table, and ſoon after, having put his troops into winter-quarters, ſet out with his unfortunate priſoner for *Conſtantinople*; but was met on the road by *Borilus*, with orders from court to deliver up *Bryennius* to him, and march back againſt *Baſilacius*, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at *Dyrrhachium*; and being ſupported

The rebellion ſuppreſſed by AlexiusComnenus.

Nicephorus Botoniates *and* Bryennius *revolt.*

Michael *reſigns.*

Nicephorus Botoniates *crowned emperor.*

Bryennius *defeated, and taken priſoner*

Baſilacius *revolts.*

x Niceph. Bryen. hiſt. Michael. c. 2—8. Ann. Comnen. l. 1. c. 2.

ſupported by all the men of intereſt in the weſt, had ſurpriſed *Theſſalonica*, and was preparing to march to the imperial city at the head of a conſiderable army. *Alexius* having drawn his troops out of their winter-quarters, marched againſt the enemy, and encamping at a ſmall diſtance from *Baſilacius*, began to ravage and lay waſte the neighbouring country. Hereupon *Baſilacius*, having attempted in vain to bring him to an engagement, reſolved to fall upon his camp in the night, which he did accordingly; but *Alexius*, informed beforehand of his deſign, received him, while he expected to meet with no oppoſition, ſo briſkly, that his forces were ſoon put to flight, and he himſelf obliged to throw himſelf, with part of his army, into *Theſſalonica*, which was immediately inveſted by the conqueror. *Baſilacius*, who was a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, rejecting the advantagious conditions offered by *Alexius*, prepared to hold out to the laſt extremity; but the inhabitants, dreading the emperor's reſentment, opened their gates, allowing *Baſilacius* juſt time enough to retire into the caſtle, which he defended with incredible bravery, till he was betrayed by his own men, and delivered up to *Alexius*, who ſent him to *Conſtantinople*, where his eyes were pulled out by the emperor's orders, and he confined to a monaſtery [y]. As the emperor was ſtricken in years and had no iſſue male, *Borilus* and *Germanus*, two brothers, natives of *Scythia* and the chief favourites of *Botoniates*, perſuaded him to name in his will one *Synademus* for his ſucceſſor, a youth of uncommon parts and nearly related to the emperor. Though this was managed with great ſecrecy, yet *Mary* the empreſs had ſome intimation of it. She was firſt married to the emperor *Michael Ducas*, and afterwards to his ſucceſſor *Nicephorus Botoniates*. By her former huſband ſhe had *Conſtantine Ducas*, who, by marrying the daughter of *Botoniates*, had acquired an indiſputed right to ſucceed him. The empreſs therefore, highly provoked both againſt the emperor and his favourites, for thus excluding, with the utmoſt injuſtice, her ſon from the empire, diſcloſed the whole to the two brothers *Alexius* and *Iſaac Comneni*, who promiſed her all imaginable aſſiſtance. But, in the mean time, the two favourites, taking umbrage at the intimacy that appeared between the empreſs and the *Comneni*, reſolved to remove, by ſome means or other, the two brothers out of the way. Of this *Alexius* being ſeaſonably informed, he applied to *Pacurianus*, an officer of great experience in war and equally verſed in ſtate-affairs, acquainted him with the deſign they had formed of depoſing the emperor, and begged him to aſſiſt them with his advice. *Pacurianus*, having heard him with great attention, anſwered without the leaſt heſitation, That if they withdrew to the army early next morning, he would attend them in their flight; but if they delayed one moment longer, he would diſcover to the emperor their treaſonable deſigns. *Alexius*, charmed with this reſolute and generous anſwer, fled early in the morning, with his brother *Iſaac*, *Pacurianus*, and the reſt of their friends, towards the army, which then lay encamped on the borders of *Thrace*. Upon their arrival, they acquainted the chief officers of the army with their deſign of creating a new emperor; which being univerſally approved of, a council was ſummoned; and after ſome deliberation, whether *Iſaac* or *Alexius* ſhould be raiſed to the empire, the latter was unanimouſly choſen, and ſaluted emperor by the whole army, which, without loſs of time, he led to *Conſtantinople*, being received with joyful acclamations in all the cities through which he paſſed. The inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, awed by the troops of *Botoniates*, ſhut their gates againſt him; but an officer, to whoſe charge one of the quarters of the city was committed, having privately admitted part of *Alexius*'s forces, the gates were by them opened in the night to the reſt, who, ruſhing in, made themſelves maſters of the city, before *Botoniates* knew it was aſſaulted. As *Alexius*'s army was compoſed of barbarians as well as chriſtians, the unhappy city was plundered in a moſt cruel manner, without any regard to the churches themſelves, which, together with the monaſteries, were ſtripped of all their wealth and ornaments. *George Palæologus*, a perſon of great authority in the empire and a zealous champion for the *Comneni*, eaſily prevailed upon the officers of the imperial navy, then riding in the haven of *Conſtantinople* to declare for the new emperor. *Botoniates*, thus forſaken by all, ſent ſome ſenators to *Alexius*, offering the whole power to him, provided he were ſuffered to retain the bare name of emperor, and with it the ornaments of the imperial dignity. *Alexius* was inclined to comply with his requeſt; but *John Ducas*, brother to the late emperor

But is defeated by Alexius.

Iſaac *and* AlexiusComneni *reſolve to depoſe the emperor.*

Alexies *ſaluted emperor by the army.*

He takes Conſtantinople.

[y] Niceph. Bryenn. in Boton. l. i. c. 1, 2. Ann. Comnen. l. i. c. 4, 5.

a emperor *Conſtantine Ducas*, and an irreconcileable enemy to *Botoniates*, would not ſuffer him to hearken to an accommodation upon any terms whatſoever. Hereupon *Barilus*, the reigning favourite, obſerving with how much ſecurity the troops of *Alexius* ranged through the city in queſt of plunder, drew together a conſiderable body of reſolute men; and having encouraged them with large ſums and greater promiſes, was preparing to fall upon the unwary enemy. But *Coſmas* the patriarch, a man famed for his piety, adviſing *Botoniates* rather to ſubmit to providence and reſign the empire, than ſuffer the city to be polluted with the effuſion of chriſtian blood, he readily embraced his counſel; and leaving the imperial palace, withdrew to the great church, and from thence to a monaſtery, where he took the religious habit, after he had reigned two years and ten months [z].

Botoniates resigns.

b *Botoniates* having thus reſigned the ſovereign power, *Alexius* was, by the unanimous conſent of the ſenate and people, proclaimed emperor, and crowned by the patriarch in the month of *April* 1081. His firſt care was to reward thoſe who had been inſtrumental in his promotion, conferring on them the chief employments in the ſtate, and even inventing new honours and dignities to gratify them. *Conſtantine Ducas*, the ſon of the late emperor *Michael*, was ſuffered to wear an imperial crown, and appear with the other enſigns of ſovereignty, purſuant to a promiſe, which he is ſaid to have made to the empreſs *Mary*, before he took arms againſt *Botoniates*.

Alexius Comnenus *crowned emperor.*

c As the barbarous behaviour of his ſoldiers, upon their firſt entering the city, had given great offence both to the clergy and people, *Alexius*, either being really, or pretending to be, touched with remorſe for the diſorders they had committed, reſolved to make an open confeſſion, and undergo a public penance. Accordingly he appeared before the patriarch and ſeveral other eccleſiaſtics, in the attire of a penitent; and, acknowledging himſelf guilty of the many diſorders that had been committed by his ſoldiers, begged the patriarch to impoſe upon him a penance anſwerable to the enormity of his crimes. The patriarch injoined him, and all his relations and adherents, to faſt, to lie upon the ground, and to practiſe ſeveral other auſterities, for the ſpace of forty days, which no one performed with more chearfulneſs than the emperor himſelf. Having thus attoned for his crimes, or at leaſt gained the affections

d and eſteem of the clergy, he began to make the neceſſary preparations for putting a ſtop to the conqueſts of the *Turks*, who had ſeized on ſeveral provinces during the late diſtractions, and threatened the empire with utter deſtruction. But *Solyman*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Cutlu-Moſes*, alarmed at the warlike preparationa that were carrying on in all the provinces of the empire, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Alexius* with overtures for a laſting peace, which he at firſt rejected, but was in the end glad to accept, tho' he had gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, upon certain advice, that *Robert Guiſchard*, duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, was making great preparations againſt him in the weſt. *Robert* was by birth a *Norman*, the ſon of *Tancred* lord of *Hauteville*, who, having a numerous family and but a ſmall eſtate,

He puts a ſtop to the conqueſts of the Turks.

Robert Guiſchard's *expedition againſt* Alexius.

e ſent his two eldeſt ſons to try their fortune in the wars againſt the *Saracens* in *Italy*, where they diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner; and having driven out the *Saracens*, ſeized on the places they had held, eſtabliſhing by that means a new principality in *Italy*. *Robert*, the third ſon, upon the death of his two elder brothers, did not content himſelf with the principality of *Puglia*, which they had held, but reduced the greater part of that country which is now called the kingdom of *Naples*, taking upon him the title of duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*. Towards the end of the reign of *Botoniates*, *Michael*, who had been forced to reſign the empire, having made his eſcape into the weſt, prevailed upon *Robert*, whoſe daughter had been ſome years before betrothed to *Conſtantine*, *Michael*'s ſon, to eſpouſe his cauſe

f and attempt his reſtoration. With this view *Robert* made great preparations both by ſea and land, which were continued even after the reſignation of *Botoniates*, *Robert* being determined to drive *Alexius* from the throne, if poſſible, and reſtore *Michael*, or, as ſome authors inſinuate, to ſeize on the empire for himſelf. Be that as it will, *Robert* having left his ſon *Roger* as his lieutenant in *Italy*, ſailed with all his forces from *Brunduſium*; and landing at *Buthrotum* in *Epirus*, made himſelf maſter of that place, while his ſon *Bohemond*, with part of the army, reduced *Aulon*, a celebrated port and city in the country now called *Albania*. From thence they advanced to *Dyrrhachium*, which they inveſted both by ſea and land, but met with a moſt vigorous oppoſition

Robert *paſſes over into* Epirus. *Takes* Buthrotum *and* Aulon. *Beſieges* Dyrrhachium.

z Ann. Comnen. l. ii. c. ult. & l. iii. c. 1.

oppoſition from *George Palæologus*, whom the emperor had entruſted with the defence of that important place, and who, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the enemy, held out, till the *Venetians*, with whom the emperor had entered into an alliance, arriving with a powerful and well-appointed navy, fell upon the enemy's fleet commanded by *Bohemond*, and gave them a total overthrow, the admiral himſelf, whoſe ſhip was ſunk with ſeveral others, having narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. After this victory, the *Venetians*, landing without loſs of time, and being joined by *Palæologus* from the town, fell with great fury upon *Robert*'s men, who were employed in the ſiege, deſtroyed their works, burnt their engines, and having driven them back to their camp, returned to their ſhips loaded with booty. As the *Venetians* were maſters at ſea, the beſieged were ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, while a great famine raged in the enemy's camp, attended, as uſual, by a peſtilential diſtemper, which is ſaid to have deſtroyed ten thouſand men in the ſpace of three months, among whom were ſome of the chief officers, and many other perſons of great diſtinction. However, *Robert*, who was a prince of great intrepidity, addreſs, and reſolution, purſued the ſiege; and, having with great difficulty repaired and equipped his fleet, found means to ſupply his famiſhed troops with proviſions, brought in great plenty from *Italy*. *Palæologus*, finding the courage of the gariſon and citizens began to fail them, ſent repeated advices to the emperor of the ſtreights, to which they would, in all likelihood, be reduced. Hereupon *Alexius* reſolved to march in perſon to the relief of the place; and accordingly, leaving his brother *Iſaac* at *Conſtantinople*, to prevent any diſturbances there during his abſence, he ſet out for *Theſſalonica*; and being joined there by *Pacurianus* and the troops under his command, he purſued his march with incredible expedition to *Dyrrhachium*; and encamping at ſome diſtance from the town, on a riſing ground, with the ſea on the left, and an inacceſſible mountain on the right, he ſummoned a council of war, in which, after a warm debate, it was reſolved by a great majority, but contrary to the opinion of the moſt experienced officers in the army, that the whole ſhould be put to the iſſue of an engagement; which *Robert* was ſo far from declining, that, obſerving the emperor's preparations, he ordered all his ſhips to be ſunk, which was giving his men to underſtand, that they had no hopes of ſafety, but in victory. However, the emperor's forces had at firſt the advantage, and drove a body of *Robert*'s troops quite to the ſea, which occaſioned no ſmall diſorder in the army; but they being encouraged and brought back to the charge by *Gaita*, *Robert*'s wife, a woman of a maſculine courage and behaviour, the fight was renewed with freſh vigor, and the victory long diſputed. At length the emperor's forces began to give ground, and being warmly preſſed by the enemy, the whole right wing betook themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight, moſt of them eſcaping to a neighbouring church, dedicated to St. *Michael*, as to a place of ſafety. But the victorious enemy, purſuing them cloſe, ſet fire to the church, which was ſoon conſumed, with all who were in it. In the mean time, *Robert* having put to flight the main body of the emperor's army, *Alexius* himſelf was forced to retire, though he was the laſt, if we may give credit to his daughter *Ann Comnena*, who turned his back. The flower of the emperor's troops were cut off, either in the flight or in the purſuit, with an incredible number of officers and perſons of diſtinction, among whom were *Conſtantius*, the ſon of *Conſtantine*, *Ducas*, *Nicephorus Synademus*, *Nicephorus Palæologus*, the father of *George*, *Zacharias*, *Aſpetes*, &c. The emperor with much ado made his eſcape, and reached *Achris*, leaving the enemy maſter of his camp and the whole baggage of the army. *Robert*, elated with this victory, returned before *Dyrrhachium*, which immediately ſubmitted, and opened its gates to the conqueror, who, as the year was already far ſpent, put his troops into winter-quarters, with a deſign to purſue his conqueſts early in the ſpring. In the mean time, *Alexius*, who had loſt the flower of his troops in the battle, ordered new forces to be raiſed in all the provinces of the empire, ſeizing for that purpoſe, as the exchequer was quite exhauſted, on the wealth of the churches and monaſteries, which gave great offence to the clergy, and had like to have occaſioned dreadful diſturbances in the imperial city. At the ſame time, *Alexius*, entering into an alliance with *Henry*, emperor of *Germany*, perſuaded him to invade the territories of *Robert* in *Italy*, which he did accordingly early in the ſpring, entering *Calabria* at the head of a numerous army. *Robert* was no ſooner informed of the emperor's motions, than, ſummoning a council of war, he appointed his ſon *Bohemond* his lieutenant in the eaſt; and having recommended him to the officers

His fleet defeated by the Venetians.

The emperor marches to the relief of the place.

But is defeated.

Dyrrhachium *ſurrenders*

officers of the army, he ſet out without delay for *Italy*, where he relieved the pope, beſieged by the emperor's forces in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, retook *Rome*, and drove the emperor out of *Italy*, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. In the mean time, *Bohemond* reduced ſeveral places in *Illyricum*; and, having defeated *Alexius* in two pitched battles, entered *Theſſaly*, and ſat down before *Lariſſa*; which, being defended by an officer of great experience in war, held out till the emperor, having recruited his army, marched to its relief. Soon after his arrival, he found means to draw a ſtrong party of *Bohemond*'s men into an ambuſcade, who were almoſt all cut off. However, in the battle, which was fought a few days after, *Bohemond* had the advantage; but his troops mutinying, and refuſing to continue the war, till they had received their arrears, he was obliged to repair to his father in *Italy*. *Alexius*, taking advantage of his abſence, recovered ſeveral cities; and being informed, that *Robert* was making great preparations againſt him, he had recourſe once more to the *Venetians*, who, having with incredible expedition equipped a powerful fleet, engaged *Robert*, and overthrew him in two ſucceſſive battles, but were ſoon after ſurpriſed by him, and defeated with the loſs of almoſt their whole navy. We are told, that *Robert* uſed his victory with the greateſt barbarity, putting ſeveral of his priſoners to unheard-of torments. The *Venetians* equipped a ſecond fleet; and, joining that of the emperor, fell unexpectedly upon *Robert*'s navy, while they were riding without the leaſt apprehenſion of an enemy near *Buthrotum*, ſunk moſt of his ſhips, and took a great number of priſoners, his wife and younger ſons having narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. But *Robert*, not in the leaſt diſheartened with this overthrow, ordered his fleet to be refitted, new ſhips to be built, and levies to be made throughout his *Italian* dominions, with a deſign to purſue the war with more vigor than ever. But being in the mean time ſeized with a violent fever, he died in the iſland of *Cephalenia*, being then in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age. Upon his death, *Roger*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, not thinking it adviſeable to purſue ſo dangerous and expenſive a war, recalled his troops; ſo that *Dyrrhachium*, and the other places, which they had ſeized in *Illyricum*, ſubmitted anew to the emperor[a].

Robert *obliges the emperor* Henry *to quit* Italy.

Several places in Illyricum *reduced by* Bohemond.

Robert *defeated by the* Venetians *at ſea.*

He dies.

THIS war was ſcarce ended, when another broke out with the *Scythians*, who, paſſing the *Danube*, laid waſte great part of *Thrace*, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched *Pacurianus* and *Branas*, who, engaging the enemy, tho' far ſuperior to them in numbers, were both cut off, with the greater part of the army, to the unſpeakable grief of the emperor, who had a particular eſteem for *Pacurianus*, an account of his extraordinary parts, his experience in war, and his approved fidelity. This overthrow was owing to the raſhneſs of *Branas*, who in a manner forced his collegue to venture an engagement, contrary to his own opinion. *Talicius*, who had ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, being appointed to command the army in their room, fell upon the enemy as they lay encamped in the neighbourhood of *Philippopolis*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire in the utmoſt confuſion. However, they returned the ſpring following in ſuch numbers, that the emperor reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. Accordingly, leaving the imperial city, he ſet out for *Adrianople*, and from thence to a place called *Lardea*, where, contrary to the advice of his moſt experienced officers, he engaged the enemy; but, after a warm diſpute, which laſted almoſt from morning to night, was put to flight and utterly defeated. Incredible numbers of his men were put to the ſword or taken priſoners, he himſelf eſcaping with the utmoſt difficulty to *Beroe*. About the ſame time, the *Turks*, finding the main ſtrength of the empire was employed againſt the *Scythians*, broke with great violence into the *Roman* territories, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places of great importance in *Aſia*, and among the reſt of *Clazomene*, *Phocæa*, *Mitylene*, *Methymna*, and ſoon after of the iſland of *Chios*. This ſudden irruption obliged the emperor to ſend part of his forces into the eaſt, under the conduct of *John Ducas*, brother to the empreſs, while he himſelf led the reſt, reinforced with new levies, againſt the *Scythians*, by whom he was again overthrown with great loſs, being betrayed by one *Neantzes*, a *Scythian*, who had deſerted to him in the beginning of the war; but abandoning him in the heat of the battle, ſo diſheartened the *Romans* with his ſudden flight, that they began to give ground; and being preſſed by the enemy and overpowered with numbers, they retired in great diſorder, leaving the

The Scythian *war.*

The emperor's army defeated by the Scythians.

[a] ANN. COMNEN. l. v. c. 1—6. & l. vi. c. 1—5.

Alexius *gains a complete victory over them.*

the *Scythians* maſters of their camp and baggage. However, not long after, *Alexius* gained a conſiderable advantage over them; and the year following, 1084. having defeated them in a pitched battle and put them to flight, made ſuch a dreadful havock of the fugitives, that few of them are ſaid to have eſcaped the general ſlaughter [b]. An end being put to the *Scythian* war by this victory, the emperor reſolved to march in perſon againſt the *Turks*, with whom *John Ducas*, his brother-in-law, had often fought with various ſucceſs. *Tzachas*, a leading man among the *Turks*, having made himſelf maſter of *Smyrna*, erected there a new principality, independent of the ſultan, haraſſing with frequent incurſions the neighbouring countries. He had, beſides ſeveral other places, reduced *Mitylene*, which *John Ducas*, purſuant to his inſtructions, cloſely beſieged by land, while *Conſtantine Delaſſenus* who commanded the fleet, inveſted it by ſea. But *Tzachas*, having committed the defence of the place to his brother, kept the field with a choſen body of troops, watching the motions of the *Romans*, intercepting their proviſions, and haraſſing them with frequent and ſudden onſets, which diverted them from purſuing the ſiege with due vigor. But *John Ducas*, having at length drawn *Tzachas* to an engagement, gave him a total overthrow; after which he ſent deputies to *Ducas*, with propoſals for a peace, which was concluded upon the following terms: That *Tzachas* ſhould be allowed to retire unmoleſted to *Smyrna*; that *Mitylene* ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*; and that none of the inhabitants ſhould be injured in their perſons or eſtates, or be forced to attend *Tzachas* at his departure. Theſe articles were mutually agreed to, and hoſtages delivered on both ſides; but *Tzachas* having, with a manifeſt breach of the treaty, obliged ſeveral of the inhabitants to quit their habitations and follow him, *Delaſſenus* ſailed after him; and, ſoon coming up with him, ſunk moſt of his ſhips, put great numbers of his men to the ſword, and releaſed the captives, *Tzachas* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped falling into his hands by embarquing on a light veſſel, which carried him ſafe to *Smyrna*, where he ordered a new fleet to be equipped, and in the mean time marched with all the forces he could raiſe to *Abydos*, which he hoped to reduce, before it could be relieved by the emperor. But the ſultan, looking upon him as an enemy no leſs dangerous to himſelf than to the empire, marched againſt him in perſon at the head of a powerful army, while *Delaſſenus*, the *Roman* admiral, cut off his retreat by ſea. *Tzachas*, finding himſelf thus attacked by two powerful enemies at once, choſe to ſubmit to the ſultan, whoſe daughter he had married. The ſultan received him in a very obliging manner, and invited him to an entertainment; but, in the height of his mirth, cauſed him to be murdered, and ſoon after concluded a peace with the emperor [c].

Alexius's *war with the* Turks.

Mitylene *retaken by the* Romans.

Tzachas *put to death by the ſultan.*

The Scythians *renew the war,*

In the year 1093. the *Scythian* war broke out anew, the barbarians being encouraged to invade the empire by an impoſtor, who, pretending to be *Leo*, the eldeſt ſon of the late emperor *Romanus Diogenes*, ſlain ſome years before in an engagement with the *Turks*, laid claim to the empire, and was received with great joy by the *Scythians*, who wanted only a pretence to renew the war. *Alexius*, having received timely advice of the deſign they had formed of falling with all their forces on the empire, viſited the borders in perſon; and having ſupplied the frontier towns with whatever was neceſſary for their defence, repaired to the city of *Anchialus* on the *Euxine* ſea. There he was informed, that the barbarians, having paſſed the *Danube*, and cauſed the impoſtor to be proclaimed emperor in ſeveral towns, which had ſubmitted to them, were advancing with long marches to *Anchialus*, in order to beſiege the place, and, by taking the emperor, put an end to the war at once. Upon this intelligence, *Alexius*, having left a ſufficient gariſon in the place, encamped with the reſt of his forces on a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from the city, and there fortified himſelf in ſuch manner, that the barbarians, after having viewed his camp and works for three days together, thought it adviſeable to draw off; and leaving *Anchialus*, which they could not inveſt without driving the emperor from his poſt, marched to *Adrianople*, the impoſtor perſuading them, that the place would be immediately delivered up to them by *Nicephorus Bryennius*, who commanded in it, and had, he affirmed, been highly obliged by his father *Romanus Diogenes*, when emperor. The credulous barbarians, believing all he ſaid, marched chearfully to *Adrianople*, but, contrary to their expectation, met there with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that, after they had continued ſeven weeks before it, they had ſome thoughts of

And beſiege Adrianople;

[b] Ann. Comn. l. vi. c. 13. & l. vii. c. 1—8.

[c] Ann. Comnen. l. vii. c. 6, 7.

of abandoning the enterprize. But being encouraged by the pretended *Leo* to purſue the ſiege, the place was in the end reduced to the utmoſt extremity, and muſt have ſubmitted in a few days, had not an officer of the army, by name *Alacaſeus*, preſerved it by the following ſtratagem: In imitation of the celebrated *Zopyrus*, he diſfigured his face, mangled his whole body in a cruel manner, and flying in that condition to the impoſtor, told him, that he was the ſon of one, who had been inviolably attached to his father, on which account he had been thus inhumanly treated by *Alexius*, and was come to implore the protection of the lawful emperor, and conjure him, by the memory of both their fathers, to revenge their mutual injuries. The uſurper, giving credit to what he ſaid, and repoſing an intire confidence in him, followed him, attended by a choſen body of *Scythians*, to a ſtrong-hold in that neighbourhood, which, *Alacaſeus* pretended, the governor deſigned to betray to him. He was accordingly received, as had been agreed before-hand, into the place, and invited by the governor to a grand entertainment; at which the mock prince and his *Scythians*, who, without the leaſt apprehenſion of treachery, had drunk to exceſs, were ſeized and loaded with chains. Hereupon *Alexius*, informed of what had happened, marched with all poſſible expedition againſt the *Scythians*, now deſtitute of a leader; and falling upon them, before they had the leaſt intelligence of his approach, ſlew ſeven thouſand of them upon the ſpot, took three thouſand priſoners, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight. However, they returned the following year with a very numerous army; but, being overthrown in two ſucceſſive engagements, they ſent at length deputies to treat of a peace; which was concluded upon the emperor's own terms[d]. After this *Alexius* returned to *Conſtantinople*, loaded with booty; which he generouſly divided among thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in the war.

Which is preſerved by a ſtratagem.

The Scythians *defeated.*

A peace concluded with them.

During his ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, he was informed, that the weſtern chriſtians were making great preparations for the recovery of the holy land, at that time poſſeſſed by the *Turks* and *Saracens*. As the fortunes of thoſe adventurers are inſeparably interwoven with the remaining part of this hiſtory, it might be juſtly deemed an unpardonable omiſſion, not to acquaint the reader with the motives that prompted them to engage in that mighty undertaking, commonly known by the name of *the holy war*, or *the cruſade*. About the year 1093. an hermit, by name *Peter*, a native of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, undertook a pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, to viſit the holy places there; and obſerving the miſerable condition of the chriſtians in *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, at that time moſtly poſſeſſed by the *Turks*, and the cruel uſage they met with from thoſe infidels, on account of their religion, he began to deliberate, firſt with himſelf, and afterwards with *Simon*, then patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, about the means of reſcuing them from the tyranny under which they groaned. As the eaſtern empire was in too weak a condition to give any hopes of redreſs, he reſolved to apply to the weſtern princes, and endeavour, by all poſſible means, to unite them in a league againſt the common enemy, for the relief of the unhappy chriſtians and the recovery of the holy land. Accordingly, having received preſſing letters from the patriarch and the grand maſter of the hoſpitalers, to that purpoſe, to the pope and all the chriſtian princes in the weſt, he took upon him to be meſſenger; and embarqueing on the firſt ſhip he met, he arrived at *Bari* in *Puglia*, and proceeding from thence to *Rome*, he delivered the letters to pope *Urban* II. giving him at the ſame time a pathetic account of the unexpreſſible miſeries the chriſtians ſuffered under the *Turkiſh* yoke, of which he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs. Having received all the encouragement he could wiſh for from the pope, he applied to the other princes; and, travelling from kingdom to kingdom, inſpired both princes and people with the pious and commendable deſire of relieving the oppreſſed chriſtians, and reſcuing the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. The pope, informed of this general diſpoſition, ſummoned a council at *Clermont* in *France*, where three hundred and ten biſhops met, and likewiſe the embaſſadors of moſt chriſtian princes; to whom *Peter* the hermit made an eloquent ſpeech, repreſenting the ſufferings of the oppreſſed chriſtians, the deſolation of the holy places, the cruelty of the *Turks*, &c. in ſo lively and affecting a manner, that a religious war was unanimouſly reſolved on, all declareing, as if filled with one ſpirit, their conſent, by often repeating aloud, *Deus vult*, *Deus vult*, *God will have it ſo*, *God will have it ſo*. Upon the diſſolution of the council, the

The holy war.

Peter *the hermit his pilgrimage, and the effects of it.*

The council of Clermont.

[d] Ann. Commen. l. x. c. 2—4.

The cruſade publiſhed.

the cruſade was publiſhed by the pope, and generally embraced throughout the weſt, multitudes flocking together from all parts, with red croſſes on their breaſts, the mark of their expedition, ready to recover the holy land, and redeem the chriſtians from the cruel yoke they groaned under, at the expence of their lives. They are ſuppoſed in all to have been no fewer than three hundred thouſand men, of whom the chief commanders were, *Hugh* brother to *Philip* I. king of *France*, *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, *Robert* earl of *Flanders*, *Raymond* of *Toulouſe*, *Godfrey* of *Bouillion*, with his brothers *Baldwin* and *Euſtace*, *Stephen de Valois* earl of *Chartres*, *Bohemond* prince of *Tarentum*, and *Peter* the hermit. To the latter was given the command of forty thouſand men; which army he divided into two bodies, leading one himſelf, and committing the other to the conduct of *Gautier*, a native of *France*, ſurnamed, from his being a ſoldier of fortune, *the Moneyleſs*. *Gautier* began his march on the eighteenth of *March* 1096. and, paſſing through *Germany*, entered *Hungary*, where the inhabitants refuſing to ſupply him and his army with the neceſſary proviſions, he was forced to plunder the country. Hereupon the *Hungarians*, falling upon him on his march, killed great numbers of his men, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves among the woods and marſhes, where they lay concealed, and ſuffered unexpreſſible miſeries, till the prince of *Bulgaria*, touched with compaſſion, furniſhed them with guides, who conducted them to *Conſtantinople*, the place of their general rendezvous, where they waited the arrival of *Peter*, who did not join them till the firſt of *Auguſt*, being ſtrangely haraſſed on his march by the *Hungarians*, who ſlew above two thouſand of his men, took all their baggage and two thouſand waggons, with the money deſigned to pay the army. To theſe hoſtilities *Peter* himſelf gave occaſion, by ſuffering his men to commit all ſorts of diſorders, under pretence of revenging the cruel treatment, which the army under *Gautier* had met with from the natives. *Peter*, having with much-ado reached *Conſtantinople* with the remains of his ſhattered army, was there received, in appearance, with great marks of friendſhip and kindneſs by the emperor *Alexius*, who nevertheleſs was in his heart greatly alarmed at the expedition; for though he believed the common people might act upon principles of religion, yet he could not perſuade himſelf, that princes would leave their dominions, and engage in ſo hazardous an undertaking upon the ſame motives. However, he ſupplied *Peter*'s army with all manner of proviſions; who thereupon paſſed the ſtreights, and marching into *Bithynia*, encamped not far from the city of *Nice*. Not long after his departure, the emperor received advice of *Godfrey*'s arrival at *Philippopolis*, with ten thouſand horſe and ſeventy thouſand foot; which gave him no ſmall jealouſy, the more, as *Godfrey* immediately diſpatched to him an officer, to demand the liberty of *Hugh*, brother to the king of *France*, who, in his paſſage from *Bari* to *Dyrrachium*, being ſeparated by a ſtorm from the reſt of the fleet, had been ſeized by the governor of the above-mentioned city and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where he was detained priſoner. As the emperor refuſed, under various pretences, to ſet his priſoner at liberty, *Godfrey*, who was already advanced as far as *Adrianople*, began to act againſt him as an open enemy, laying waſte the country, and marching directly to *Conſtantinople*. Hereupon *Alexius*, not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy, complied at length with his demand, promiſing at the ſame time to ſupply his army with proviſions; which, however, he neglected to do, and by that neglect provoked *Godfrey* to ſuch a degree, that he laid waſte the whole neighbouring country to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*. *Alexius*, dreading he might fall upon the imperial city itſelf, ſent embaſſadors to treat of an accommodation, offering his own ſon as an hoſtage, and promiſing the provoked prince all poſſible ſatisfaction. *Godfrey* having received the embaſſadors in a moſt obliging manner, and put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, the emperor invited him and the other princes and chief officers of his army into the city, where they were received with great magnificence, and entertained in a friendly manner. After ſeveral conferences and warm diſputes, the following agreement was at length concluded between them and *Alexius*; that, during the expedition, the emperor ſhould aſſiſt them with all his forces, ſupply them with arms, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, and treat them on all occaſions as his friends and allies. On the other hand, the princes were to reſtore to the empire ſuch provinces and cities as they ſhould recover out of the hands of the *Turks* and *Saracens*. Soon after, the other princes arrived by different ways at the head of powerful armies, and were all received by the emperor with the greateſt marks of eſteem and affection. After a ſhort ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, the forces paſſed the *Boſporus*, and encamped near

The principal commanders.

Peter *the hermit begins the expedition.*

His unhappy conduct.

Godfrey *marches in a hoſtile manner to* Conſtantinople.

An agreement between the emperor and the princes of the cruſade.

a near *Chalcedon*, with a deſign to advance from thence to *Nice*, and lay ſiege to that important city.

WHILE *Godfrey* and the other princes were yet on their march, the army commanded by *Peter* the hermit, which had entered *Bithynia*, as we have obſerved above, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, began to mutiny; and, depoſing *Gautier*, advanced *Raymond*, a *German* commander of great proweſs, in his room. After this, the *Germans* and *Italians*, ſeparating from the *French*, encamped apart. A ſtrong party of the *Italians*, having made themſelves maſters of a town called *Xerigordus*, were there ſurpriſed by the *Turks* and put to the ſword. The *French*, who lay encamped near *Helenopolis* and *Cibolus*, two villages on the gulf of *Nicomedia*,

b were, by the *Turkiſh* commander in thoſe parts, drawn into an ambuſcade, and moſtly either cut off, or taken priſoners; ſo that of the forty thouſand men commanded by *Peter*, ſcarce three thouſand were left, who with him took refuge in *Cinite*; which place they defended till the arrival of *Godfrey* and the other princes of the cruſade, with whom they marched to *Nice*; which city was inveſted by the chriſtian princes in the month of *May* 1097. As the place had been ſtrongly fortified by *Solyman*, then ſultan of the *Turks*, who had choſen it for the ſeat of his empire, and was defended by a numerous gariſon, the ſiege laſted ſeveral weeks; during which time, both the chriſtians and *Turks* gave many ſignal inſtances of their intrepidity and reſolution. *Solyman*, who had poſted himſelf with a numerous army among the neighbouring mountains, attempted twice to raiſe the ſiege;

c but was as often repulſed with much ſlaughter. However, the beſieged continued to defend the place with great courage and reſolution, till the emperor *Alexius*, who aſſiſted in perſon at the enterprize, having cauſed a great number of ſmall veſſels to be fitted out, cut off the communication, which, by means of the lake *Aſcanius*, the city maintained with the neighbouring country. The gariſon being thus deprived of the conſtant ſupplies they received both of men and proviſions, and at the ſame time privately ſolicited by the emperor with mighty promiſes to ſurrender the place, not to the weſtern princes, but to him, they ſubmitted at length, and, on the fifth of *July*, delivered up the city to his lieutenant, by name *Butumites*. Among the many

d captives taken on this occaſion, were *Solyman*'s wife and two of his children, who were immediately ſent to *Conſtantinople*. After the reduction of *Nice*, the princes, taking their leave of the emperor, of whom they now entertained great diſtruſt, bent their march towards *Syria*, having firſt divided the army into two bodies, for the convenience of forage and ſubſiſtence. *Bohemond*, who marched the firſt, was ſuddenly attacked by *Solyman*, at the head of ſixty thouſand *Turks*, and would in all likelihood have been put to flight, had not *Hugh* come ſeaſonably to his relief with thirty thouſand men; who falling upon the enemy, cut forty thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to take ſhelter among the neighbouring mountains. This victory was attended with the ſurrender of *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, of *Iconium* in *Cilicia*, *Heraclea*, and ſeveral other places. The chriſtian princes, animated with this ſuc-

e ceſs, bound themſelves by an oath not to return, till they had reſcued the holy city of *Jeruſalem* out of the hands of the infidels. Accordingly, having paſſed mount *Taurus*, they made themſelves maſters of the cities of *Mareſia* and *Artaſia*; and marching from the latter, but fifteen miles diſtant from *Antioch*, they encamped before that famous metropolis on the twenty-firſt of *October* 1097. As the place was ſtrongly fortified, and gariſoned with ſeven thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot, the ſiege laſted to the third of *June*, when one *Pyrrhus*, who had in appearance

f embraced the *Mohammedan* ſuperſtition to ſave his eſtate, and was entruſted with the defence of a tower called the *Two ſiſters*, betrayed the city to *Bohemond*, whoſe men entering it in the night, opened the gates to the reſt of the army; who falling upon the *Turks* before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, cut them off almoſt to a man. *Caſſianus* the governor, with ſome others, found means to make his eſcape out of the place; but fell ſoon after into the hands of the *Armenian* chriſtians, by whom he was ſlain. While the chriſtians were engaged in the ſiege of *Antioch*, *Corbenus*, one of the ſultan of *Perſia*'s generals, attacked *Edeſſa* with a mighty army; but *Baldwin*, to whom the place had ſubmitted ſome months before, gave him ſuch a warm reception, that he abandoned the enterprize, and marched to the relief of *Antioch*. Being informed on his march that the city was taken, he reſolved nevertheleſs to venture a battle, in hopes of recovering it; but received a total overthrow, having loſt, as we are told, an hundred thouſand, partly killed, and partly taken priſoners;

The army commanded by Peter *cut off.*

Nice *beſieged by the chriſtians.*

And taken.

The Turks *defeated.*

Antioch *beſieged, and taken.*

The Turks *defeated with great ſlaughter.*

priſoners; whereas of the chriſtians only four thouſand two hundred were ſlain. This memorable battle was fought on the twenty-ſeventh of *June* 1098. and the next day the *Turks*, who ſtill kept the caſtle of *Antioch*, deſpairing of relief, ſubmitted and were made priſoners. The chriſtians, thus become maſters of *Antioch*, choſe with one conſent *Bohemond* prince of that metropolis, not thinking themſelves bound by the late treaty, ſince *Alexius* had, contrary to that agreement, under various pretences, declined lending them the leaſt aſſiſtance. However, they ſent *Hugh*, brother to *Philip* king of *France*, and *Baldwin* earl of *Heynault*, to give the emperor an account of their ſucceſs, and preſs him to join them with all his forces, purſuant to the treaty; but the earl of *Heynault* was never afterwards ſeen or heard of, whence he was generally believed to have been taken priſoner and murthered by the emperor's orders. As for the other, he got ſafe to *Conſtantinople*; but, inſtead of returning to the princes with an account of his embaſſy, he departed from thence into *France*; whence ſome writers ſpeak of him much to his diſadvantage, as if he had been bribed by the emperor to abandon the enterprize. The emperor had indeed at this time a juſt excuſe for not joining the weſtern princes; for *Tangripermes*, a *Turkiſh* pirate, having ſeized on the cities of *Smyrna* and *Epheſus*, and reduced the iſlands of *Rhodes* and *Chios*, infeſted the coaſts of the empire, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Againſt him the emperor ſent a conſiderable fleet and army; which arriving ſafe at *Smyrna*, beſieged that city by ſea and land, and having in the end reduced it, marched to *Epheſus*; which was likewiſe forced to ſubmit, *Tangripermes* having been defeated with great ſlaughter in that neighbourhood. The victory gained by the emperor's forces was followed by the ſurrender of *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, and other maritime cities of great importance. *Alexius*, elated with this ſucceſs, laid claim to *Antioch*, and ſent embaſſadors to *Bohemond*, requiring him to deliver up that city to its lawful owner. *Bohemond* was ſo offended at this demand, that, inſtead of complying with it, he, in his turn, claimed, as prince of *Antioch*, the city of *Laodicea*, and diſpatched a conſiderable body of forces, under the conduct of his nephew *Tancred*, to take it by force; which they did accordingly, reducing at the ſame time ſeveral other ſtrong-holds in *Cilicia*, belonging to the emperor. Hereupon *Alexius*, having cauſed a mighty fleet to be equipped with all poſſible expedition, reſolved to ſtop the paſſage of the ſupplies, which the weſtern princes, eſpecially the biſhop of *Piſa*, were prepareing for the ſupport of the chriſtians in the eaſt, till ſuch time as they had reſtored to the empire the cities they had taken from the *Turks*. Of this fleet *Taticius* was appointed admiral, who, meeting that of the weſtern princes near *Rhodes*, attacked them, and gave them a total overthrow; but was himſelf overtaken, in his return to *Conſtantinople*, by a violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed the greater part of his fleet.

A war between Alexius *and* Bohemond, *prince of* Antioch.

After this, the emperor ordered *Catacuzenus*, one of his generals, to lay ſiege to *Laodicea*; which, notwithſtanding the ſupplies *Bohemond* with much difficulty threw into it, was in the end obliged to ſubmit. Hereupon the prince of *Antioch*, finding he had not ſufficient ſtrength at preſent to contend with the emperor, either by ſea or land, left a ſtrong gariſon in *Antioch*, and paſſed undiſcovered into *Italy*, with a deſign to levy new forces there, and return early in the ſpring into the eaſt. *Alexius*, acquainted with his deſign, ordered his admiral, by name *Contoſtephanus*, to cruize on the coaſts of *Italy*, and prevent, by all means, *Bohemond*'s fleet from paſſing into the eaſt; but *Contoſtephanus*, departing from his inſtructions, made a deſcent, and laid ſiege to *Brunduſium*; which, however, he was obliged to raiſe, his men being with great ſlaughter put to flight by the inhabitants. Among the priſoners taken on this occaſion were ſix *Scythians*, whom *Bohemond* carried to the pope, telling him, that, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch infidels and barbarians, *Alexius* endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of the chriſtian princes in the eaſt; which inflamed both the pope and the people againſt him to ſuch a degree, that multitudes crouded daily to *Bohemond*, deſiring to be employed againſt a prince, whom they looked upon as an avowed enemy to the chriſtian name. *Bohemond*, having by this means ſoon raiſed a powerful army, paſſed over into *Illyricum*; and landing without oppoſition in the neighbourhood of *Dyrrachium*, ſat down before that important place, after having cauſed his fleet to be burnt in the ſight of the whole army, that, ſeeing there was no means of making their eſcape, they might fight the more courageouſly, and place their ſafety in victory alone. As the place was defended by a numerous gariſon and ſupplied with great plenty of proviſions, it made a vigorous defence, and held out, till *Bohemond*'s army being reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of neceſſaries, that haughty prince began

Laodicea *taken by* Alexius

Bohemond *lays ſiege to* Dyrrachium.

began to give ear to the propoſals that were made him for putting an end to the war.
a After ſeveral conferences between him and the emperor's miniſters, a peace was in the end concluded, upon terms equally honourable to both princes. *A peace concluded.* The war being thus ended, *Bohemond* returned to *Italy*, according to *Anna Comnena*; but, according to others, to *Antioch*, where, we are told, he died ſix months after [e]. *Alexius*, being diſengaged from this war, marched in perſon againſt the *Turks*, who, renewing their incurſions, had laid the country waſte to the very walls of *Nice*; and coming up with them in the neighbourhood of that city, gave them a total overthrow. However, the *Turks* returned the following year; but were, in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles, overcome and put to flight by the emperor's lieutenants, *Alexius* himſelf being prevented,
b by the gout and other diſtempers, that uſually attend old age, from heading his army in perſon. The *Turks*, diſheartened with the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, ſent to ſue for peace; which was readily granted them by the emperor, who thenceforth never appeared more in the field, but ſpent the remaining part of his life in ſtriving to heal the diviſions, which at that time rent the *Greek* church. Being ſeized with a violent cold, he died in the year 1118. the thirty-ſeventh of his reign, and twenty-ſecond after the expedition of the weſtern princes for the recovery of the holy land [f]. There is a great diſagreement among authors touching the character of this prince, the *Greek* hiſtorians, eſpecially his daughter *Anna Comnena*, painting him as the beſt of princes, and thoſe who have written the hiſtory of the holy war, repreſenting
c him as the worſt. However, it is agreed on all hands, that he was a man of great addreſs and penetration, endowed with uncommon parts, and the beſt ſtateſman of his time. He was grateful, generous, and liberal, as appears from his behaviour to his brother and the reſt of his friends, who had been inſtrumental in his advancement to the throne; for on them he heaped ſuch wealth, as quite drained the exchequer; whence, to carry on the war with the *Turks*, he was forced to ſeize on the riches of the churches and monaſteries; which has prompted ſome eccleſiaſtic writers to paint him in the blackeſt colours. He ſeems to have been a ſtranger to all manner of cruelty; for though many conſpiracies were formed againſt him during the long courſe of his reign, yet we read of no other puniſhment inflicted even on the chief au-
d thors of them, beſides baniſhment, or the confiſcation of their eſtates. His behaviour to the weſtern princes, though altogether unbecoming one who profeſſed the ſame religion, may in ſome degree be excuſed, in regard of the jealouſy he entertained of them, eſpecially of *Bohemond*, his old enemy, which prompted him rather to oppoſe and weaken, than aſſiſt them in an undertaking, which, he apprehended, might at laſt end in his own ruin, as well as in that of the common enemy. During his ſickneſs, he was earneſtly ſolicited, by the empreſs and his daughter *Ann*, to exclude his own ſon *John* from the ſucceſſion, and bequeath the empire to *Bryennius*, the huſband of *Ann*; but the emperor, deaf to their ſolicitations, declared *John* his ſucceſſor, who was thereupon ſaluted emperor by the people, as ſoon as the death of *Alexius* was known,
e and, a few days after, crowned in the great church by the patriarch. He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the imperial throne, when ſome of his neareſt relations, at the inſtigation of *Ann*, conſpired againſt him, with a deſign to depoſe him, and place *Bryennius* in his room; but, the conſpiracy being ſeaſonably diſcovered, the conſpirators were immediately ſeized, tried, and convicted. However, the good natured emperor did not ſuffer them to be otherwiſe puniſhed, than by confiſcating their eſtates, which he ſoon after reſtored to them, receiving anew into favour all thoſe, who, with his ſiſter *Ann*, had given life to the conſpiracy. After this, he removed from court ſuch as he had reaſon to ſuſpect, appointing none to ſucceed them but perſons of known probity and diſtinguiſhed characters [g]. In the ſecond year of his
f reign, the *Turks*, in defiance of the treaty lately concluded with his father, broke into *Phrygia*; but the emperor, marching againſt them in perſon, overthrew them in ſeveral engagements; and having recovered ſuch cities as they had taken in *Cilicia*, and among the reſt *Laodicea*, he laid ſiege to *Sozopolis*, a ſtrong town in *Pamphylia*, which he took by a ſtratagem, having enticed the *Turks* out by a pretended flight, and cut off their retreat into the city. The *Turks*, alarmed at the ſucceſs that attended his arms, renewed the peace, which they had concluded with his father *Alexius*. Hereupon the emperor returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*, where he had not

Alexius *concludes a peace with the* Turks.

His death and character.

Johannes Comnenus.

An inſtance of his good nature.

His wars with the Turks;

[e] Ann. Comnen. l. ii. c. 6. & l. xi. c. 1, 2, 3. Glyc. annal. l. iii. Zonar. in Alex. [f] Ann. Comn. l. xv. c. 10, 11, 12. [g] Nicet. l. i. c. 1.

not been long, when news was brought him, that the *Scythians*, having paſſed the *Danube* and broken into *Thrace*, were deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. a

With the Scythians, *the* Servii, *and the* Hunns.

Againſt them the emperor led the flower of his army, and falling upon the barbarians before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, took many priſoners, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves beyond the *Danube*. He then turned his victorious arms, firſt againſt the *Servii*, whom he eaſily overcame, and afterwards againſt the *Hunns*, who had invaded the empire, but were driven beyond the *Danube* with great ſlaughter. The emperor, croſſing that river after them, carried the war into their country; and having taken ſeveral of their ſtrong-holds, and forced them to conclude a peace upon his own terms, he returned the ſecond time in triumph to *Conſtantinople* [h]. While the emperor was thus b employed againſt the barbarians, the *Turks*, without any regard to the late treaty, entered unexpectedly *Galatia* and *Cilicia*, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral cities in thoſe two provinces. The emperor therefore, having allowed his men a few days to refreſh themſelves at *Conſtantinople*, led them afterwards into the eaſt, where

He recovers Armenia.

he ſoon made himſelf maſter of all *Armenia*, driving every-where the *Turks* before him. The caſtle of *Baca*, and the cities of *Caſtamona*, *Anazarba*, *Serep*, *Capharda*, *Iſtria*, and *Sezer*, made a vigorous reſiſtance; but were in the end obliged to ſubmit. However, having laid ſiege to *Beræa* in *Syria*, he was forced by the numerous gariſon to raiſe it, and drop that enterprize. On his return homewards, he was reconciled to his brother *Iſaac*, who, in the beginning of his reign, having taken ſome c diſguſt, had fled to the *Turks*, and aſſiſted them with his advice in all their undertakings againſt the chriſtians. Soon after, *John*, *Iſaac*'s ſon, deſerted to the enemy, and, renouncing the chriſtian religion, embraced the ſuperſtition of *Mohammed*. The emperor, having ſpent three years in the eaſt, and recovered from the *Turks* the ſeveral cities and ſtrong holds which they had lately taken, returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. Having ſettled his domeſtic affairs, he reſolved to return once more into the eaſt; and accordingly began his march early in the ſpring of the year 1140. attended by his three ſons, *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Manuel*, giving out, that he had nothing elſe in view but to ſecure his conqueſts in *Armenia*, and confirm the cities, that had lately ſub- d

He forms a deſign of recovering Antioch *from the* Latins.

mitted to him, in their obedience; but his real deſign was to recover, if poſſible, the city of *Antioch*, held by the *Latins*, and reunite that ſtately metropolis to the empire. Heaven ſeemed to be offended at this undertaking; for ſoon after he had left *Conſtantinople*, his two eldeſt ſons, *Alexius* and *Andronicus*, died in the prime of their years, to the unexpreſſible grief of the afflicted father, who was ready to ſink under the weight of ſo unexpected a calamity. However, he purſued his march, and entering *Syria*, acquainted the inhabitants of *Antioch* with his arrival; who thereupon ſent ſome of the chief men in the city to meet him. But when he drew near, they refuſed to admit him within the gates, till he had ſolemnly ſworn he would attempt no innovation, but quietly depart, after a ſhort ſtay in the city. He had e entertained hopes of gaining over the citizens, and by that means making himſelf maſter of the city; but finding them inviolably attached to the *Latins*, he retired in a great rage, ordering his ſoldiers, at their departure, to plunder the ſuburbs. From *Antioch* he bent his march to *Cilicia*, where, while he was one day hunting, he was accidentally wounded in the hand with a poiſoned arrow, which he carried in his quiver. Though the wound was ſlight, yet, as the proper remedies were not applied in due time, it cauſed ſuch a ſwelling in his arm, that the phyſicians were for cutting it off; but he peremptorily refuſing to ſubmit to the operation, the ſtrength of the poiſon prevailed to ſuch a degree, that he was in a ſhort time brought to the point of death; when, ſummoning the chief of the nobility to his chamber, he named in their f preſence his youngeſt ſon *Manuel* to ſucceed him, as better qualified in every reſpect for that eminent ſtation, than his other ſon *Iſaac*. Hereupon *Manuel* was immediately proclaimed and acknowledged emperor by the nobility and the chief officers of the army, who bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to obey no other. The emperor died ſoon after, on the eighth of *April* 1143. having reigned twenty-four years and eight months. It is obſervable of him, that he put none to death during the whole time of his reign; whence he was no leſs beloved by his ſubjects for his humanity and

The emperor wounded with a poiſoned arrow.

He dies.

[h] Idem, c. 2—5.

and good nature, than feared by the enemies of the empire, on account of his courage, experience in war, and the ſucceſs that attended him in all his expeditions [i].

The emperor no ſooner expired, than *Manuel* diſpatched *Axuchus*, who had been prime miniſter to his father, to *Conſtantinople*, with orders to ſecure *Iſaac*; who was accordingly ſeized, before he had time to aſſert his right to the empire, and confined to a monaſtery. Soon after, the new emperor arrived; and being received with loud acclamations by the people, who hated *Iſaac*, he was crowned with great ſolemnity by the patriarch. Having ſettled his domeſtic affairs, and ſet his brother *Iſaac* at liberty, upon his promiſing to attempt no innovations during his abſence, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, at the head of a mighty army: and having recovered ſeveral cities in *Phrygia*, lately taken by the *Turks*, he ſat down before *Iconium*; but not being able to maſter that important place, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, leaving ſufficient gariſons in the frontier-towns to reſtrain the incurſions of the *Turks*. During his ſtay in the imperial city, he married *Gertrude*, ſiſter-in-law to *Conrade*, the *German* emperor; but ſlighting her, though endowed with every perfection becoming a perſon of her ſex and quality, he maintained a criminal converſation with his own niece *Theodora*; which greatly eſtranged from him the minds of his people. But nothing has rendered his name more odious to poſterity, than his treacherous behaviour to the weſtern princes; for having promiſed to ſupply the army of *Conrade*, who in the year 1146. undertook an expedition into the holy land, with forage and proviſions, inſtead of that, he cauſed the countries, through which they were to paſs, to be laid waſte, and the gates of the towns to be ſhut; nay, we are told, that the *Greeks*, inſpired by the emperor with an irreconcilable hatred to thoſe adventurers, mixed the flour they ſold them with quick-lime; which occaſioned a dreadful mortality in the chriſtian army. Beſides, the emperor privately acquainted *Mamut*, ſultan of *Iconium* in *Aſia Minor*, with the deſigns of *Conrade* and the other princes. Whereupon the ſultan alarming all the princes of his nation, a formidable army was raiſed in defence of their common intereſt, and ſent to protect their territories, before the chriſtian princes were in a condition to attack them. By this means the deſigns of the weſtern princes were defeated, and an army, which otherwiſe might have eaſily triumphed over all the eaſt, in a great meaſure deſtroyed [k]. *Roger*, king of *Sicily*, highly provoked at *Manuel*'s treachery, took advantage of ſome diſturbances raiſed by the inhabitants of *Corcyra*, who thought themſelves oppreſſed by too heavy exactions, and made himſelf maſter of that iſland. From thence he ſailed to *Corinth*, which he likewiſe took and plundered, with *Thebes*, and moſt of the principal cities of *Bœotia*. Hereupon *Manuel*, having aſſembled all the forces of the empire and equipped a mighty fleet, proclaimed war againſt *Roger* and the *Sicilians*; which he began with the ſiege of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*. The beſieged defended the place with incredible bravery; but being in the end quite tired out with repeated attacks, they ſurrendered upon honourable terms. In this ſiege the emperor, who commanded his troops in perſon, loſt an incredible number of men, and among the reſt *Stephen*, one of his chief officers. However, elated with his ſucceſs, he reſolved to carry the war into *Sicily* itſelf; but was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, in which ſeveral of his ſhips were loſt, and he himſelf driven, with moſt of the tranſports, to *Aulon*. Being informed, during his ſtay there, that the *Servians* had broken into the neighbouring provinces, he marched againſt them in perſon, committing the management of the *Sicilian* war to *Michael Palæologus*. *Manuel* gained great advantages over the *Servians*, though aſſiſted by the *Hungarians*, whom he likewiſe overcame in ſeveral battles; and carrying the war into their country, took and razed ſome of their chief towns, and then returned to *Conſtantinople*, loaded with booty. As for *Palæologus*, he marched into *Calabria*, where he frequently defeated *Roger's* forces, and continued laying waſte the country, till, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded between the two princes. The emperor, now diſengaged from this war, took a progreſs into the eaſt, being every-where received in a friendly manner, and entertained with ſhews and feſtivals, by the weſtern princes, notwithſtanding his unaccountable and treacherous behaviour towards them. On his return, he was attacked unexpectedly by the *Turks*, who killed ſeveral of his men, and took part of his baggage. To revenge this outrage, the emperor, after a ſhort ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, paſſed over into *Aſia*, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army; which ſtruck the ſultan with ſuch terror, that he ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, offering to

ManuelComnenus.

His war with the Turks.

His treacherous behaviour to the weſtern princes.

His wars with Roger *king of* Sicily.

A peace concluded between the two princes.

[i] Nicet. c. 7—12. [k] Idem in Manuel. l. i. c. 1----4.

to conclude it upon ſuch terms, as the emperor himſelf ſhould judge proper. But *Manuel* adhering to the young and unexperienced officers, who, puſhed on with a falſe courage, declared with great warmth for war, the offers of the ſultan were rejected, and his embaſſadors diſmiſſed with this haughty anſwer, *That the emperor would come and let him know his pleaſure at* Iconium, which was the metropolis of the *Turkiſh* empire in *Aſia Minor*. Hereupon the ſultan, finding a war unavoidable, ſeized on the narrow paſſes of *Zibrica*, through which the emperor's army was to paſs, and falling upon them, as ſoon as they entered the ſtreights, made a dreadful havock of them with ſhowers of arrows from the mountains and broken cliffs. The *Romans* attempted to retire; but their retreat being cut off by a ſtrong detachment of *Turks*, poſted at the entrance of the ſtreights, they were forced to purſue their march, being galled the whole time by the enemy's arrows ſhowering down upon them from the eminences. In the mean time, night coming on, the *Turks*, who were well acquainted with the country, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the outlets; ſo that the *Romans* found themſelves, when light appeared, hemmed in on every ſide, without being able either to retire or advance. In this condition, while they looked upon themſelves as loſt, the ſultan, to the great ſurprize of the emperor and the whole army, ſent to *Manuel* one of his chief officers, by name *Gabras*, with propoſals for a peace; which he immediately ſigned, to the inexpreſſible joy of the whole army, who purſued their march unmoleſted to *Chonas*, where the emperor diſtributed what money he had with him among the ſoldiers, and then proceeded to *Philadelphia*, in which city he continued, till his wounds were cured. One of the conditions of the peace was, that the fortifications of *Dorylæum* and *Subleum* in *Aſia Minor* ſhould be razed. This the emperor, now out of danger, refuſed to perform, alledging, that what had been extorted from him by force was not binding. The ſultan, highly provoked at this anſwer, ſent a body of twenty foor thouſand choſen men, under the conduct of *Atapacus*, to lay waſte all *Phrygia*; which they did with the utmoſt barbarity, ſparing neither ſex nor age. But the emperor's forces, falling upon them as they were croſſing the *Mæander* on their way home, cut them all off to a man, and recovered the whole booty [k]. The *Turks* were ſo diſheartened with this overthrow, that they continued quiet the remaining part of *Manuel*'s reign, who, having no wars to employ his thoughts, turned them to religious matters, and, by endeavouring to introduce and eſtabliſh heterodox opinions, raiſed great diſturbances and diviſions in the church, ſome of the prelates being prompred by their intereſt to embrace and maintain the doctrine he had broached, and others impugning it with great warmth. Among the latter was *Euſtathius* archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*, famous for his learned comments on *Homer*. But the death of the emperor put an end to theſe diſputes. He was taken ill in *March* 1180. and died in the following *September*, having near completed the thirty-eighth year of his reign. Some time before his death, he took the monaſtic habit, hoping thereby to atone for the debaucheries, to which he abandoned himſelf in times of peace [l].

Manuel *reduced to great ſtreights by the* Turks.

A peace concluded with the ſultan.

The Turks *invade the empire anew; but* 24000 *of them are cut off.*

Manuel *dies.*

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Alexius Comnenus*; but, he being only twelve years old, his mother took upon her the adminiſtration, and governing with an abſolute ſway, ſuffered the young prince to indulge himſelf in his pleaſures and diverſions, in order to indiſpoſe him for applying to the affairs of ſtate. The miniſters, whom the empreſs employed, made it their chief ſtudy to enrich themſelves at the expence of the public, the empreſs herſelf having nothing elſe in view but to fill her coffers. Public affairs being thus intirely neglected, while every one ſtudied his private intereſt, the *Turks*, who let ſlip no opportunity of inlarging their territories, breaking into the empire, made themſelves maſters of *Sozopolis*, and ſeveral other important places in *Phrygia*. This raiſed in the people a general diſlike to the preſent adminiſtration; which being obſerved by *Andronicus*, who was couſin-german to the late emperor, and had long aſpired at the empire, he thought this the moſt proper time to attempt the obtaining of what he ſo ardently wiſhed for. Accordingly, as he was generally beloved on account of his inſinuating and popular behaviour, he left *Oeneum*, to which place he had been confined by the late emperor; and moving with his friends and dependants towards *Conſtantinople*, gave out, that he had nothing elſe in view but to reform the abuſes of the ſtate, to aſſert the imperial dignity, to redreſs the grievances of the people, and reſcue the young prince out of the hands of thoſe, who

AlexiusComnenus.

Andronicus *revolts.*

And marches towards Conſtantinople.

[k] Nicet. l. vi. c. 1---9. [l] Idem, l. vi. c. 6, 7.

a who, in a moſt ſhameful manner, abuſed his authority, to the oppreſſion of thoſe, whom they were bound to protect. He was every-where received by the credulous people as their deliverer and defender; and ſuch multitudes flocked to him from all parts, that none dared to oppoſe him, till he came into *Bithynia*, where the governor of *Nice* and *Nicomedia* ſhut their gates againſt him, as a public enemy. However, he purſued his march to a caſtle called *Charace*, where he was met by a body of the imperial troops commanded by *Andronicus Angelus*, whom he put to flight; and, advancing with long marches towards *Conſtantinople*, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Chalcedon*, in ſight of the imperial city. The empreſs had committed the whole management of affairs to *Alexius*, then preſident of the council, with whom ſhe was b thought to be more familiar than was conſiſtent with her honour. As *Alexius* hoped by her means to be advanced one day to the imperial dignity, he left nothing unattempted to defeat the deſigns of *Andronicus*; but being univerſally deteſted by the people, on account of his tyrannical and arbitrary government, the troops he had raiſed fled over to *Andronicus*, and the fleet, which was committed to the conduct of *Contoſtephanus*, followed their example. Hereupon the people, aſſembling in a tumultuous manner, with repeated acclamations declared *Andronicus* guardian of the young prince, ſet at liberty his two ſons, *John* and *Manuel*, whom *Alexius* had thrown into priſon, and ſeizing on *Alexius* himſelf, carried him in a mock triumph to the ſea-ſide, attended with the ſcoffs and curſes of the enraged multitude, and thence conc veyed him in a ſmall boat to *Andronicus*, who after having expoſed him to the inſults of the whole army, cauſed his eyes to be pulled out. Soon after, *Andronicus*, paſſing the ſtreights, went to wait on the emperor, who, was then, with the empreſs his mother, at a royal ſeat in the country; and being immediately admitted to his preſence, fell on the ground, out of a pretended reſpect to his prince, repeating ſeveral texts of ſcripture, adapted to the preſent purpoſe. As for the empreſs, he ſaluted her with a coldneſs, which ſufficiently betrayed the averſion he bore her. Having ſtaid ſome days with the emperor, he made his entry into the city, attended with the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, and was by all, with one voice, declared and acknowledged the protector of the empire, during the minority of young *Alexius*. But, notd withſtanding the tyrannical conduct of *Alexius* the preſident, the citizens of *Conſtantinople* had ſoon occaſion to repent of the change, there being no kind of cruelty, which the protector did not practiſe upon the unhappy people, without diſtinction of ſex or condition. Some were deprived of their ſight, others baniſhed, and many inhumanly murdered, either out of ſome private grudge, or becauſe they ſeemed attached to the young prince. Among the reſt *Mary*, daughter to the late emperor, who had been very inſtrumental in the late revolution, and her huſband *Manuel*, *Andronicus*'s own ſon, were poiſoned by the tyrant's orders. As for the empreſs, he cauſed her to be accuſed of treaſon, as if ſhe had by letters invited *Bela*, king of the *Hungarians*, her brother-in-law, to invade the empire. Upon this charge, altogee ther grounleſs, ſhe was tried, found guilty, no one daring to oppoſe the tyrant's pleaſure, and ſhortly after ſtrangled by *Pterigionites* the eunuch. Soon after her death, the tyrant, pretending a great tenderneſs and unſhaken fidelity for the young prince, cauſed him to be ſolemnly crowned by the patriarch; but took care at the ſame time to enlarge in an eloquent ſpeech on the dangers that threatened the empire, and required, he ſaid, a perſon of wiſdom and experience to avert them. He had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than his friends crying out aloud, as had been agreed on before-hand, *Long live* Alexius *and* Andronicus Roman *emperors*, the whole multitude ſaluted him with the title of emperor, and placed him, with the conſent and approbation of *Alexius*, on the imperial throne, the tyrant affecting the whole time an utter averſion to what he had ſo long coveted; nay, upon receiving, as was cuſtomary, the holy euchariſt at his coronation, lifting his eyes up to heaven, he ſolemnly ſwore by that venerable myſtery, that he took upon him the ſovereignty for no other end, but to protect the young emperor and ſupport his authority; but notwithſtanding his oath, as he had now both the emperor and the empire in his power, he reſolved a few days after to diſpatch his collegue, and take the whole authority into his own hands. Purſuant to this wicked reſolution, one *Stephanus Hagiochriſtophorites*, with ſome others, entering, by the tyrant's orders, the unhappy prince's chamber in the night, ſtrangled him with a bow-ſtring. Such was the miſerable end of *Alexius* II. in the third year of his reign and fifteenth of his life [m].

The army and fleet revolt to him.

He is received at Conſtantinople, *and declared protector of the empire.*

Made collegue to Alexius.

Whom he cauſes to be murdered.

[m] Nicet. in Alex. Comnen. c. 3——16.

Andronicus. *Andronicus*, now ſole maſter of the empire, made it his chief ſtudy to eſtabliſh the power he had uſurped, raging without diſtinction againſt perſons of all ranks, whom he imagined in the leaſt affected to *Manuel*'s family, or capable of revenging his death. No day paſſed without ſome cruel execution; inſomuch, that in a ſhort time the flower of the nobility was utterly cut off, the mercileſs tyrant complaining all the while of the ſeverity of the law, which did not allow him to ſhew pity to ſo many deſerving men. Some, however, found means to make their eſcape, and among the reſt *Iſaac Comnenus*, *Manuel*'s near kinſman; who, taking refuge in *Cyprus*, made himſelf maſter of that iſland, and is ſaid to have exceeded even *Andronicus* himſelf in all manner of barbarities. *Alexius Comnenus*, brother to the late emperor *Manuel*, fled to *Sicily*; and having perſuaded *William*, king of that iſland, to make war upon *Andronicus*, he attended him to *Dyrrachium*, which city the king ſoon reduced; and marching from thence into *Macedon*, laid waſte that province without oppoſition, and ſat down before *Theſſalonica*, where his fleet had been ordered to attend him. The city was taken by ſtorm, after a few days ſiege, through the indolence and cowardice of the governor, and with the utmoſt cruelty plundered by the *Sicilians*, who, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put all they met to the ſword, not ſparing even thoſe who had taken refuge in the churches. *Andronicus*, having aſſembled his troops, ordered them to march, under the conduct of the beſt generals in whom he could confide, againſt the enemy. But they were defeated and put to flight at the firſt onſet; which inſpired the *Sicilians* with ſuch courage, that they began to look upon themſelves as already maſters of the imperial city itſelf. In the mean time, the tyrant, finding the number of the malecontents increaſed at home, in proportion to the ſucceſs of the enemy abroad, began to rage with more cruelty than ever, not ſparing even his own favourites, who had been hitherto the executioners of his tyranny againſt others. Among the many who were deſtined to ſlaughter was *Iſaac Angelus*, a perſon of great diſtinction, being deſcended from one of the moſt antient families in *Conſtantinople*. *Hagiochriſtophorites*, *Andronicus*'s prime miniſter, was ordered to ſeize him; but *Iſaac*, having killed the aſſaſſin with his own hand, made his eſcape to a neighbouring church, whither he was followed by his uncle *John Ducas*, by his ſon *Iſaac*, and by ſeveral other perſons of the firſt quality. As *Iſaac* was generally beloved, on account of his popular and engaging behaviour, multitudes of people flocked from all parts of the city to ſee him in his aſylum. As *Andronicus* was then abſent from the city, *Iſaac* laid hold of that opportunity to ſtir up the populace againſt him; which he did ſo effectually, that, on a day appointed, they flocked in crowds to the church of St. *Sophia*, and there, with one voice, ſaluted *Iſaac* emperor, declaring at the ſame time *Andronicus* a public enemy. The tyrant, informed of what had happened in the city, and deſpairing of being able to appeaſe the enraged multitude or make head againſt them, fled to *Meludium*, a royal palace on the eaſt ſide of the *Propontis*, and from thence attempted to eſcape into *Scythia*; but being ſeveral times driven back by contrary winds, and purſued, as it were, by divine vengeance, he was in the end apprehended and preſented in chains to *Iſaac*; who, having cauſed his right-hand to be cut off and one of his eyes to be pulled out, delivered him up to the enraged populace, from whom he ſuffered indignities anſwerable to the injuries with which he had provoked them; for having led him, as it were, in triumph, through the moſt frequented ſtreets of the city on a camel, with his face towards the tail, amidſt the reproaches and inſults of the incenſed multitude, they hung him up by the feet between two pillars, ſtripped off his cloaths, cut off his private parts, and tormented him for three days together, he bearing the whole time with an invincible courage all the torments, the incenſed and relentleſs mob could inflict upon him, ſometimes repeating, *Lord, have mercy upon me*, and ſometimes addreſſing the multitude with theſe words, *Why do you break a bruiſed reed?* At length one, touched with compaſſion at the ſight of an object, which might have drawn tears from cruelty itſelf, by a mortal wound in his throat, put an end at the ſame time to his life and torments, after he had lived ſeventy three years and reigned two[n]. He was the laſt emperor of the *Comnenian* family.

His cruel and tyrannical conduct.

William, *king of* Sicily, *invades his dominions.*

Iſaac Angelus *takes refuge in the church.*

Is proclaimed emperor.

Andronicus *taken, and cruelly tormented by the populace.*

Is murdered.

Iſaac Angelus *Iſaac*, thus raiſed to the imperial dignity, gained, in the beginning of his reign, the affections of his ſubjects, by his lenity and moderation, not only recalling and reſtoring to their eſtates ſuch as had been baniſhed by *Andronicus*, but relieving ſeveral decayed

[n] Nicet. in Andronic. l. i. c. 5—11.

a decayed families out of his private eſtate, When he thought himſelf ſufficiently eſtabliſhed on the throne, he diſpatched the flower of the army, under the conduct of *Branas*, an officer of great experience, againſt the *Sicilians*; who, being ſurpriſed by him as they were roving about the country in queſt of plunder, were put to flight, and cut off almoſt to a man, either by the emperor's troops, or the natives, whom they had provoked with their barbarities. Their fleet, conſiſting of two hundred ſail, on their return home, being overtaken and diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, moſt of their ſhips were taken by the emperor's admiral, and great numbers of priſoners ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where moſt of them periſhed with famine, the emperor, who was naturally addicted to cruelty, not ſuffering them to be relieved even with bread and

b water. Having thus put an end to the *Sicilian* war, he reſolved to drive, if poſſible, *Iſaac Comnenus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, out of *Cyprus*, where he oppreſſed the inhabitants in a moſt tyrannical manner. In order to this, he equipped a mighty fleet, which he ſent under the command of *John Contoſtephanus* and *Alexius Comnenus*, to make a deſcent upon that iſland; which they did accordingly, landing without the leaſt oppoſition. But while the forces were aſhore, *Margarites*, a famous pirate, who had joined *Iſaac Comnenus*, falling upon the fleet, ſeized or burnt all the ſhips, while the tyrant, attacking the forces that were landed and could not retreat, cut them off all to a man. This misfortune encouraged the *Maſians*, whom the emperor oppreſſed with heavy taxes, to revolt, and return to the protection of the *Scy-*

c *thians*; who, having raiſed a numerous army, over-ran the neighbouring provinces. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched his uncle *John Ducas*, who gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, and would in all likelihood have put an end to the war, had he not been recalled by the jealous emperor. *John*, ſurnamed *Cantacuzenus*, being appointed to ſucceed him, was, through his raſhneſs and indiſcretion, often worſted by the enemy. Whereupon *Branas Alexius*, the greateſt commander of his age, was entruſted with the whole management of the war. *Branas*, ſeeing himſelf at the head of a powerful and well diſciplined army, after having gained ſome advantages over the enemy, returned on a ſudden to *Adrianople*, the place of his nativity; and having cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor there, led his troops without loſs of time

d to the imperial city, hoping to ſurpriſe the emperor, who had ſcarce received intelligence of his revolt; but the citizens putting themſelves, upon his approach, in a poſture of defence, and haraſſing his troops with frequent ſallies, he reſolved to encamp at ſome diſtance from the city, and, by cutting off all communication with the neighbouring country, to reduce it by famine. The emperor, in the mean time, repoſing all his confidence in the virgin *Mary*, (whoſe image he cauſed to be placed on the walls) and in the prayers of the monks, continued inactive in his palace, till he was rouſed by *Conrade*, ſon to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who, happening to be then at *Conſtantinople*, encouraged him to draw together his troops, and march out againſt the enemy; which he did accordingly, being attended by *Conrade*, who commanded the main body of the imperial army. *Branas* received him with his men in battle-

e array; whereupon an engagement enſuing, the diſpute was maintained for a conſiderable time on both ſides with great obſtinacy; but in the end the emperor's forces, though a handful in compariſon of the enemy's, prevailing, *Branas* himſelf was killed on the ſpot, and moſt of his chief officers either ſlain in the purſuit or taken priſoners. This victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Conrade*, by whoſe hand *Branas* fell, while he was encouraging his men to return to the charge [o]. The rebellion being thus happily quelled, the jealous emperor reſolved to employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt the celebrated emperor of *Germany*, *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, who was marching, at the head of a mighty army, to the aſſiſtance of

f the princes of the cruſade. He had promiſed to grant *Frederic* a free paſſage through his dominions, and ſupply his army with all manner of proviſions; but being in the mean time gained over by *Saladin*, the *Turkiſh* ſultan, who promiſed to reſtore *Paleſtine* to him, inſtead of aſſiſting the *German* army, purſuant to his engagement, he no ſooner heard of their arrival on the borders, than he diſpatched his couſin *Manuel*, with a powerful army, to obſtruct their paſſage and intercept their proviſions, having firſt, without any regard to the law of nations, thrown into priſon the biſhop of *Munſter*, the earl of *Naſſau*, and count *Walram*, *Frederic*'s embaſſadors. The *Germans*, juſtly provoked at the emperor's treachery and perfidiouſneſs, paſſed, in ſpite of

He defeats the Sicilians.

Attempts in vain to recover Cyprus.

Branas *revolts.*

And lays ſiege to Conſtantinople.

He is defeated and killed.

The emperor's treacherous conduct towards Frederic *the* German *emperor.*

[o] Idem in Iſaac. Ang. l. i. c. 7——9. & l. ii. c. 1, 2.

of the oppoſition they met with from the cowardly *Greeks*, into *Thrace*, and there a
ſeized on the corn, of which they found great plenty in the fields, before the inhabitants had time to remove it into the fortified towns, purſuant to the orders they had received from court. As they approached *Philippopolis*, the inhabitants abandoned the place; and *Frederic*, taking poſſeſſion of it, halted there a few days to refreſh his troops. In the mean time, the emperor, highly incenſed againſt *Manuel*, whom he accuſed of cowardice, ſent him peremptory orders to engage the *Germans*; purſuant to which, the *Greek* general advanced within ſix miles of *Philippopolis*. But his whole army being ſhamefully put to flight by a party of *Germans*, whom *Frederic* had ſent out to ſcour the country and watch the enemy's motions, the cities of *Nicopolis* and *Adrianople*, with all the places between the *Ægean* and *Euxine* ſeas, opened their gates b
to the victorious army, without attempting to make the leaſt oppoſition. Hereupon the emperor, having ſet *Frederic*'s embaſſadors at liberty, began to ſue for peace, offering to ſupply the *Germans* with proviſions and the neceſſary ſhips to tranſport them into *Aſia*, provided they delivered hoſtages to him for his ſecurity, and croſſed the ſtreights without delay. *Frederic*, now maſter of the whole country to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, thought it became him to chaſtiſe the pride of the preſumptuous, but cowardly, *Greeks*, and therefore returned the following anſwer to the emperor's deputies; That he had conquered *Thrace*, and therefore would diſpoſe of it at his pleaſure; that he was determined to winter there, ſince the emperor had by his perfidiouſneſs retarded his march, till it was too late in the year to paſs the c
ſtreights; that he was reſolved to treat the emperor as an enemy, if he had not a ſufficient number of ſhips ready againſt *Eaſter* to tranſport his troops; and ſince he could not depend upon his faith, he commanded him to ſend without delay twenty-four of the principal lords and officers of his court, with eight hundred perſons of inferior quality, as hoſtages for the performance of what he required. To theſe ſhameful conditions the emperor readily ſubmitted, ſending immediately the hoſtages with rich preſents to *Frederic*, who, having wintered at *Adrianople*, removed early in the ſpring to *Callipolis*, where he found a great number of veſſels ready to tranſport his army into *Aſia*[p]. In the year 1192. the eighth of *Iſaac*'s reign, an impoſtor, pretending to be the ſon of the emperor *Manuel*, laid claim to the empire; and, being d
encouraged by the ſultan of *Iconium*, raiſed in a ſhort time an army of eight thouſand men, made himſelf maſter of all the cities in the *Meander*, in ſpite of the oppoſition he met with from *Alexius*, the emperor's brother, who was ſent againſt him, and would in all likelihood have in the end driven the emperor from the throne, multitudes flocking to him from all parts, had not a prieſt put an end to his conqueſts, by ſtabbing him with his own ſword, while he lay aſleep, after having drunk to exceſs[q]. The *Scythians*, encouraged by theſe domeſtic commotions, renewed their incurſions, and, over-running the neighbouring provinces, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. Againſt them the emperor marched in perſon; but having paſſed the ſummer without daring to attack them, they fell upon him in his retreat, and cut the greateſt e
part of his army in pieces, the emperor himſelf having with much-ado made his eſcape, After this, the barbarians roved about the country without controul, plundering the cities, and carrying the inhabitants into captivity. The emperor diſpatched againſt them firſt *Alexius Guido*, and afterwards *Batatzes Baſilius*; but both theſe generals being defeated, and the latter killed upon the ſpot with the flower of his army, the emperor, having raiſed new forces, reſolved to march againſt them once more in perſon. Accordingly, he ſet out from *Conſtantinople* early in the ſpring, and arriving at *Cypſella* on the frontiers of the empire, he halted there, till the troops, that were marching from all parts, joined him. In the mean time, his brother *Alexius* f
Angelus, who had long aſpired at the empire, obſerving the general diſcontent that reigned among the ſoldiery, reſolved to lay hold of the preſent opportunity of attaining what he had ſo long wiſhed for. Accordingly, having imparted his deſign to ſome of the chief officers of the army, and found them ready to eſpouſe his intereſt and combine againſt *Iſaac*, while the emperor was one day diverting himſelf with the chace, the conſpirators, ſeizing *Alexius*, as had been agreed on before-hand, carried him to the imperial pavilion, and, with repeated acclamations, ſaluted him emperor, being therein followed by the whole army. *Iſaac*, judging it impoſſible to reclaim the revolted army to their duty, fled with great precipitation to *Macra*, where

Frederic defeats the emperor's forces. Takes ſeveral places.

Obliges the emperor to ſubmit to diſhonourable terms.

The emperor defeated by the Scythians.

Alexius Angelus *revolts.*

[p] Nicet. ibid. l. ii. c. 4, 5. [q] Idem, l. iii. c. 1.

a where he was overtaken by thoſe whom his brother had ſent after him, and by his orders deprived of his ſight and thrown into priſon, after he had reigned nine years and eight months [r].

Alexius Angelus, thus raiſed to the throne, abandoned himſelf to the ſame vices, for which he pretended to have removed his brother, ſpending his time in riot and luxury, while the *Scythians* on one hand, and the *Turks* on the other, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral important places, and laid waſte whole provinces. As he was an utter enemy to all application, he committed the whole management of affairs to his wife *Euphroſyne* and his favourites, who oppreſſed the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, ſelling the firſt employments of the ſtate to the higheſt bidder, b without any regard to their birth or abilities, and uſing all other means, how unjuſt ſoever and diſhonourable, to fill their private coffers. In the year 1202. *Alexius*, reflecting on the great kindneſs his brother had ſhewn him during his reign, and thinking himſelf now firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, ordered the unhappy *Iſaac* to be ſet at liberty, and called his ſon *Alexius*, at that time about twelve years old, to the court, treating him as his own child. But *Iſaac*, ſtill mindful of the indignity that had been offered him, and the injuſtice done both to himſelf and his ſon, began to entertain thoughts of recovering his former dignity, and aſſerting his undoubted right to the imperial crown. With this view he maintained a private correſpondence with the *Latins*, and by their means with his daughter *Irene*, wife to c *Philip* emperor of *Germany*, earneſtly preſſing her to perſuade the emperor to undertake the protection of her unfortunate father and brother. *Irene* giving them hopes of a ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance, young *Alexius* made his eſcape from *Conſtantinople*; and embarquing in a ſhip belonging to a merchant of *Piſa*, riding then at the mouth of the *Helleſpont*, landed ſafe in *Sicily*, where he ſpent ſome days in private conferences with his ſiſter, who was then in that iſland, and from thence purſued his journey to *Rome*, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the pope, by whom he was kindly received and warmly recommended to *Philip*. That prince received young *Alexius* with the greateſt demonſtrations imaginable of kindneſs and eſteem, and was ſenſibly touched, as he had an intire affection for *Irene*, with the misfortunes of her family; d but being then engaged in a troubleſome war with *Otho*, who diſputed the empire with him, he could not eſpouſe the young prince's cauſe. However, by means of his embaſſadors, he engaged the *French* and *Venetians*, who had then a powerful army in *Dalmatia*, ready to march againſt the *Turks*, to attempt the reſtoration of his brother-in-law, and employ their whole ſtrength againſt the uſurper. The treaty, after ſome warm diſputes, was concluded; in virtue of which the *French* and *Venetians* were to eſtabliſh *Alexius* on the imperial throne, and *Alexius*, upon his reſtoration, to pay two hundred thouſand marks in ſilver towards the expences of the holy war, maintain ten thouſand men one year to be employed in the conqueſt of *Egypt*, and, during his life, five hundred knights well armed for the defence of ſuch places e as they ſhould conquer in the holy land. The treaty being ratified with mutual oaths, the army embarqued and ſailed for *Corfu*, the place of the general rendezvous. As they appeared before *Dyrrhachium*, the inhabitants were no ſooner informed, that the young prince was on board the fleet, than they preſented him with the keys of the place, and ſwore allegiance to him. Encouraged with this happy preſage, they purſued their courſe to the iſland of *Corfu*, and from thence, after a ſhort ſtay, to the port of *St. Stephen*, on the *Propontis*, where they refreſhed themſelves, and then ſailed to *Chalcedon*, oppoſite to the imperial city, where they landed their troops. In the mean time, the emperor, having drawn together all his forces, encamped on the *Boſporus*, over-againſt the confederates, who nevertheleſs paſſed f the ſtreights, the emperor having but twenty galleys to oppoſe them, and landed in ſight of the emperor's army, who, at their approach, retired in great diſorder. The next day, the *French* made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of *Galata*, and the *Venetians*, being favoured by an eaſterly wind, ſailed up to the chain that locked up the mouth of the harbour; and having cut it with ſheers of ſteel, that opened and ſhut by means of an engine, they took or ſunk all the *Greek* veſſels in the haven. After this, the *Venetians* having battered the walls for ten days together by ſea and the *French* by land, a general aſſault was given on the ſeventeenth of *July*. The *Greeks* made a more vigorous oppoſition than was expected; and being aſſiſted both by

His bad government.

Iſaac, *the late emperor, ſet at liberty.*

His ſon Alexius recurs to the weſtern princes.

A treaty concluded between them and Alexius.

Dyrrhachyum *ſubmits to* Alexius.

Conſtantinople *beſieged.*

r Idem ibid. l. iii. c. 9.

by the advantage of the place and their numbers, often repulſed the aggreſſors. But at length the celebrated *Henry Dandalo*, duke of *Venice*, though then above eighty years old, putting himſelf at the head of his countrymen, whom he encouraged more with his example than his words, broke in, maugre all oppoſition; and having ſeized on one of the towers, planted on the top of it the great ſtandard of St. *Mark*. The emperor, finding part of the enemy's troops was got into the town, ſallied out with a deſign to charge them in the rear, and by that means oblige them to draw off their men from the attack; but being repulſed with great ſlaughter, and the brave *Dandalo* having by this time made himſelf maſter of twenty-five towers on the ſide of the haven, the cowardly prince, abandoning his people, went privately on board a ſmall veſſel, kept ready for that purpoſe, and eſcaped with his treaſures and the imperial ornaments, to *Zagora*, a city of *Thrace*, at the foot of mount *Hæmus*. It was no ſooner known, that the tyrant had fled, than the people, crouding to the priſon, where *Iſaac* had been detained ever ſince the flight of his ſon *Alexius*, ſaluted him anew with the title of emperor, placed him upon the imperial throne, from which he had been driven about eight years before; and acquainting the confederates with the flight of the uſurper, and the re-eſtabliſhing of *Iſaac*, invited the young prince to ſhare the empire with his father. The confederates were tranſported with joy at the news of ſo ſudden and unexpected a revolution; however, as they had been but too often deceived by the *Greeks*, they refuſed to acknowledge *Iſaac*, till he had ratified the treaty concluded with his ſon; which he had no ſooner done, though not without ſome reluctance, the articles appearing to him very hard, than the confederates owned him for emperor, and conducted the young prince in great triumph into the city, where he was aſſociated with his father in the empire, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity on the firſt of *Auguſt* 1203[s]. As the uſurper continued ſtill in *Thrace*, ſupported there by a ſtrong party; and *Theodorus Laſcaris*, his ſon-in-law, was at the head of a numerous body of troops on the other ſide of the *Boſporus*, the two emperors earneſtly intreated the confederates to put off their expedition to the holy land, till they had completed the work, which they had ſo happily begun. To this they readily agreed; and marching againſt the tyrant, who had ſeized on *Adrianople*, drove him from thence, and obliged him to fly for refuge to the neighbouring barbarians. *Theodorus Laſcaris* no ſooner heard, that the confederates were preparing to croſs the ſtreights, in order to attack him, than he diſbanded his army, and withdrew to the territories of the *Turks*. The confederates, having thus eſtabliſhed the two princes on the throne, returned about the middle of winter to *Conſtantinople*, where they were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable; and from thence paſſed early in the ſpring over into *Aſia*. The ſame year, 1203. happened a dreadful conflagration at *Conſtantinople*, occaſioned by ſome *Latin* ſoldiers, who having plundered a moſque, which the late emperor had ſuffered the *Mohammedans* to build in the imperial city, and being on that account attacked by the *Turks*, who were much ſuperior to them in number, ſet fire to ſome wooden houſes, the better to favour their eſcape. The flame, ſpreading in an inſtant from ſtreet to ſtreet, reduced in a ſhort time great part of the city to aſhes, with the capacious ſtore-houſes, that had been built at a vaſt expence on the key[t]. The emperor *Iſaac* died ſoon after the departure of the *Latins*, leaving his ſon *Alexius* ſole maſter of the empire. The young prince, to diſcharge the large ſums he had promiſed to the *French* and *Venetians*, was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his ſubjects, which, with the great eſteem and friendſhip he ſhewed to his deliverers, raiſed a general diſcontent among the people, who were ſworn enemies to the *Latins*. This encouraged *John Ducas*, ſurnamed *Murtzuphlus*, from his joined and thick eye-brows, to attempt the ſovereignty. As he was a perſon of great addreſs and uncommon parts, he not only ingratiated himſelf with the multitude, by exclaiming againſt the *Latins*, as the only cauſe of the preſent miſeries; but having found means to gain the young prince's confidence, he by degrees brought him to diſoblige the *Latins*, and even to treat them as enemies. As the hoſtilities were returned by the weſtern princes, *Murtzuphlus* diſpatched in the emperor's name one of his friends to the marquis of *Montferrat*, with propoſals for an accommodation, offering to deliver up to him the palace and fortreſs of *Blachernæ*, within the walls of *Conſtantinople*, provided he would come and deliver him from the enraged populace,

The uſurper makes his eſcape.

Iſaac *reſtored.*

A dreadful fire at Conſtantinople.

Murtzuphlus *betrays the young prince.*

[s] Nicet. l. iii. c. 2---12.

[t] Idem l. iii. c. 12.

a populace, who, he ſaid, had revolted, and proclaimed another emperor. The marquis, giving credit to the embaſſador, prepared to march to *Conſtantinople*: but, in the mean time, the treacherous *Murtzuphlus*, having ſtirred up the people by giving out, that *Alexius* had ſold the city to the *Latins*, who were in full march to take poſſeſſion of it, entered, in the height of the tumult, the prince's chamber, and ſtrangled him with his own hands. After this, he preſented himſelf to the people, acquainted them with what he had done to ſecure their liberties, and earneſtly intreated them to chuſe an emperor, who had courage enough to defend them againſt the *Latins*, who were ready to oppreſs and enſlave them. He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, than thoſe who were privy to his wicked deſign, ſaluted him with the title of emperor, and were followed by the whole multitude, who, with loud acclamations, placed him on the imperial throne, as one capable of defeating the pretended deſigns of the *Latins*. The princes of the cruſade no ſooner heard of the death of *Alexius* and the promotion of the treacherous aſſaſſin, than they unanimouſly agreed to turn their arms againſt the uſurper, to revenge the murder of a prince, whom they had placed upon the throne; and ſince they had been ſo often betrayed, and retarded in their ſeveral expeditions to the holy land by the *Greek* emperors, to make themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople*, and ſeize on the empire for themſelves. Purſuant to this reſolution, having muſtered all their forces in *Aſia*, they croſſed the ſtreights, and cloſely beſieged the imperial city both by ſea and land. The tyrant, who was a man of courage and great experience in war, made a vigorous defence. However, the *Latins*, after having battered the walls for ſeveral days together with an incredible number of engines, gave a general aſſault on the eighth of *April*, which laſted from break of day till three in the afternoon, when they were forced to retire, after having loſt ſome of their engines and a great number of men. It was nevertheleſs reſolved the ſame night in a council of war, that the attack ſhould be renewed, which was done accordingly on *Monday* the twelfth of *April*, when, after a warm diſpute of ſeveral hours, the *French* planted their ſtandard on one of the towers; which the *Venetians* obſerving, they quickly made themſelves maſters of four other towers, where they likewiſe diſplayed their enſigns. In the mean time, three of the gates being broken down with the battering rams, and thoſe who had ſcaled the walls having killed the guards and opened the gates between the towers they had taken, the whole army entered, and drew up in battle-array within the walls. But the *Greeks* flying up and down in the greateſt confuſion, ſeveral parties were detached to ſcour the ſtreets, who put all they met to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or condition. Night put a ſtop to the dreadful ſlaughter, when the princes, ſounding the retreat, placed their men in the different quarters of the city, with orders to ſtand upon their guard, and fortify themſelves, not doubting but they ſhould be attacked early next morning. They were therefore greatly ſurpriſed, when, inſtead of an armed enemy, they ſaw by break of day proceſſions of ſuppliants advancing to them from every quarter of the city, with croſſes, banners, images of ſaints, relics, *&c.* to implore mercy. The princes, touched with compaſſion, promiſed them their lives, but at the ſame time, ordering them to retire to their houſes, they gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiery for that day, ſtrictly enjoining them to abſtain from ſlaughter, to preſerve the honour of the women, and to bring the whole booty into one place, that a juſt diſtribution might be made according to the rank and merit of each particular. The *Greeks* had, without all doubt, removed and concealed their moſt valuable effects during the night; the moſt eminent perſons had made their eſcape, and carried with them infinite treaſures; moſt of the ſoldiers had, in all likelihood, reſerved ſeveral things of great value for themſelves, as it commonly happens, notwithſtanding all prohibitions to the contrary; and yet the booty, without the ſtatues, pictures, and jewels, amounted to a ſum almoſt incredible. As for *Murtzuphlus*, he made his eſcape in the night, embarquing on a ſmall veſſel with *Euphroſyne*, the wife of the late uſurper *Alexius Angelus*, and her daughter *Eudoxia*, for whoſe ſake he had abandoned his lawful wife. This great revolution happened in the year 1204. of the chriſtian æra, eight hundred and ſeventy-four years after the removal of the imperial ſeat from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*.

And murders him.

The Latins *reſolve to revenge his death.*

They beſiege Conſtantinople.

Which is taken and plundered.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Roman *history, from the expulsion of the* Greeks, *to the taking of* Constantinople *by the* Turks, *and the utter destruction of the* Roman *empire.*

Baldwin, *earl of* Flanders, *chosen emperor of* Constantinople.

THE *Latins*, now masters of the imperial city, proceeded to the election of a new emperor; when *Baldwin*, earl of *Flanders*, a prince in every respect equal to that high trust, was, after some deliberation, chosen, and crowned with extraordinary pomp and magnificence in the church of St. *Sophia*. To him was allotted the city of *Constantinople* and the country of *Thrace*, with a limited sovereignty over the other provinces, which already were, or should afterwards be, taken from the *Greeks*. To *Boniface*, marquis of *Montferrat*, they assigned *Thessaly*, which was erected into a kingdom. The *Venetians* had for their share the islands of the *Archipelago*, part of *Peloponnesus*, and several cities on the *Hellespont*. But while the *Latins* were thus dividing their new acquisitions, *Theodorus Lascaris*, son-in-law to the tyrant *Alexius Angelus*, having, at the taking of *Constantinople*, made his escape into *Bithynia*, was there joyfully received by the inhabitants; and possessing himself not only of that country, but of *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Ionia*, and *Lydia*, from the *Meander* to the *Euxine* sea, took upon him the title of emperor, and fixed his imperial seat in the famous city of *Nice*. At the same time, *David* and *Alexius Comneni*, grand-children to the late tyrant *Andronicus*, seizing on the more eastern countries of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, erected a new empire at *Trapezus* or *Trapezond*, where their posterity reigned, till their empire, as well as that of *Constantinople*, fell into the hands of *Mohammed the Great*, as we shall relate in a more proper place. Thus the *Greek* empire was no longer one, but divided into several empires, *Baldwin* reigning at *Constantinople*, the marquis of *Montferrat* in *Thessaly*, *Theodorus Lascaris* at *Nice*, the *Comneni* at *Trapezond*, and the *Venetians* in the islands, not to mention several other toparchies or principalities erected on the ruins of the *Constantinopolitan* empire. But to resume the thread of our history, *Baldwin*, the new emperor of *Constantinople*, having, with the assistance of the other princes, reduced all *Thrace*, except *Adrianople*, whither great numbers of *Greeks* had fled for shelter against the prevailing power of the *Latins*, resolved to lay siege to that important place, and accordingly sat down before it with all his forces. The *Greeks* defended themselves with great resolution, and at the same time, by means of some of their nation, who had withdrawn into *Bulgaria*, prevailed upon *John*, king of that country, to espouse their cause, who marching at the head of a powerful army, consisting partly of *Bulgarians* partly of *Scythians*, to the relief of the place, drew the emperor, by a pretended flight, into an ambuscade, cut off most of his men, and took *Baldwin* himself prisoner. After this victory, the *Bulgarians* over-ran all *Thrace*, plundering the cities, laying waste the country, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. As for the unhappy emperor *Baldwin*, he was sent in chains to *Ernoc*, or *Ternova*, the capital of *Bulgaria*, where, after his hands and feet had been cut off by the king's orders, he was carried into a desert, and there left exposed to the wild beasts and birds of prey. In that miserable condition he lived three days, and then expired. The *Greek* historians themselves, who, we may well imagine, were no-ways prejudiced in his favour, allow him to have been a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a person in his high station [u].

Theodorus Lascaris *erects a new empire at* Nice

The Comneni *at* Trapezond

Baldwin's *army defeated by the* Bulgarians.

Baldwin *taken and put to a cruel death.*

In the mean time, *Alexius Angelus*, the late usurper, hearing that *Theodorus Lascaris*, his son-in-law, reigned in *Asia*, left *Greece*, where he then lay concealed; and passing over into *Asia*, went privately to the court of *Jathatines*, sultan of *Iconium*, his

[u] Nicet. in Bald. c. 1—11.

a his antient friend and ally; and laying before him the miſerable condition to which he was reduced, with tears in his eyes, implored his aſſiſtance for the recovery of his empire, eſpecially of that part of *Aſia Minor*, which was, with the utmoſt injuſtice, with-held from him by *Theodorus Laſcaris*. *Jathatines*, at this time ſultan of *Iconium*, was the younger ſon of ſultan *Aladin*, who, at his death, divided his kingdom between his two children *Aratines* and *Jathatines*. But, they quarrelling about the ſovereignty, the latter was driven out by the former, and forced to fly for refuge to *Conſtantinople*, where he was kindly received, and entertained in a manner ſuitable to his rank by *Alexius*, then emperor. *Jathatines* therefore eſpouſing, out of gratitude, the cauſe of his unfortunate friend, ſent embaſſadors to *Laſcaris*, b requiring him, in a threatening manner, to deliver up the country he unjuſtly poſſeſſed, to the lawful owner *Alexius*, his father-in-law. Before the return of the embaſſadors, the ſultan, attended by *Alexius*, advanced at the head of twenty thouſand men to *Antioch* on the *Meander*, and laid ſiege to that place; which *Laſcaris* no ſooner underſtood, than he marched with two thouſand men, the moſt he was able in that exigence to raiſe, to the relief of the beſieged city, being well appriſed, that if he ſuffered it to fall into the enemy's hands, as it ſtood on that river and was the boundary of his empire, it would open a way for them into the heart of his dominions. The ſultan at firſt could ſcarce give credit to thoſe who brought him intelligence of the approach of *Laſcaris* with ſo ſmall a force. However, he drew up his c army in the beſt manner the narrowneſs of the place would allow of; which he had ſcarce done, when eight hundred *Italians*, of *Laſcaris*'s army, charging the *Turks* with incredible reſolution, broke through the ſultan's army, diſordered his ranks, and put his men into the utmoſt confuſion. As the *Greeks* had not courage enough to follow them, they were ſeparated from the reſt of the army, and on their return ſurrounded by the *Turkiſh* cavalry, and all to a man cut in pieces. The *Greeks*, diſheartened at ſo great a loſs, were upon the point of turning their backs, when the ſultan, now, as he imagined, ſure of the victory, ſingling out the *Greek* emperor, and truſting to his own ſtrength, engaged him in perſon, and at the firſt blow ſtruck him off his horſe. But *Laſcaris*, quickly recovering himſelf, unhorſed the ſultan, d and, before he could put himſelf in a poſture of defence, cut off his head; and fixing it upon the point of a ſpear, in ſight of the enemy's army, ſtruck ſuch terror into them, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight, leaving the *Greeks*, who before were ready to fly, maſters of their camp and baggage. *Alexius*, the author of this war, was taken priſoner, and carried to *Nice*, where he was confined to a monaſtery, in which he ended his days ſome years after. w. This victory was followed by a peace, concluded with the *Turks* upon the *Greek* emperor's own terms, who being now at leiſure to ſecure his dominions againſt *Henry*, brother to the late emperor *Baldwin* and his ſucceſſor in the *Conſtantinopolitan* empire, a bloody war was continued for ſeveral years between theſe two princes, with various e ſucceſs; but the *Greeks* being divided among themſelves, and ſeveral princes of the imperial family erecting, in different provinces, independent principalities, *Laſcaris* was in the end obliged to acknowledge the authority of *Henry*, and conclude a peace with him. After this, *Henry* turned his arms firſt againſt the *Bulgarians*, whom he drove out of *Thrace*, and afterwards againſt *Michael Angelus*, a *Greek* prince of the imperial family, who having ſeized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, during the confuſion that enſued upon the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Latins*, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged deſpot or lord of that country. The emperor waged war with him and his brother *Theodorus*, a warlike prince, during the greater part of his reign; but was not able to recover the countries which he held. *Henry*, after having reigned f ten years, nine months, and twenty days, with great glory and ſucceſs, died at *Theſſalonica* in the fortieth year of his age. He was ſucceeded by *Peter*, count of *Auxerre*, who had married his ſiſter, and ſignalized himſelf upon ſeveral occaſions. This prince, arriving at *Rome* on his way from *France* to *Conſtantinople*, was ſolemnly crowned there by pope *Honorius* III. on the ninth of *April* 1217. From *Rome* he proceeded to *Venice*, where he entered into an alliance with that republic againſt *Theodorus*, who had ſucceeded his brother *Michael* in the principality of *Ætolia* and *Epirus*. Leaving *Venice*, he entered that prince's dominions, and laid ſiege to *Dyrrhachium*, which *Theodorus* had lately taken; but not being able to reduce it, he was

Alexius Angelus *ſtirs up the* Turks *againſt* Theodorus Laſcaris.

They are defeated, and the ſultan ſlain.

War between the Latin *and* Greek *emperors.*

Henry, *the* Latin *emperor, ſucceeded by* Peter.

w Idem ibid. c. ult.

was forced to abandon the enterprize, and ſoon after to come to an agreement with *Theodorus*, who promiſed him a free paſſage through his dominions; but nevertheleſs fell upon him unexpectedly, cut moſt of his forces in pieces, and having taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, put him to death ſoon after [x]. Upon his death, the *Latins* named his eldeſt ſon *Philip*, count of *Namur*, to ſucceed him; but he declineing that burden, *Robert*, the deceaſed emperor's ſecond ſon, was, with much ado, prevailed upon to ſubmit to it. In the third year of his reign died *Theodorus Laſcaris*, after having governed, for the ſpace of eighteen years, that part of the empire, which the *Greeks* ſtill retained in *Aſia*, and defended it with no leſs courage than ſucceſs againſt the *Turks* on one ſide, and the *Latins* on the other. He left behind him one ſon and three daughters; but the ſon being yet an infant, he bequeathed the empire to *John Ducas*, ſurnamed *Vataces*, who had married his eldeſt daughter *Irene*, and was by the dying emperor not undeſervedly judged more capable than his own brothers, *Alexius* and *Iſaac*, of defending, and even inlarging, the empire, which he had founded. *John Ducas* was crowned in the year 1222. by *Manuel*, patriarch of the *Greeks*, at *Nice*. *Alexius* and *Angelus*, the late emperor's brothers, thinking the empire belonged of right to them, withdrew to *Conſtantinople*, to implore the protection of the *Latins* againſt one, whom they looked upon as no other than an uſurper. *Robert*, the *Latin* emperor, readily eſpouſed their cauſe; and having raiſed a conſiderable army, committed it to their conduct. But *John*, having aſſembled in the mean time all his forces, met the two brothers at a place called *Poemaneum*; and having engaged them, gained a complete victory, the flower of the *Latin* army being cut off, and the two commanders taken priſoners. The *Greek* emperor, encouraged with this ſucceſs, built with incredible expedition a great number of galleys in the ſeveral ports of *Aſia*; and falling unexpectedly upon the iſlands in the *Archipelago*, reduced moſt of them, driving every-where the *Latins* before him. The fame of his exploits reaching *Aſſan* or *Azen*, king of *Bulgaria*, that prince, courting his friendſhip, propoſed a match between his daughter *Helena* and *Theodore*, the emperor's ſon, which was readily embraced by *Ducas*, who well knew how advantagious to his affairs an alliance would prove with ſo powerful a prince. At the ſame time, the ſultan of *Iconium*, apprehending an irruption of the *Tartars*, who had already driven the *Turks* out of *Perſia*, ſent embaſſadors to *Nice*, to confirm and prolong the truce between the two crowns; which *Ducas* readily agreed to, and then employing his whole ſtrength againſt the *Latins*, made himſelf maſter of all the places held by them on the *Boſporus* and the *Helleſpont*. While the *Latins* were thus diſtreſſed on the other ſide of the ſtreights by *John Ducas*, *Theodorus*, prince or deſpot of *Epirus*, invading *Theſſaly* and *Thrace*, made himſelf maſter of thoſe countries; and, aſſuming the title of emperor, cauſed himſelf to be crowned with great ſolemnity by *Demetrius*, patriarch of *Bulgaria*. He had lately concluded a peace with *John*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Azen*, in the kingdom of *Bulgaria*; but elated with his ſucceſs againſt the *Latins*, and deſirous of inlarging his dominions with new conqueſts, in defiance of the late treaty, he broke into *Bulgaria*. But *John*, whom he looked upon as noways a match for ſo renowned a conqueror, having raiſed a mighty army, engaged him; and having, after a long and bloody diſpute, put his forces to flight, took the deſpot himſelf priſoner, and cauſed his eyes to be pulled out [y]. Not long after, that is, about the year 1228. died *Robert*, emperor of the *Latins* in *Conſtantinople*, in the ninth year of his reign. He died in *Achaia*, as he was returning from *Rome*, which city he had viſited, according to ſome writers, in order to be crowned there in a more ſolemn manner by the pope. He had married the daughter of *Baldwin* of *Neville*, though ſhe had ſome time before been betrothed to a *Burgundian* lord, who, highly provoked at her forſaking him to marry the emperor, ſeized on her and her mother, during the prince's abſence; and having cauſed the ambitious mother to be thrown into the ſea, ordered the noſe, ears and lips of her beautiful daughter to be cut off. The ſenſe of this barbarous outrage ſunk ſo deep into the emperor's mind, that it was thought to have occaſioned his death. He was ſucceeded by *Baldwin* II. his brother, or, as ſome writers will have it, his ſon, who being but eight years old, *John* of *Brienne*, formerly king of *Jeruſalem*, and one of the greateſt captains of his time, was appointed regent and guardian of the empire during his minority. Some writers reckon him among the *Latin* emperors of *Conſtantinople*, and

Who is treacherouſly put to death by Theodorus, *prince of* Epirus.

Robert, Latin *emperor of* Conſtantinople.

His troops defeated by John Ducas, *the* Greek *emperor,*

Who recovers ſeveral places from the Latins.

Robert *dies.*

Baldwin II.

John, *earl of* Brienne, *regent of the empire.*

[x] Georg. Acrop. l. i. c. c.

[y] Idem, c. 3—9.

a and tell us, that it was agreed among the *Latin* princes, that he ſhould be honoured with the title of emperor during his life, he being then near eighty years of age; and that upon his death the empire ſhould return to *Baldwin*, who was to marry *Martha*, or, as ſome ſtyle her, *Mary*, the daughter of *John*, by his ſecond wife *Bevengaria*, the daughter of *Alphonſo*, king of *Caſtile*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *John* governed with an abſolute and uncontrouled power, and was by all reſpected and obeyed as emperor. In the beginning of his adminiſtration, *John Azen*, king of *Bulgaria*, and *John Ducas*, the *Greek* emperor, entering into an alliance, fell with their united forces upon the territories of the *Latins*, and laid cloſe ſiege to *Conſtantinople* itſelf. But the regent, behaving with a courage and reſolution
b equal to his former reputation, ſallied out with no more than two hundred horſe and a handful of foot, put the enemy's army, though a hundred thouſand men ſtrong, to flight; and having obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and purſued them with great ſlaughter, returned to the metropolis loaded with booty. However, the following year 1236. the confederate princes, depending upon their numbers, appeared anew before the imperial city; but were attended with no better ſucceſs, being a ſecond time defeated and put to flight. But the enemy receiving daily new ſupplies, and the *Latin* army being in time greatly weakened and diminiſhed, partly by ſickneſs, and partly by frequent battles and ſkirmiſhes, the regent was at length obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the imperial city, having no more men left alive than were neceſ-
c ſary to defend the walls. The enemy, well appriſed of the ſtate of his affairs, returned once more, and renewed the ſiege; whereupon *John*, knowing he could not rely upon the *Greeks*, who abhorred a foreign yoke, and were intirely devoted to the families at *Nice* and *Trapezond*, ſent the young emperor *Baldwin* to ſolicit ſuccours in perſon from the weſtern princes. During his abſence, the *Venetians*, arriving with a powerful fleet at *Conſtantinople*, obliged the confederate forces of *Azen* and *Vataces* to raiſe the ſiege. But *John* of *Brienne* dying ſoon after, that is, in 1237. the ninth year of his adminiſtration, the loſs of ſo great a man would have proved fatal to the *Latins*, but for a miſunderſtanding that aroſe between the *Greek* emperor and king of *Bulgaria*, and was carried to ſuch a height, that the latter having by a ſtra-
d tagem recovered his daughter, whom he had married to the emperor's ſon, joined the *Latins* agianſt him, and with them laid ſiege to the city of *Chiorli*. But, in the mean time, news being brought him of the death of his wife *Ann*, daughter to the king of *Hungary*, he dropped that enterprize and returned home, where he ſoon after married the daughter of *Theodorus Angelus*, the late deſpot of *Epirus*, whom he had taken priſoner a few years before and deprived of his ſight, as we have related above. This alliance produced a great change in the affairs of *Theodorus*; for *Azen* not only ſet him at liberty, but aſſiſted him in the recovery of his dominions, which had been uſurped by his brother *Manuel*. Being thus reſtored to his former power, he appointed his ſon to govern in his room, cauſing him to be acknowledged as
e emperor. This gave no ſmall umbrage to *John Vataces*, who pretended to be the ſole emperor of the *Greeks*; and therefore, upon the death of *Azen*, which happened ſoon after, he paſſed over into *Thrace*; and entering into an alliance with the *Scythians*, who had lately ſettled in *Macedon*, he entered the mock-emperor's territories, ſtripped him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to renounce the title of empe-
ror, and content himſelf with that of deſpot. In 1239. the emperor *Baldwin*, re-
turning from the weſt, arrived at *Conſtantinople*, and was there crowned by the patriarch in the church of St. *Sophia*. He concluded an alliance with the *Comneni* reigning at *Trapezond*, and, with their aſſiſtance, beſieged and took the city of *Chiorli*, which, however, was ſoon after retaken by *Vataces*, together with the
f iſland of *Rhodes*, ſurpriſed a few years before by the *Genoeſe*. *Vataces*, having thus recovered ſuch places as had been by the *Latins* diſmembered from his empire, and not only made himſelf maſter of the greater part of *Aſia*, but extended his conqueſts in *Europe* almoſt to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*, died, after a glorious reign of thirty-three years, being then in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age[y].

He defeats the united forces of Azen *and* Ducas.

Conſtantinople *beſieged.*

The ſiege raiſed by John *of* Brienne *dies.*

The deſpot of Epirus *reſtored.*

Vataces *reduces ſeveral places in* Thrace,

Vataces *dies.*

Vataces was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodorus Laſcaris*, who having renewed the antient alliance with the ſultan of *Iconium*, paſſed the *Helleſpont* at the head of a powerful army, and made war upon the king of *Bulgaria* and the deſpot of *Epirus*, who had invaded his dominions in *Macedon* and *Thrace*, with ſuch ſucceſs, that they were forced

Theodorus Laſcaris.

[y] Acrop. in Vat. c. 12—21.

forced to ſue for peace, which he granted them upon his own terms. While he lay a
Michael Palæologus *withdraws to the* Turks. at *Theſſalonica*, he received letters from *Nice*, informing him, that *Michael Palæologus*, whom he had left governor of *Aſia* during his abſence, had ſecretly withdrawn to the *Turks*, under pretence, that his enemies at court, by miſrepreſenting his conduct, had rendered him ſuſpected to the emperor, whoſe diſpleaſure he feared. As *Michael* was an officer of great courage and experience in war, the ſultan of *Iconium* received him with uncommon demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and gave him the command of a body of *Greeks* in the *Turkiſh* pay, at the head of which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſoon after in a battle between the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and would have gained a complete victory, had not the ſudden revolt of a chief officer, who was nearly related to the ſultan, turned the fortune of the day. The *Turkiſh* army being b
almoſt intirely cut off, the victorious *Tartars*, who had already driven the *Turks* out of *Perſia*, and the more eaſtern provinces, ravaged without controul the countries belonging to them in *Aſia*, and reduced the ſultan to ſuch ſtreights, that he was forced to fly for refuge to the emperor *Theodorus*, who received him in a very obliging manner, and ſent him back with a body of choſen troops, under the command of *Iſaac Ducas*, an officer of great reputation, and the emperor's chief favourite. The ſultan, in his turn, delivered up to the emperor the city of *Laodicea*. In the mean time, *Theodorus*, unwilling to loſe a ſubject of ſuch extraordinary parts as *Palæologus*, wrote
He is recalled home. to him a moſt kind and obliging letter, inviting him home, and promiſing to receive him anew into favour, and reſtore him to his former honours and employments. c
With this invitation *Palæologus* readily complied, and was, upon his return, reinſtated in the emperor's favour, after having taken an oath of allegiance to *Theodorus* and
The emperor dies. his ſon. The emperor died ſoon after, having ſcarce reigned three years complete, leaving his ſon *John*, then about nine years old, to ſucceed him. Some time before
John Laſcaris. his death, he took the monaſtic habit, diſtributed great ſums among the poor, and applied himſelf with exemplary piety to acts of devotion. On his death-bed, he appointed *Arſenius*, the patriarch, and *George Muzalo* guardians to the young prince. *Muzalo* was a perſon of a mean deſcent, but had, by his great fidelity and inviolable attachment to the emperor, deſerved to be raiſed to the higheſt employments in the ſtate, which he had ever diſcharged with wonderful integrity, and a character d
altogether unblemiſhed. However, the nobility, thinking the care and tuition of the young prince belonged of right to them, began to complain of his conduct, and malign all his meaſures. Hereupon *Muzalo*, who ſincerely deſired to retire, and lead a private life, having aſſembled the nobility, offered to reſign the adminiſtration to ſuch as they thought the beſt qualified for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt. But they all declining it, he obliged them to renew their allegiance to the emperor, and bind themſelves under a ſolemn oath to obey him, and, during his minority, thoſe whom the deceaſed emperor judged proper to entruſt with the care of his ſon and the government of the ſtate. But, notwithſtanding this oath, the leading men among the nobility, conſpiring againſt *Muzalo*, on the day appointed for the obſequies of e
the late emperor, repaired to the abby of *Soſandra*, where he was to be interred; and mixing with the croud, in the midſt of the ſervice, fell upon *Muzalo* with their
Muzalo, *the young prince's governor, murdered.* drawn ſwords, and diſpatched him at the very altar, whither he had fled for refuge, with his two brothers *Andronicus* and *Theodorus*, men of diſtinguiſhed characters. *Muzalo* being thus removed, the conſpirators, without any regard to the patriarch,
Michael Palæologus *guardian to the young prince.* who was a man of learning, but an utter ſtranger to ſtate-affairs, declared *Michael Palæologus* guardian to the young prince, and protector of the empire. He ſignalized the beginning of his adminiſtration with a ſignal victory over *Michael Angelus*, deſpot of *Epirus*, who, taking advantage of the diſtractions of the ſtate, after the death of *Vataces*, had broken into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, at the head of a numerous f
army; but was obliged to retire into his own dominions by *John Palæologus*, the protector's brother, after having loſt, in a bloody engagement, the flower of his army. When news of this victory was brought to *Magneſia*, where *Palæologus* then reſided, he was, by the moſt powerful among the nobility and the populace, ſaluted with the title of emperor, which he did not reject. The patriarch threatened at firſt to cut off from the church both *Palæologus* and his adherents; but the protector binding himſelf, by a ſolemn oath, to reſign the empire to the young prince, as ſoon as he ſhould be of age, the credulous patriarch was prevailed upon to place
He is crowned the crown upon his head. *Palæologus*, thus raiſed to the empire, diſpatched his brother *Conſtantine* with a conſiderable army into *Peloponneſus*, which was then held partly

partly by the deſpot of *Epirus*, and partly by the *Latins*, but ſoon recovered by *Conſtantine*. After this, *Michael* paſſed in perſon with a numerous army into *Thrace*, having nothing leſs in view than the reduction of *Conſtantinople* itſelf, the dominions of the *Latins* being now ſo diſmembered, that ſcarce any thing was left to the inactive and ſlothful *Baldwin* beſides the imperial city. However, *Palæologus* apprehending the difficulty and dangers of ſuch an extraordinary undertaking, reſolved to put it off to a more favourable opportunity, and in the mean time to make himſelf maſter of the caſtle of *Pera*, in order to diſtreſs the *Latins* more effectually. But, being in ſeveral ſucceſſive aſſaults repulſed with great loſs, he was obliged to give over the enterprize and retire. *Attempts the reduction of* Pera *in vain.*

However, as he was maſter of the neighbouring country, before his departure, he diſpoſed his troops in ſuch manner, that the city being in ſome degree blocked up, the inhabitants were reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In the mean time, *Alexius Angelus*, deſpot of *Epirus*, attempting, in defiance of a late treaty with *Palæologus*, to recover the places he had loſt in *Theſſaly* and *Greece*, *Alexius Strategopulus*, a perſon deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and for his eminent ſervices diſtinguiſhed with the title of *Cæſar*, was ſent againſt him, with orders to try whether he could on his march ſurpriſe *Conſtantinople*. *Alexius*, having paſſed the ſtreights, encamped at a place called *Rhegium*, where he was informed by the natives, that a ſtrong body of the *Latins* had been ſent to the ſiege of *Daphnuſa*; that the gariſon was in great want of proviſions; and that it would be no difficult matter to ſurpriſe the city. Hereupon the *Greek* general reſolved at all events to attempt it; and being encouraged by ſome of the inhabitants, who, coming privately to his camp, offered themſelves to be his guides, he approached the walls in the dead of the night, which ſome of his men ſcaled without being obſerved; and killing the centries, whom they found aſleep, opened one of the gates to the reſt of the army, who ruſhing in, put all they met to the ſword; and at the ſame time, to create more terror, ſet fire to the city in four different places. The *Latins*, concluding from thence the enemy's forces to be far more numerous than they really were, did not ſo much as attempt either to drive them out, or to extinguiſh the flames; but, ſtruck with terror and amazement, ſuffered themſelves to be cut in pieces in the ſtreets or their houſes, which were ſoon filled with blood and ſlaughter. In this general confuſion, the emperor *Baldwin*, quitting the enſigns of majeſty, fled with *Juſtinian*, the *Latin* patriarch, and ſome of his intimate friends, to the ſea-ſide; and there embarquing on a ſmall veſſel, ſailed firſt to *Eubœa*, and from thence to *Venice*, leaving the *Greeks* in poſſeſſion of the imperial city, after it had been held fifty-eight, or, as ſome will have it, ſixty, years, by the *Latins*. This happened in the year 1261. of the chriſtian æra, the ſecond of the reign of *Michael Palæologus* [y]. When news of the ſurpriſing, and altogether unexpected, ſucceſs of *Alexius* was firſt brought to *Palæologus*, reſiding then at *Nymphæum*, he gave no credit to it; but receiving ſoon after letters from *Alexius* himſelf, with a particular account of ſo memorable an event, tranſported with joy, he ordered public thanks to be returned in all the churches with great ſolemnity, appeared in public in his imperial robes, attended by the nobility in their beſt apparel, and ordered couriers to be immediately diſpatched with the agreeable tidings into all the provinces of the empire. Soon after, the emperor, having ſettled his affairs at *Nice*, ſet out for *Conſtantinople* with the empreſs, his ſon *Andronicus*, the ſenate, and the nobility, to take poſſeſſion of the imperial city, and fix his reſidence in the place, which, at firſt, had been deſtined for the ſeat of the weſtern empire. Having paſſed the ſtreights, he advanced to the *Golden gate*, and continued ſome days without the walls, while the citizens were buſied in making the neceſſary preparations to receive him with a magnificence ſuitable to the occaſion. On the day appointed, the *Golden gate*, which had been long ſhut up, was opened, and the emperor entering it, amidſt the repeated acclamations of the multitude, marched on foot to the great palace, being preceded by the biſhop of *Cyzicus*, carrying the image of the virgin *Mary*, ſuppoſed to have been done by St. *Luke*, and followed by all the great officers, the nobility, and the chief citizens, in their moſt pompous apparel. Public thanks were again returned in the church of *St. Sophia*, at which the emperor aſſiſted in perſon, with the clergy, the ſenate, and the nobility. The exerciſes of piety were ſucceeded by all ſorts of diverſions, which laſted ſeveral days, the nobility, and chief citizens, ſtriving to excel each other in teſtifying

Alexius Strategopulus *ſurpriſes* Conſtantinople, *and expels the* Latins.

The emperor removes his court from Nice *to* Conſtantinople.

His entry, and public rejoiceings.

[y] Pachym. l. 1. c. 1—22. & l. ii. c. 27.

fying their joy by banquets and public ſports, on ſuch an extraordinary occaſion. a
When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor carefully ſurveyed the imperial city, which allayed in great meaſure the ſenſe of his preſent good fortune; for he obſerved the ſtately palace of *Blachernæ*, with the other magnificent dwellings of the *Roman* emperors, lying in ruins; the many capacious buildings, that had been erected by his predeceſſors at an immenſe charge, deſtroyed by fire and other unavoidable accidents of war; ſeveral ſtreets quite abandoned by the inhabitants, and choaked up with the rubbiſh of the ruined houſes, *&c.* Theſe objects gave the emperor no ſmall concern, and kindled in him a deſire of rebuilding the city, and reſtoring it to its former luſtre. In the mean time, looking upon *Alexius* as the reſtorer of his country, he cauſed him to be clad in magnificent robes, placed with his own hand b
a crown upon his head, ordered him to be conducted through the city, as it were in triumph, decreed that for a whole year his name ſhould in the public prayers be joined to his own, and, to perpetuate the memory of ſo great and glorious an action, he commanded his ſtatue to be erected on a ſtately pillar of marble before the church of the apoſtles. His next care was to repeople the city, many *Greek* families having withdrawn from it, while it was held by the *Latins*, to ſettle elſewhere, and the *Latins* now preparing to return to their reſpective countries. The former were recalled

The Latins *encouraged to continue in the city.*

home; and the latter, in regard of the great trade they carried on, prevailed upon with many valuable privileges not to remove. The *Genoeſe* were allowed to live in one of the moſt beautiful quarters of the city, to be governed by their own laws c
and magiſtrates, and to trade without paying cuſtoms or taxes of any kind. Great privileges were likewiſe granted to the natives of *Venice* and *Piſa*, which encouraged them to lay aſide all thoughts of removing, and carry on a trade, which proved highly beneficial and advantagious to the ſtate. The emperor being ſoon after informed, that *Baldwin* had married his daughter to *Charles*, king of *Sicily*, and given him by way of dowry the city of *Conſtantinople*, which that warlike prince was making great preparations to recover, he ordered the *Genoeſe*, who were become very numerous, and might have done great miſchief, if the city had been attacked, to remove firſt to *Heraclea*, and afterwards to *Galata*, where they continued. As for the *Piſans* and *Venetians*, who were not ſo numerous and wealthy, they were allowed to con- d
tinue in the city[z]. The emperor, having thus ſettled the ſtate, and gained the affections both of the natives and foreigners, began to think of ſecuring to himſelf and his poſterity the ſovereignty, which he only held as it were in truſt, and was to reſign to the young prince as ſoon as he came of age. Having therefore cauſed himſelf to be crowned anew in the imperial city, he ſoon after ordered the young prince to be deprived of his ſight, pretending, that no one but himſelf had any title to the city or empire of *Conſtantinople*, which he alone had recovered from the *Latins*. This treaſon and barbarity involved him in endleſs troubles and dangers. For *Arſenius*, the patriarch, immediately excommunicated him and all thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſary to his crime, which occaſioned great diſturbances in the e
city. At the ſame time, *Michael*, deſpot of *Epirus*, and *Conſtantine*, king of *Bulgaria*, who had married the young emperor's ſiſters, breaking into *Thrace*, laid waſte that country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Palæologus* marched againſt them in perſon; but as he was returning home without performing any thing worthy of notice, he was attacked unexpectedly by the *Bulgarians*, and had unavoidably fallen into their hands, had he not eſcaped by ſea on board a ſmall veſſel, which conveyed him ſafe to *Conſtantinople*. The troops he had with him were for the moſt part cut in pieces or taken priſoners; and the *Bulgarians*, being reinforced with twenty thouſand *Tartars*, roved about the country without controul, committing every-where unheard-of cruelties. The *Venetians*, obſerving the diſtracted ſtate of f
the empire, laid hold of that opportunity to recover the iſlands in the *Archipelago*, which *Palæologus* had ſeized after the reduction of *Conſtantinople*. The *Venetians* were joined by the king of *Sicily* and moſt of the weſtern princes, who combining againſt *Palæologus*, would, in all likelihood, have driven him from the throne, had he not engaged pope *Urban* IV. to eſpouſe his cauſe, by promiſing to ſubmit himſelf and his dominions to the *Latin* church, and by that means diverted the ſtorm that threatened him. The pope perſuaded *Charles*, count of *Anjou* and king of *Sicily*, to conclude a peace with him; and *Palæologus*, on his ſide, did all that lay in his

Palæologus *puts out the eyes of the young emperor, and cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged ſole emperor. He is involved in great troubles.*

[z] Pachym. l. ii. c. 27—35.

his power to bring about an union between the two churches, acknowledging by his embaſſadors, or in perſon, as ſome will have it, the ſupremacy of the pope in the famous council of *Lyons* held in the year 1274. This occaſioned great diſturbances at *Conſtantinople* and throughout the empire, *Joſeph* the patriarch, and with him moſt of the clergy, openly inveighing againſt theſe innovations; which provoked *Palæologus* to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed ſuch as appeared moſt obſtinate to be impriſoned and cruelly racked, and baniſhed the reſt with the patriarch *Joſeph*, in whoſe room *Veccus* was choſen. However, not long after, *Simon* of *Bire*, a native of *France*, being, by the intereſt of *Charles*, king of *Sicily*, choſen pope, on which occaſion he took the name of *Martin* IV. he ſolemnly excommunicated *Michael* for having contributed to the famous maſſacre of the *French* in *Sicily*, which happened on *Eaſter-day*, the thirtieth of *March* 1282. and is commonly known by the name of the *Sicilian veſpers*. At length the unhappy prince, oppreſſed with cares, was taken ill as he was marching againſt the *Turks*, who had broken into the eaſtern provinces; and, his diſtemper increaſing daily, he was obliged to halt at a place called *Allogium*. There he received the embaſſadors of the *Tartars*, whom he had invited to his aſſiſtance, and ſoon after died, having lived fifty-eight years, and reigned twenty-four, wanting one month [a]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Andronicus Palæologus*, who, thinking he could not begin his reign by a more popular act than by reſtoring the ceremonies of the *Greek* church, and refuſing to acknowledge the ſupremacy of the pope, annulled whatever his father had done with reſpect to the union of the two churches. But ſuch as had received the *Latin* ceremonies defending them with great obſtinacy, and thoſe of the contrary faction; now countenanced by the emperor, returning the evil treatment they had met with in the late reign, the ſchiſm was revived, and ſuch animoſities raiſed in the ſtate, as threw the whole empire into a ferment. However, his endeavouring to reſtore the antient ceremonies diſobliged ſuch only as were addicted to the *Latin* church; but his conduct towards his brother *Conſtantine* eſtranged from him the minds of both parties. *Conſtantine* was the darling of the people; and being ſent by the late emperor his father into *Aſia*, to defend the frontiers of the empire, he had there in ſeveral battles overthrown the *Turks*. His great popularity, and the reputation he had gained by his victories, rendering him ſuſpected to the emperor, he was by his orders ſeized and thrown into priſon, with ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, amongſt whom was *Michael Strategopulus*, ſon to the celebrated *Alexius*, who had recovered *Conſtantinople* from the *Latins*. Upon the removal of theſe two brave officers, the *Turks*, under the conduct of the famous *Othoman*, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places in *Phrygia*, *Caria*, and *Bithynia*, and among the reſt of the city of *Nice*. To put a ſtop to their conqueſts, the emperor diſpatched into *Aſia Philanthropenus* and *Libadarius*, two officers of great reputation and experience in war, appointing the latter governor of the cities of *Ionia*, and committing to the former the defence of the frontiers on the *Meander*. *Philanthropenus* gained ſeveral advantages over the *Turks*; but, elated with his ſucceſs, he aſſumed the purple, and cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, marched againſt *Libadarius*, who had declared him a public enemy, and ſet a price upon his head. As the two armies were ready to engage, the *Cretans*, who ſerved under *Philanthropenus*, and had been before-hand gained over by *Libadarius*, ſeizing their leader, delivered him up to his adverſary, who cauſed his eyes to be put out. In the mean time, the *Turks*, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine diſturbances, not only extended their dominions in *Aſia*, but conquered moſt of the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*; and, being maſters at ſea, infeſted the coaſts of the empire, to the utter ruin of trade and commerce. In this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, the emperor, diſtruſting his own ſubjects, took into his pay ten thouſand *Maſſagetes* or *Alans*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Tartars*, had paſſed the *Danube*. Theſe being ſent over into *Aſia*, under the conduct of *Michael*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, whom he had lately declared his collegue in the empire, the *Turks*, at their approach, retired to the mountains; whence ſoon after they came ſuddenly down, and falling upon the *Maſſagetes*, while they lay in their camp, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, put them to flight, in ſpite of all the efforts of the young emperor, who, on that occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner, but was in the end obliged to fly with the reſt, and take refuge in the ſtrong caſtle of *Magneſia*.

The union of the Greek *and* Latin *churches.*

The emperor dies.

Andronicus Palæologus.

Jealous of his brother Conſtantine.

Alexius Philanthropenus *revolts;*

But is betrayed by his own men.

The emperor's forces defeated by the Turks.

[a] Idem, l. vi. c. 30 & ultim.

Magneſia. The *Maſſagetes*, abandoning him, marched directly to the *Helleſpont*, a ravaging the countries through which they paſſed, and thence croſſed over into *Europe*. The *Turks*, purſuing them, made themſelves maſters of all the ſtrong-holds to the ſea-ſide. As for *Michael*, having narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands, he got in the end ſafe to *Conſtantinople*. The emperor, notwithſtanding the ſhameful conduct of the *Maſſagetes*, repoſing ſtill greater truſt in ſtrangers than in his own ſubjects, of whom he was grown jealous ſince the rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, took into his ſervice a body of *Catalans*, under the command of one *Ronzerius* or *Rouzerius*, who had formerly ſerved in the wars between the kings of *Sicily* and *Naples*; and, having conferred extraordinary honours upon him, ſent him with his troops to the relief of *Philadelphia*, then cloſely beſieged by the *Turks*, whom, upon his arrival, b

The Catalans *revolt.*

he obliged to abandon the enterprize and retire. Upon their retreat, he turned his arms againſt thoſe whom he was ſent to protect; and roving about the country, committed every-where unheard-of cruelties, ſubjecting all to the rage and luſt of thoſe diſſolute vagabonds. Having plundered the few places that were left to the emperor in *Aſia*, he returned with his *Catalans* to *Europe*; and leaving the reſt at *Callipolis*, went with two hundred choſen men to demand of the young emperor *Michael*, lying then at *Oreſtias* in *Thrace*, the arrears which he pretended to be due to himſelf and his men. *Michael*, juſtly provoked at his late conduct in *Aſia*, and now incenſed againſt him on account of his inſolent carriage, ordered his guards to fall upon him, who accordingly cut him and moſt of his men in pieces. Thoſe, who eſcaped, c flying to *Callipolis*, acquainted their countrymen with the death of their general, who thereupon, tranſported with rage, firſt put all the citizens to the ſword, and then, fortifying themſelves in the beſt manner they could, prepared for a vigorous defence. However, as they diſtruſted their own ſtrength, they ſent for aſſiſtance to the *Turks* dwelling over-againſt them in *Aſia*, who immediately conveyed over the ſtreights five hundred choſen men to reinforce them. Theſe were ſoon followed by others, who, joining the *Catalans*, laid waſte the neighbouring country; and having, with great expedition, equipped and manned eight galleys, plundered all the merchant-ſhips in the ſtreights, and would have greatly diſtreſſed the imperial city itſelf, had not their ſmall fleet been encountered and deſtroyed by the *Genoeſe*. On this occaſion the *Turks* d

Their leader is killed by the emperor's orders.

They ſeize on Callipolis.

The Turks *firſt in* Europe.

came firſt into *Europe*; an event which we may deſervedly reckon one of the moſt fatal that ever happened to the empire. The young emperor *Michael* marched againſt the *Catalans* and *Turks*, with a conſiderable army, conſiſting of *Greeks*, *Maſſagetes*, and other auxiliaries; but the auxiliaries withdrawing, as ſoon as the ſignal for battle was given, and ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance as idle ſpectators, at whoſe inſtigation was never known, the *Greeks* were ſo diſcouraged, that the emperor could neither by threats or promiſes ſtop their flight. He performed in perſon all that could be expected from an experienced officer and valiant ſoldier; but not being able to encourage his men, either with his words or example, and his horſe being killed under him, he was forced to retire, and make his eſcape to *Didymothicum*, where his father lay e encamped. After this victory, the *Catalans* and *Turks* over-ran all *Thrace*, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword, till finding it impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt longer there, the *Catalans* reſolved to invade *Theſſaly*; but the *Turks*, deſirous of returning home with their booty, ſeparated from them, being then thirteen thouſand horſe, and eight hundred foot; and bending their march through *Macedon*, acquainted the emperor, that they were ready peaceably to depart, provided he would allow them a ſafe paſſage through his dominions, and ſupply them with ſhips to tranſport them into *Aſia*. To this the emperor, willing to get rid of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, readily condeſcended, and accordingly ordered the neceſſary veſſels to be got ready with the utmoſt expedition. But the *Greek* officers, obſerving the immenſe booty with which f they were loaded, began to contrive how they ſhould make themſelves maſters of it, and in the end reſolved to fall upon the *Turks* in the night; and by cutting them all off, revenge the injuries they had done to the ſubjects of the empire, and enrich themſelves with the booty. The matter was not managed with ſuch ſecrecy, but the *Turks* had timely intimation of it. Hereupon, having ſurpriſed a ſtrong caſtle in that neighbourhood, they prepared for a vigorous defence, and at the ſame time found means to acquaint their countrymen on the other ſide of the ſtreights with the danger that threatened them, who, enticed with the hopes of booty, haſtened to their aſſiſtance; and croſſing the *Helleſpont*, ravaged the adjacent country, making excurſions to the very gates of *Conſtantinople*. The emperor, awaked at length by the daily

Thrace ravaged by the Catalans *and* Turks.

complaints

a complaints of his people, reſolved to root them out; and accordingly marched againſt them with all his forces, the country-people flocking to him from all parts with their ſpades, mattocks, and other inſtruments of huſbandry, in order to aſſiſt him in the reduction of the caſtle. The *Turks* were greatly alarmed at their approach, and began to look upon themſelves as inevitably loſt; but afterwards obſerving, that the *Greeks*, who had cloſely beſieged the place, confiding in their ſtrength and numbers, utterly neglected all diſcipline, they took courage, and ſallying out with no more than eight hundred choſen horſe, penetrated almoſt without oppoſition to the emperor's tent; which ſtruck the undiſciplined peaſants with ſuch terror, that they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. Their example was followed by the reſt of the
b army, tho' the emperor, and ſome of the officers, made ſeveral bold ſtands, hoping thereby to ſtop the flight of the diſheartened multitude; but the cowardly *Greeks* could not by any means be prevailed upon to ſtand before the enemy, who, after having made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, and taken ſome of the chief officers priſoners, made themſelves maſters of the emperor's camp, in which they found a large ſum, deſigned for the payment of the troops, ſeveral ſtandards, the imperial crown, enriched with precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, and all the baggage of the army. After this unexpected victory, the *Turks* roved up and down *Thrace* for two years together, without controul; which brought unſpeakable calamities upon the inhabitants, confined within their walled towns, without daring to ſtir out to till
c their ground. At length *Philes Palæologus*, a perſon nearly related to the emperor, touched with the calamities of his country, deſired leave to march againſt the enemy, with ſuch officers and ſoldiers as the emperor ſhould think fit to appoint for that ſervice, not doubting, he ſaid, but, with the aſſiſtance of Heaven, he ſhould revenge the injuries done to his country, and return in triumph. As *Philes* was an utter ſtranger to the art of war, but remarkable for his piety and the integrity of his life, the emperor, looking upon him as one choſen by providence for the relief of his oppreſſed country, readily complied with his requeſt. *Philes*'s firſt care was to eſtabliſh good diſcipline among his ſoldiers, exhorting them to live with temperance and ſobriety, encouraging them with frequent donatives, and promiſing to reward each
d of them at the end of the war according to his deſerts. Having thus modelled his ſmall army according to his deſire, he took the field, attended by the prayers and good wiſhes of the emperor and the whole people. Being informed, ſoon after his departure from *Conſtantinople*, that *Chaleb*, the *Turkiſh* commander, was ravaging the country about *Bizia*, with one thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, he marched immediately againſt him; and encamping the third day in a large plain near a little river called *Xerogipſum*, he received at midnight certain intelligence, that the enemy with their booty were at hand. Hereupon having drawn up his men in battle-array, and, with a pathetic ſpeech, encouraged them to exert themſelves in the defence of their country, he waited the enemy's arrival, who began to appear at ſun-riſing.
e The *Turks*, not in the leaſt terrified with the ſurprize, having formed a ſtrong barricade with their waggons, and ſecured their priſoners, advanced in good order againſt the imperial troops, who received them with great reſolution and intrepidity. *Philes*, having firſt invoked the divine aſſiſtance, charged at the head of the right-wing the enemy's cavalry, who began to give way; but his horſe being killed under him, he was obliged to withdraw; which ſomewhat damped the courage of his men. However, he quickly appeared again at the head of the army; and falling with freſh vigour upon the enemy with the moſt reſolute of his men, put their horſe to flight; and then diſmounting, charged their foot at the head of his infantry with ſuch reſo-
f lution, that the *Turks*, no longer able to withſtand them, betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. *Philes* purſued them with great ſlaughter to the entrance into the *Cherſoneſus*, and there encamped, with a deſign to cut off their communication with the neighbouring country. The emperor, tranſported with joy at the news of this victory, diſpatched immediately five galleys, which were reinforced with eight more ſent by the *Genoeſe* of *Peræ*, to guard the ſtreights, and prevent their receiving any aſſiſtance out of *Aſia*. At the ſame time, *Philes*'s army was ſtrengthened with two hundred choſen horſe, ſent him by *Crales* king of *Servia*, who had married the emperor's daughter. The *Turks* being thus ſhut up both by ſea and land, *Philes*, advancing with his forces to the caſtle they had ſeized, began to batter it with an incredible number of engines; which did great execution. The *Turks*, now deſpairing of relief, and weakened by daily ſkirmiſhes, reſolved to uſe an utmoſt effort, and

The emperor's forces defeated by the Turks;

Who are overthrown by Philes Palæologus.

And are ſhut up in the Cherſoneſus.

attempt to break through the *Greeks* ſword in hand; but finding them, when they a
firſt ſallied out, upon their guard and ready to receive them, they returned to their
caſtle; but not ſo diſcouraged as not to attempt a few days after to open themſelves
a way through the *Servians*; which attempt proving equally unſucceſsful, they began
utterly to deſpair. Having therefore caſt away their arms, and taken with them their
gold and ſilver, of which they had great plenty, in the dead of the night they made
towards the ſea-ſide with a deſign to ſurrender themſelves to the *Genoeſe*, who, they
hoped, would ſhew them more mercy than the *Greeks*, as they had never injured
nor provoked them; but the night proving dark, many of them, miſtaking the
Greek for the *Genoeſe* galleys, fell into the hands of their moſt implacable enemies,
They are all cut in pieces or taken. by whom they were cut in pieces without compaſſion. The reſt fared not much b
better; for the *Genoeſe* killed ſuch as brought the moſt money with them, leſt in
time they ſhould diſcover it to the *Greeks*, who would have claimed it. The poorer
ſort they loaded with chains, ſending ſome of them to the emperor, and keeping the
reſt for their own ſlaves [b]. Thus was *Europe* delivered for the preſent from the
Turks; but the time is drawing near, when we ſhall ſee them, through the indo-
lence of the emperors and cowardice of the *Greeks*, firmly eſtabliſhed on this ſide of
the ſtreights, to the utter ruin of the empire.

The unhappy emperor was ſoon after involved in far greater troubles: *Michael*, his
eldeſt ſon and collegue in the empire, had two ſons, *Andronicus* and *Manuel*, of whom
Andronicus, *the younger, a diſſolute prince.* the former was greatly beloved by his grandfather *Andronicus*, tho' a youth of a moſt c
untractable temper, debauched, diſſolute, and abandoned to all manner of wicked-
neſs. Being greatly addicted to women, and ſuſpecting he had ſome rival in the
affections of his favourite miſtreſs, he charged certain ruffians to watch her one night,
and diſpatch the perſon that ſhould come to viſit her. It unluckily happened, that
Manuel came that very night, with little or no attendance, to the houſe, in queſt of
his brother. The aſſaſſins, not knowing him in the dark, miſtook him for the prince's
rival, and falling upon him, gave him ſeveral mortal wounds, of which he died a
few days after. When news of his death was brought to the emperor *Michael* his
father, the good prince was ſo affected with it, that he died ſoon after of grief. The
grandfather *Andronicus*, notwithſtanding his deep concern for the death of *Manuel*, d
ſtill continued to cheriſh and favour *Andronicus*, who, anſwering his kindneſs with
the utmoſt ingratitude, contracted an intimate friendſhip with *Syrgiannes*, *John Canta-
cuzenus*, *Theodorus Synadenus*, and *Alexius Apocaucus*, all perſons diſaffected to the
emperor, and ready to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to raiſe diſturb-
ances in the empire. As they were men of uncommon parts and great experience
in affairs of ſtate, they ſoon gained an aſcendant over the young prince, and finding
him a ſubject proper for their deſigns, they inſpired him with a thirſt after power,
and an utter averſion to the aged emperor his grandfather. The court being thus rent
into two oppoſite factions, that of the young prince grew daily more powerful. The
The emperor endeavours in vain to reclaim him. emperor did all that lay in his power to reclaim him; but his endeavours proving, to e
his great grief, unſucceſsful, he reſolved in the end publicly to reprove him before
the patriarch and the chief of the nobility. The prince, receiving timely intima-
tion of his grandfather's deſign, went, when ſent for, to the palace, attended by a
great number of his followers and partizans, with arms under their garments, ready,
if any violence was offered to the young prince, to ruſh upon the aged emperor with
their drawn ſwords, and, diſpatching him, proclaim *Andronicus* emperor in his room.
But the emperor, who was paſſionately fond of him, reproved the youth in ſo tender
and affectionate a manner, that, burſting into tears, he fell at the grandfather's feet,
and promiſed an intire ſubmiſſion for the future. The grandfather, on his ſide,
embracing him with paternal affection, promiſed to appoint him his heir, and name f
him for his ſucceſſor in the empire. Thus they parted, thoroughly reconciled; but
this reconciliation was ſhort-lived: for the prince, returning to his favourite counſellors
and companions, ſoon fell from the reſolution he had taken, and began to entertain
the ſame ambitious thoughts he had done before. Hereupon the emperor, perceive-
ing he was become irreclaimable, reſolved to ſecure him, and by that means prevent
the diſturbances, in which he foreſaw the ſtate would be otherwiſe unavoidably
involved. This reſolution was communicated by the emperor to *Geraſimus* the patri-
arch, and by him ſcandalouſly betrayed to the prince, who thereupon fled with his
accomplices

[b] Gregor. l. iii. c. 13—17. Cantacuzen. l. iii. Pachym. l. ix. c. 10, 11.

a accomplices and partizans the very night he was to have been apprehended, and escaped to *Adrianople*. The emperor, upon the first notice of his flight, caused him to be declared a public enemy, proscribed all his adherents, and obliged the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, whose fidelity he suspected, to renew their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, the prince, arriving at *Adrianople*, was there acknowledged for emperor by *Syrgiannes*, *Cantacuzenus*, and the other officers, who commanded the troops quartered in *Thrace*; so that, finding himself in a few days at the head of a considerable army, he detached a strong body of horse and foot to attempt, under the conduct of *Syrgiannes*, *Constantinople* itself, before the citizens could put themselves in a posture of defence. The emperor, alarmed at their approach, dispatched *Theo-*
b *leptus*, bishop of *Philadelphia*, with other persons of distinction, to the young prince, then encamped at *Orestias*, with proposals for an accommodation; which, after a warm and long debate, was concluded on the following terms; that the empire should be divided, and the prince have *Thrace*, from *Christopolis* to *Rhegium*, and the suburbs of *Constantinople*, for his share; that his followers should enjoy, without molestation, the lands and honours he had conferred upon them; and that, on the other hand, the emperor should retain *Constantinople*, with all the cities and islands in the east, and in the west the whole country lying between *Christopolis* and *Dyrrhachium*[c]. In the mean time, the *Turks*, taking advantage of these intestine broils, inlarged their dominions in *Asia*, and reduced most places on the *Meander*, and among
c the rest the strong and important city of *Prusa* in *Bithynia*. *Othoman* had some years before attempted to take it by storm; but being repulsed with great loss, he had built two strong castles at a small distance from the city, and left in them numerous garisons, under the command of two of his best generals, *Aktemur* and *Balabanzuch*, who, by cutting off all communication between the place and the neighbouring country, reduced the inhabitants and the garison to such streights, that great numbers of them dying for want of necessaries, the rest, despairing of relief, were in the end obliged to capitulate, and submit to *Orchanes*, the son of *Othoman*, who was then indisposed, on the following terms; that the inhabitants and garison should
d be allowed to retire unmolested whither they pleased, and to take with them all the effects they could carry on their backs. These two articles were faithfully observed by *Orchanes*, who, entering *Prusa*, took possession of that important place in the year 1327. and, upon the death of his father *Othoman*, chose it for the seat of the *Turkish* empire. To return to *Andronicus*: the agreement between him and his grandson was but short-lived; for *Syrgiannes*, who had first advised the young prince to revolt, not thinking his services sufficiently rewarded, wrote letters full of submission to the emperor, and, upon promise of impunity, withdrew privately from the army in *Thrace*, and repaired to *Constantinople*, where he incensed the emperor against his grandson to such a degree, that the war was renewed on both sides. *Constantine*, the emperor's son, was sent with a considerable army to *Thessalonica*, to take upon
e him there the government of *Macedon*, and to invade from thence the territories lately yielded to the prince, while *Syrgiannes*, at the head of a body of *Turks*, who had entered into the emperor's service, reduced that part of *Thrace*, which lay next to *Constantinople*. Against *Syrgiannes* the prince dispatched *Synadenus*, an officer of great reputation in war; but marched in person against his uncle *Constantine*, being highly provoked against him for having seized on his mother *Xene*, and sent her prisoner to *Constantinople*. *Constantine* gained several advantages over him; which reduced him to great streights: but the prince having caused a report to be spread abroad, that his grandfather was dead, *Constantine* was so alarmed at that unexpected news, to which he gave intire credit, that he retired in the utmost consternation to
f *Thessalonica*. He had not been long in that city, when he was informed, that the emperor was alive; and soon after received letters from him, with orders to apprehend twenty-five of the chief citizens, suspected of maintaining a private correspondence with the prince, and send them in chains to *Constantinople*. The letters were delivered to *Constantine* with the utmost secrecy; but the citizens nevertheless, receiving timely intimation of the danger that threatened them, stirred up the populace; who, seizing on *Constantine*, delivered him up to his nephew, by whom he was kept closely confined as long as he lived. At the same time, the *Turks* under *Syrgiannes*, quitting the emperor's service, retired home; which obliged that general to return in great

The young prince makes his escape,

And openly revolts.

The emperor obliged to divide the empire with him.

Prusa *taken by the* Turks.

The emperor and his grandson fall out anew.

And come to an open rupture.

[c] Greg. & Cantacuz. l. i. c. 1—23.

great haſte to *Conſtantinople*. Upon his retreat, *Synadenus* reduced ſeveral places in *Thrace*, and threatened with a ſiege the imperial city itſelf; which ſo alarmed the emperor, that he releaſed *Xene*, and ſent her to her ſon, then encamped at *Rhegium*, with propoſals for an accommodation; which were readily embraced by the prince, the emperor promiſing to take him for his collegue in the empire, and to cauſe him to be ſolemnly crowned, with his wife *Ann* of *Savoy*, whom he had lately married upon the death of *Irene* his firſt wife. The ceremony was accordingly performed in the church of St. *Sophia* with the utmoſt magnificence; but the prince, prompted by his ambition, and impatient of a collegue, reſolved ſoon after to remove his aged grandfather, that he might reign without controul. With this view he entered into an alliance with *Michael* prince of *Bulgaria*, his brother-in-law, who was to make a diverſion in *Servia*, if the prince of that country ſhould move, as it was ſuſpected he would do, to the aſſiſtance of the emperor. After this, the prince, withdrawing privately from *Conſtantinople*, ſeized on the public revenue in *Thrace*; of which the emperor receiving intelligence, refuſed to admit him on his return into the imperial city, ordering at the ſame time his lieutenants in *Macedon* and the neighbouring provinces to act againſt him, as a public enemy. The prince, in the mean time, by pretending a great readineſs to comply in any thing reaſonable with the emperor, gained the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that they could ſcarce be reſtrained in *Conſtantinople* itſelf, from openly declaring in his favour. Hereupon the emperor, to eſtrange from him the minds of the multitude, having ſummoned the patriarch and the chief of the clergy, ordered them to declare him unworthy of the empire, and exclude him from the communion of the faithful. To this moſt of them conſented, and agreed that his name ſhould be omitted in the public prayers of the church; but the patriarch and ſome others, who privately favoured him, ſummoning the people together, pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt ſuch as ſhould preſume to omit the name of the young prince in their public prayers; which provoked the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the patriarch to be depoſed, and confined him to the monaſtery of *Mangana*. The prince, who was then at *Rhegium*, being informed of what had paſſed in the metropolis, approached it with thirteen hundred choſen men, and leaving his army at ſome diſtance, rode up, with *Cantacuzenus* and a guard of thirty ſoldiers, to one of the gates, deſiring to be admitted, and allowed to confer with his grandfather. The emperor, acquainted with his demand by *Phocas Maroles*, who commanded the guards on the walls, ſent him by the ſame officer orders to retire forthwith, without attempting to debauch his ſubjects, on pain of being treated as a public enemy; nay, ſome reviled him from the walls with moſt bitter language: upon which the young prince, after having ſolemnly declared, that he deſired nothing ſo much as to be reconciled to his grandfather, whom he charged with all the calamities that were to follow, retired to *Selybria*, and from thence into *Macedon*, where he took, almoſt without oppoſition, ſeveral caſtles and ſtrong-holds; and then marched to *Theſſalonica*, being invited thither by his friends, who, at his approach, opened the gates to him, and joined him in reducing the citadel, which made a vigorous reſiſtance, but was in the end obliged to ſubmit, the prince having ſurpriſed and cut off a body of three hundred choſen men, ſent by the emperor to reinforce the gariſon. The emperor, alarmed at the progreſs of his grandſon's arms, applied to the king of *Bulgaria* for aſſiſtance, who immediately diſpatched a conſiderable body of forces to his relief; but the prince, having in the mean time defeated the emperor's army on the banks of the *Melanes*, advanced with long marches to *Conſtantinople*. However, three thouſand *Bulgarian* horſe reached the imperial city before him, to the great joy of the emperor, who nevertheleſs, diſtruſting foreign troops, from whom the empire had already ſuffered unſpeakable calamities, admitted only their commander in chief and a ſmall number of officers into the city, aſſigning to the reſt quarters in the ſuburbs. As this gave the prince, who arrived ſoon after, an opportunity of conferring with them, he, by rich preſents to their generals, prevailed upon them to return to their own country. The *Bulgarians* being thus removed, the prince prepared for the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*; but in the mean time, two of the ſoldiers, who were appointed to guard the walls, coming to the prince in the dead of the night, offered to betray the city into his hands; and accordingly, being encouraged by him with the promiſe of a reward anſwerable to that important ſervice, they returned into the city undiſcovered; and the following night, while the reſt of the guard were intoxicated with wine, with which they had ſupplied them in great

The peace renewed.

They diſagree again.

The prince ſeizes on ſeveral places in Macedon.

a b c d e f

great plenty, they drew up by ladders of ropes about eighteen men, who, breaking
a open that which was called the *Roman* gate, opened an entrance for the young prince and his whole army. When day appeared, the inhabitants were so far from making any opposition, that, on the contrary, with loud acclamations they saluted young *Andronicus* emperor. *Gregora*, tho' greatly biassed in favour of the old emperor, and not a little prejudiced against young *Andronicus*, tells us, that the prince, ascribeing the success that had attended his arms ever since the beginning of the war to Heaven, upon his entering the city, issued orders, forbidding on pain of death any of his officers or soldiers to offer the least affront or injury to the emperor his grandfather. The same writer adds, that he went immediately to wait on the emperor in
b person, and was so affected with the speech, which the unfortunate prince made him, that falling at his feet, he tenderly embraced, and, with words full of duty and respect, endeavoured to comfort the emperor in his greatest distress. After this, he returned solemn thanks to Heaven, for having thus put an end to the war almost without bloodshed; and then, repairing to the monastery of *Mangana*, he reconducted the patriarch in a kind of triumph to the church, and restored him to his former dignity [d]. Young *Andronicus*, now master of the imperial city, and universally acknowledged and obeyed as emperor, suffered his grandfather to continue in the palace, and wear the ensigns of majesty; but would not allow him the least share in the administration, which he took intirely into his own hands, governing
c with an absolute sway, without so much as consulting the aged emperor in what related to public affairs. He allowed him yearly twenty-four thousand pieces of gold for his maintenance, and the imperial palace for his habitation, while he himself resided in that of the despot *Demetrius*. He granted a general pardon to all those who had adhered to his grandfather, and even preferred some of his chief favourites to the first employments in the state [e].

The city of Constantinople *betrayed to him.*

His conduct towards the old emperor.

Who is deprived of all power.

Andronicus III.

In the very beginning of his reign, the king of *Bulgaria*, entering *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army, consisting partly of *Bulgarians*, and partly of *Scythians*, plundered several cities, and laid waste the whole country. *Andronicus*, having with incredible expedition drawn together a considerable army, appeared unexpect-
d edly at *Byzium*, in the neighbourhood of which city the king of *Bulgaria* lay encamped. His sudden arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that the following night they decamped, and fled back into their own country, leaving behind them great part of the booty. *Andronicus* pursued them, and carrying the war into *Bulgaria*, ravaged the country far and near, destroying all with fire and sword, till the king, not daring to venture an engagement, tho' at the head of a very powerful and numerous army, sent embassadors to sue for a peace; which, after several conferences, was concluded upon terms highly honourable to *Andronicus*. After this, the two princes had an interview on horseback, when they confirmed the treaty, and renewed their antient friendship, which they agreed to cultivate by meeting yearly in such places as should
e be most convenient for both [f]. The emperor, having nothing to fear from that quarter, turned his arms against the *Turks*, who, taking the advantage of domestic quarrels among the *Greek* princes, had greatly inlarged their dominions in *Asia*. *Othoman*, whom we may justly style the founder of the *Turkish* empire, being lately dead, the emperor laid hold of that opportunity to recover several places, which that warlike prince had reduced, and among the rest the famous city of *Nice*, with a strong castle on the *Sangarius*, which commanded the passes leading into *Bithynia*. This castle, however, was soon after retaken by *Urchan* or *Orchanes*, son and successor of *Othoman*, who, having happily settled his affairs at home, raised a formidable army, and entering *Bithynia* as soon as the emperor had left that country, made himself master of several
f places there, and at last sat down before *Nice*. The emperor, who was then at *Constantinople*, leaving the imperial city, hastened back into *Asia*; and advancing as far as *Philocrene*, encamped there at a small distance from the *Turks*; who, after having harassed his men with frequent skirmishes, and sudden onsets, fell upon him at length with their whole army. Hereupon a battle ensued, in which both sides behaved with great bravery and resolution; but in the end the emperor being wounded in the foot with an arrow and obliged to withdraw, his troops, no longer animated with his example, retired in the utmost confusion to their camp. As the emperor had removed to *Philocrene*,

His wars with the Bulgarians.

He recovers Nice *and other places from the* Turks;

By whom he is in the end defeated.

[d] Gregor. l. iv. Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 50——59. Onupn. & Geneb. in chron. [e] Cantacuzen. l. ii. c. 1. [f] Idem, l. ii. c. 2, 3.

crene, to have his wound dreſſed there, a report was ſpread in the camp, that he was killed; which ſo diſheartened his men, that they betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, leaving their camp, arms, and baggage, to the enemy, who, after having purſued them for ſome time with great ſlaughter, ſeized on the rich booty which they had left, and amongſt other things, on all the emperor's plate and furniture. *Andronicus*, quite deſpirited at this misfortune, returned to *Conſtantinople*, while the *Turks*, having now no enemy to controul them, made themſelves maſters of all the maritime towns in *Bithynia*, and in the end of *Nice* itſelf, by the following ſtratagem: *Andronicus*, in leaving *Aſia*, had promiſed to reinforce the garriſon of *Nice* with a thouſand horſe. *Orchanes*, being informed of this, armed the like number of his own men after the *Roman* manner, and marching with them in perſon through by-ways into the road leading from *Conſtantinople*, diſpatched three hundred more, armed like *Turks*, to ravage the country within view of the city. As he approached the place, he pretended all on a ſudden to have diſcovered the enemy; and leading his men againſt the foragers, put them to flight, and recovered the booty. As this was done in the ſight of the citizens, who from the walls beheld the whole, the pretended *Romans* were received with great joy by the inhabitants; but the gates were no ſooner opened, than they fell ſword in hand upon the guard, and being joined by the three hundred, who were returned from their pretended flight, they cut the gariſon in pieces, and made themſelves maſters of the city. After this, *Orchanes*, leading his men to the ſea-ſide, laid ſiege to *Abydus*; which was betrayed to him by the governor's daughter, while his two ſons, *Soliman* and *Amurath*, reduced ſeveral other important places in *Aſia*, and among the reſt the ancient city of *Nicomedia*. As the emperor was at this time ſeized with a dangerous malady, in which his life was deſpaired of, the court was in too great a confuſion to think of the proper meaſures for putting a ſtop to the conqueſts of the *Turks* in *Aſia*. Such as had been inſtrumental in the late revolution could not reflect, without dread and horror, on the condition to which they muſt inevitably be reduced, if the young emperor ſhould die, and his grandfather be reſtored to his power and authority. This conſideration prompted *Cantacuzenus* and ſome others, if *Gregoras* is to be credited, to reſolve on the old emperor's death; but this reſolution being generally diſapproved, they all agreed at laſt to confine him to a monaſtery, and force him to take the monaſtic habit, and exchange the name of *Andronicus* for that of *Antony*; which was done accordingly. Thus *Gregoras* [g]. But *Cantacuzenus* tells us, that the old emperor, apprehending a more ſevere uſage from his enemies, if his grandſon ſhould die, retired to a monaſtery of his own accord, and, taking the monaſtic habit, continued there unmoleſted to his death, which happened two years after, that is, in 1332. he being then in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age [h]. Young *Andronicus* intended, during his malady, to reſtore the crown to his grandfather; but, upon his recovery, he ſuffered him to continue in the monaſtery, retaining the whole power to himſelf. In the mean time, the *Turks* purſued their conqueſts in *Aſia*, and threatened *Europe* itſelf with an invaſion. As the emperor was no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful and formidable an enemy, he was perſuaded by *Cantacuzenus* to conclude a diſhonourable peace with them, in virtue of which they were to hold all the places and countries they had conquered in *Aſia*, and ſuffer the *Romans* peaceably to enjoy what they had not yet wreſted from them. Not long after the inhabitants of *Theſſaly* revolting, the emperor marched againſt them in perſon; but while he was employed in reducing them, the *Turks*, who obſerved the peace no longer than it ſuited their intereſt, paſſed over into *Europe*; and having ravaged the ſea-coaſt, repaſſed the ſtraits with an immenſe booty, and a great number of captives. *Andronicus* died ſoon after, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the thirteenth of his reign, reckoning from the time he depoſed his grandfather, and 1341. of the chriſtian æra. *Cantacuzenus*, in the hiſtory he has left us, endeavours to juſtify his conduct towards his grandfather. Tho' the old emperor deſigned, as that writer pretends, to have excluded him from the ſucceſſion, it was no more than the debauched life he then led well deſerved. *Gregoras*, on the other hand, lays the whole blame on young *Andronicus*, and will not allow that the old emperor gave his grandſon the leaſt provocation. All the diſorders in the ſtate were owing, according to him, to the unbounded ambition of the youth, and the evil counſels of *Cantacuzenus* and his other favourites. But, after all, we cannot help concluding, that if the

The Turks *recover* Nice,

And take Abydus *and* Nicomedia.

Andronicus *the elder confined to a monaſtery, where he dies.*

Andronicus *the younger dies.*

[g] Greg. l. x. c. 10. [h] Cantacuz. l. ii. c. 28.

a the grandfather was to blame, the grandſon was altogether inexcuſeable. *Andronicus* the younger left two ſons, *John* and *Manuel*, of whom the eldeſt was, upon his father's death, declared emperor; but as he was then only nine years old, *John Cantacuzenus* was appointed his guardian, and protector of the empire, during his minority. *Cantacuzenus* governed with great equity and moderation, took particular care of the education of the young prince and his brother, provided, as far as the weak condition of the empire would allow him, for the ſecurity of the provinces; and in ſhort, omitted nothing that could be expected from a faithful, zealous, and diſintereſted miniſter. But as he had been declared guardian to the young prince againſt the will and approbation of *John* the patriarch, who thought that office belonged to him, and b claimed a ſhare in the adminiſtration, the ambitious prelate did all that lay in his power to render him ſuſpected to the empreſs *Anne*, repreſenting him as one who had nothing leſs in view than the imperial dignity. As the patriarch was in great credit with the empreſs, *Cantacuzenus*, apprehending he might in the end gain the aſcendant over her to his utter ruin, was for reſigning his charge, and earneſtly preſſed the empreſs for leave to retire; but ſhe refuſing to comply with his requeſt, and aſſuring him, that ſhe was fully convinced of his integrity, and conſequently determined to ſhut her ears againſt the unjuſt calumnies and malicious informations of his enemies, he was prevailed upon to continue in the adminiſtration. However, the patriarch, and his faction at court, which was very powerful, by continually alarming the c princeſs with the dangers ſhe was to apprehend from the protector, and miſconſtruing all his actions, prevailed upon her at length to take ſuch meaſures, as involved the empire in a civil war; for, giving intire credit to the malicious inſinuations of the patriarch, who conjured her with tears in his eyes to provide for her own ſafety and that of her children, againſt the wicked deſigns of the protector, ſhe began to look upon him as an enemy to herſelf and her family; and having cauſed ſome of his friends and relations to be apprehended, while he was abſent at *Didymothicum*, ſhe ſent him orders to reſign his office forthwith, and retire to a private life; which he refuſing to do, till he had an opportunity of juſtifying his conduct, and convincing the world of his innocency, the empreſs, at the inſtigation of the patriarch, declared him a public d enemy and traitor. *Cantacuzenus*, now appriſed, that his enemies aimed at nothing leſs than his utter deſtruction, thought it high time to provide for his own ſafety. Being then at the head of a powerful army, which he had raiſed to oppoſe the *Servians*, who, upon the emperor's death, had broken into the empire, and having with him ſeveral perſons of the greateſt authority in the empire, who all adviſed him to aſſume the purple, as the only means of defeating the deſigns of his enemies, he hearkened to their advice, and ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at *Didymothicum* in 1342. the ſecond year of his adminiſtration. When news of his revolt was brought to *Conſtantinople*, his mother and the reſt of his friends and relations in the city were immediately apprehended, and thrown into priſon, his eſtate was confiſ- e cated, and troops levied to ſuppreſs the rebellion in its birth. Thus *Cantacuzenus* himſelf in his hiſtory [1]; and with him moſt other hiſtorians agree, laying the whole blame on the patriarch and his faction, who, in a manner, forced the perſecuted miniſter to take arms in his own defence. Having thus aſſumed the purple, he acquainted the nobility and ſoldiery in a long ſpeech with the motives that had prompted him to take that ſtep, which, he ſaid, the malice of his enemies had rendered neceſſary. He then gave leave to all thoſe, whoſe friends and relations were at *Conſtantinople*, to depart, leſt, by continuing with him, they ſhould occaſion the ruin of their innocent friends. The reſt of the army declaring themſelves ready to ſtand by him to the laſt, he advanced to *Adrianople*, the inhabitants of which city had f ſeized on all thoſe whom they ſuſpected to favour him, and ſent them in chains to *Conſtantinople*. On his march he was informed, that a numerous body of *Bulgarians* were advancing to join the imperial troops, and fall upon him with their united forces. This obliged him to lay aſide the deſign he had formed againſt *Adrianople*, and retire to the ſea-ſide, that he might with more eaſe receive ſupplies from the *Turks* in *Aſia*, with whom he had entered into an alliance, upon his firſt aſſuming the imperial dignity. Tho' they offered him large ſupplies, yet he did not think fit to accept them, till he had tried all poſſible means of bringing about an accommodation. With this view he wrote to the patriarch, exhorting him to peace and concord; but the meſſenger who brought

John Palæologus.

The patriarch an enemy to Cantacuzenus, *the young prince's guardian.*

Cantacuzenus *declared a public enemy.*

He aſſumes the purple.

[1] Cantacuz. l. ii. c. 1—27.

brought the letters was seized, and thrown into prison, *Cantacuzenus* was declared anew a public enemy, and such of his relations, as had not the good luck to make their escape, were treated with the utmost cruelty. His mother was delivered up to *Apocaucus*, his most inveterate enemy, who treated her with the utmost barbarity, telling her sometimes, that her son was taken prisoner; at others, that he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to *Constantinople*. Her concern and the cruel usage she met with, having thrown her into a violent fever, *Apocaucus* would suffer no physician to attend her, till the empress, hearing the danger she was in, and pitying her condition, recommended her to her own physicians, who nevertheless were not admitted by the patriarch and *Apocaucus* to visit her, till they had solemnly sworn not to administer any remedy to her that might relieve her. Being thus destitute of all help, and daily insulted by her enemies, she died soon after, to the great grief of the empress, who, being informed of the unspeakable miseries she had undergone, and on that account highly provoked against the patriarch and *Apocaucus*, obliged them to send deputies to *Cantacuzenus* with overtures for an accommodation; but the deputies, who were their creatures, returning, told the empress, that *Cantacuzenus* would hearken to no terms; that he was obstinately bent upon war, and determined not to lay down his arms, till he had accomplished the ruin of her two sons and the whole imperial family. A war being therefore resolved on, *Andronicus* and *Thomas Palæologi* were appointed to command the land-forces, which were to march into *Thrace*, of which country most cities had declared for *Cantacuzenus*. At the same time a fleet, consisting of sixty galleys, was equipped, to prevent the *Turks* from supplying the enemy with men or provisions. Of this fleet *Apocaucus* took upon himself the command; and having driven back the *Turks*, attempting to cross the straits and succour their ally, reduced *Cantacuzenus*, who was at the same time warmly pressed by the land-forces under the conduct of the two above-mentioned *Palæologoli*, to such straits, that he was forced to quit *Thrace*, and take refuge in the dominions of *Crales*, prince of *Mœsia*, who received him with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and affection, and sent him back at the head of a powerful army, with which he gained several considerable advantages over the emperor's forces, and made himself master of the greater part of *Thrace*. Hereupon his enemies, finding they could not suppress him by force, had recourse to treachery, and, with mighty promises, prevailed upon one *Monomachus* to try whether he could dispatch him with poison. Accordingly *Monomachus*, repairing to his camp at *Selybria*, the better to compass his wicked purpose, owned the errand on which he was come; but pretending to be touched with remorse, he fell down at his feet, and delivered to him the poison, which he was to have administered. *Cantacuzenus* received him in a most obliging manner, loaded him with presents, and taking him into his favour, reposed so great a trust in him, that the traitor would have soon found an opportunity of putting his design in execution, without incurring the least suspicion, had not *Cantacuzenus* been privately warned by his friends at *Constantinople* to be upon his guard. In the mean time, *Cantacuzenus*, having made himself master of all *Macedon* and *Thrace*, approached the imperial city, with a design to reduce it, either by force or famine; but he had not been long before it, when several citizens, apprehending the calamities attending a long siege, resolved to prevent them, by admitting him privately into the city. Accordingly, having first acquainted him with their design, they fell in the night upon the guards, and making themselves masters of one of the gates, admitted him and the whole army, saluting him, as he entered, with the title of emperor. They were joined by the generality of the people, who, flocking from all quarters of the city, attended him with loud shouts to the forum. As for the empress, she continued in the palace, which she seemed determined to defend to the last extremity, having a considerable body of troops at her devotion; but the young emperor earnestly intreating her not to expose both herself and him to the fury of the incensed multitude, she was in the end prevailed upon to hearken to an accommodation; which was happily brought about upon the following terms; *viz.* that *Cantacuzenus* should be declared collegue to the young prince, and have the sole administration of affairs for the space of ten years, *Palæologus* being then but fifteen; that afterwards they should both reign with equal power and authority; and that an act of oblivion should pass on both sides. This agreement being signed and sworn to by *Cantacuzenus*, *Palæologus*, and the empress *Ann*, on the eighth of *February* 1347. the new emperor was received the same day into the palace, and soon after crowned with the

His offers for a peace rejected.

His mother used with great cruelty.

He is received into Constantinople.

And crowned emperor.

the uſual ſolemnity by *Iſidore*, the new patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. *John* his predeceſſor being depoſed, and ſent into baniſhment. That the union between the two princes might be better ſettled and more laſting, *Cantacuzenus* gave his daughter *Helena* in marriage to young *Palæologus*, and cauſed her to be likewiſe crowned, and acknowledged empreſs by the nobility and people [k]. As *Cantacuzenus* had been powerfully aſſiſted by *Orchanes* the *Turkiſh* ſultan, who had even married his daughter, he could not help entertaining a friendly correſpondence with that prince; which gave great offence to the clergy and ſome zealous chriſtians, who, by exclaiming againſt ſo ſtrict an alliance and intimacy between a chriſtian and a *Mohammedan* prince, eſtranged by degrees the minds of the multitude from *Cantacuzenus*; which proved very prejudicial to his affairs. However, he governed the empire for the ſpace of ten years with ſuch equity and moderation, that even his moſt inveterate enemies could lay nothing to his charge. In the ſixth year of his adminiſtration, the *Genoeſe* of *Galata*, who were become very powerful, provoked at the emperor's refuſing them leave to inlarge their city, ſet fire to ſeveral buildings in the ſuburbs of *Conſtantinople*, ſeized on all the emperor's ſhips then riding in the harbour, and made open war on the empire, in which they gained ſeveral advantages at ſea, and made themſelves maſters of ſome iſlands in the *Archipelago*, which the emperor was obliged to yield to them. When *Palæologus* came to govern jointly with him, *Crales* king of the *Servians*, highly provoked againſt *Cantacuzenus*, for having obliged him to reſtore ſome cities, which he had ſeized during the late troubles, gained over with rich preſents ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who, by inſinuating to the young emperor, that *Cantacuzenus* deſigned to confine him to a monaſtery, to uſurp the whole power, and tranſmit the ſovereignty to his poſterity, raiſed a diffidence between the two princes, which ſoon after broke out into an open war, *Palæologus* being on one hand aſſiſted by *Crales* king of *Servia* and *Alexander* prince of *Bulgaria*; and *Cantacuzenus* on the other by *Orchanes* the *Turkiſh* ſultan. In a battle which was fought in *Thrace*, the young emperor's army was utterly defeated, and he himſelf obliged to take refuge in *Conſtantinople*, all the other cities in *Thrace* having opened their gates to the conqueror. However, not long after, a peace was concluded between the two princes; which was no ſooner ſigned, than *Cantacuzenus*, diveſting himſelf, by a voluntary reſignation, of all his power, retired to the monaſtery of *Mangana*, and there took the monaſtic habit. But his ſon *Matthew*, whom he had ſome time before declared emperor, purſued the war, and ſeized on ſeveral cities in *Thrace*, and among the reſt on *Adrianople*. Againſt him *Palæologus* marched in perſon; and having utterly defeated his army, tho' reinforced before the battle with five thouſand *Turks* ſent by *Orchanes*, obliged him to quit the field, and take refuge in one of his ſtrong-holds; whence while he was making his eſcape at the approach of the emperor's army, he was ſeized by one *Boienas*, and delivered up to *Palæologus*, who, upon his renouncing all claim to the empire, reſtored him to his liberty [l].

His governs with great equity and moderation.

A war breaks out between the two princes.

Cantacuzenus *reſigns, and takes the monaſtic habit.*

During theſe civil commotions, the *Turks*, under the conduct of *Solyman*, the ſon, or, as others will have it, the brother of *Orchanes*, paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and having ſeized on a ſtrong caſtle called *Coiridocuſtron*, marched from thence againſt *Gallipolis*, which *Solyman* took, after having defeated the governor of the place, who came out with the gariſon to offer him battle. Thus the *Turks*, after having reduced all *Aſia*, firſt ſettled in *Europe*, where they have continued ever ſince. This happened in the year 1357. *Orchanes* dying ſoon after, *Amurath* his ſon and ſucceſſor purſued the conqueſts, which *Solyman* had begun; and having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds in *Thrace*, laid ſiege at length to *Adrianople*, which was forced to ſubmit, the emperor not being in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy. *Amurath*, having in a ſhort time maſtered all *Thrace*, made *Adrianople* the ſeat of his empire in *Europe*, as the moſt proper place for the inlarging his dominions, and extending his conqueſts to *Greece* and the neighbouring provinces. In the mean time, *Andronicus*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, having conſpired againſt his father, was by his orders deprived of his ſight, and kept under cloſe confinement. *Ducas* the hiſtorian tells us, that *Andronicus* and *Cuntuzes*, *Amurath*'s youngeſt ſon, having contracted an intimate friendſhip, conſpired the death of their fathers, binding themſelves by mutual oaths to live in amity and friendſhip, when the one ſhould be emperor, and the other ſultan. The ſame writer adds, that the conſpiracy being diſcovered to *Amurath*,

The Turks *firſt ſettled in* Europe.

They take Adrianople.

[k] Cantacuzen. l. iii. c. 90——100. & l. iv. c. 1, 2.

[l] Idem, c. 32——49.

Amurath, he ordered his own ſon's eyes to be pulled out, and required the emperor to a
inflict the ſame puniſhment on his ſon, threatening him with a war, if he refuſed to
comply. The emperor, dreading the power of the ſultan, cauſed the eyes both of
his ſon and grandſon, who was yet an infant, to be pulled out, declaring at the ſame
time his ſecond ſon *Manuel* his collegue in the empire. *Andronicus*, however, after
two years confinement, made his eſcape, being favoured therein by the *Genoeſe* of
Galata, with whoſe aſſiſtance he made war upon his father; and being admitted into
Conſtantinople, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; and having got his
The emperor driven from the throne by his ſon, and reſtored. father and two brothers, *Manuel* and *Theodorus*, into his power, he confined them to
the ſame priſon in which he had been detained; but they having likewiſe, after two b
years, made their eſcape, *Andronicus*, dreading the calamities of a civil war, while
the *Turks* were ready to fall upon the few countries that were ſtill left to the empire,
reſtored his father and brother to the throne, who thereupon gave him *Selymbria*, and
ſeveral other places in that neighbourhood [m]. In the mean time *Amurath*, the *Turkiſh*
ſultan being treacherouſly ſlain, his ſon *Bajazet* ſucceeded him in his dominions; and
purſuing the conqueſts which had been ſo ſucceſsfully carried on by his predeceſſors in
Bajazet's *conqueſts in* Europe. *Europe*, made himſelf maſter of *Theſſaly*, *Macedon*, *Phocis*, *Peloponneſus*, *Myſia*, and
Bulgaria, driving out the deſpots, or petty princes, who held thoſe countries. Elated
with his frequent victories, he began to look upon the *Greek* emperor, to whom
nothing was now left but *Conſtantinople* and the neighbouring country, as his vaſſal, c
and accordingly ſent him an arrogant and haughty meſſage, requiring, or rather
commanding, him to pay him a yearly tribute, and ſend him his ſon *Manuel* to attend
him in his military expeditions. With this diſhonourable demand the emperor was
obliged to comply, being no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful and formi-
John Palæologus *dies.* dable an enemy. The unhappy prince died ſoon after, that is, in 1392. the thirty-
ſeventh of his reign, leaving no ſon behind him but *Manuel*, the other two, *Andro-*
Manuel. *nicus* and *Theodore*, being dead ſome time before. *Manuel*, who was then in *Bajazet*'s
court, hearing of his father's death, haſtened to *Conſtantinople*, without taking his
leave of the ſultan, or acquainting him with the motives of his ſudden departure;
which *Bajazet* highly reſenting, puniſhed the officers who had ſuffered him to eſcape
with the utmoſt ſeverity; and paſſing with great expedition out of *Bithynia*, where d
he then was, into *Thrace*, deſtroyed with fire and ſword the country adjoining to
Bajazet *beſieges* Conſtantinople. *Conſtantinople*, and, after having reduced the neighbouring towns, inveſted the impe-
rial city itſelf both by ſea and land. In this extremity *Manuel* had recourſe to the
weſtern princes, who having raiſed an army 130,000 ſtrong, ſent it to his relief, under
the conduct of *Sigiſmund* king of *Hungary* and *John* count of *Nevers*. The weſtern
troops were at firſt attended with good ſucceſs; for entering the countries lately ſub-
dued by the ſultan, they recovered *Widin*, and ſeveral other places of great import-
ance in *Bulgaria*, and inveſted *Nicopolis*. Hereupon *Bajazet*, raiſing the ſiege of
Conſtantinople, marched, with all the forces he could aſſemble, to relieve the place. c
Upon his approach, *Sigiſmund*, leaving part of the army to purſue the ſiege, marched
with the reſt to meet the enemy. Hereupon an engagement enſued, in which great
numbers fell on both ſides, and the victory continued long doubtful. At length, the
French cavalry having diſmounted to fight on foot, the reſt of the army obſerving
the horſes without their riders, and concluding from thence they were all cut in pieces,
began to give ground, and retire to their camp. This gave new courage and vigor
to the enemy, who making an utmoſt effort, and charging the chriſtians in their
retreat with incredible fury, broke their ranks, and obliged them to fly in great con-
Defeats an army of 130,000 *chriſtians.* fuſion. The *Turks* purſued them to their camp, which they took with all their
baggage, and an incredible number of priſoners, among whom was the count of
Nevers, and three hundred officers of diſtinction, who were all, except the count
himſelf and five more, put to death in *Bajazet*'s preſence, after having been inſulted
by him in a moſt outrageous manner. As for *Sigiſmund*, he had the good luck to
make his eſcape, and croſſing the *Danube* in a ſmall boat, to get ſafe to his own domi-
nions. This memorable battle, in which 20,000 chriſtians were ſlain, and a far
greater number taken priſoners, was fought in the ſecond year of *Manuel*'s reign, and
1393. of the chriſtian æra [n]. After this victory, *Bajazet* returned to the ſiege of *Con-*
ſtantinople; but finding the citizens determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extre-
mity, he applied to *John* the ſon of *Andronicus*, to whom, as we have obſerved above,
the

[m] Ducas. c. 12. [n] Idem, c. 14.

a the emperor had yielded the town of *Selymbria*. With him he entered into a private agreement, in virtue of which *Bajazet* was to place him upon the throne, to which he had a juſt claim, as being the ſon of *Manuel*'s elder brother. On the other hand, *John* was to yield the city of *Conſtantinople* to *Bajazet*, and remove the imperial ſeat to *Peloponneſus*, which the ſultan promiſed to relinquiſh to him and his poſterity. This agreement being privately ſigned and ſworn to by both parties, *Bajazet* diſpatched deputies to the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, offering to withdraw his army, and abſtain from all hoſtilities, provided they would drive out *Manuel*, and place his nephew *John* on the throne, to which he had an unqueſtionable right. This politic propoſal rent the whole city into two factions, ſome favouring *Manuel*, and others declaring for his nephew. Of this the emperor being appriſed, and apprehenſive of
b the evils attending a civil diſcord at ſo critical a conjuncture, he acquainted his nephew, then in the *Turkiſh* camp, that, to deliver his ſubjects from the calamities under which they groaned, he was ready to reſign the ſovereignty to him, on condition he was allowed to depart with his wife and children, and to convey himſelf by ſea to whatever place he ſhould think fit. With this condition *John* readily complied, and *Manuel*, having received him into the city, and conducted him to the palace, embarqued on board a galley, and ſet ſail for *Venice*, where he landed, and from thence went to the ſeveral courts of the chriſtian princes, to ſollicit aid againſt the overgrown power of the *Turks*, now become formidable to all *Europe*. He was everywhere received with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem, and promiſed large ſup-
c plies, all *Chriſtendom* being alarmed at the late conqueſt of the infidels. In the mean time, *John* being crowned with the uſual ſolemnity, *Bajazet* took care to put him in mind of their agreement, and preſs him to a ſpeedy execution of the main article, which was to yield *Conſtantinople* to him, and retire to *Peloponneſus* or *Morea*; but the citizens refuſing, notwithſtanding the unſpeakable hardſhips they ſuffered, to comply with ſuch a ſcandalous treaty, *Bajazet* renewed the ſiege, and aſſaulted the city with more fury than ever. When he had already reduced it to the utmoſt extremity, news was brought him, that *Tamerlane*, the victorious *Tartar*, after having ſubdued *Perſia* and the more eaſterly provinces, had turned his arms againſt him,
d and was preparing, with a numerous and formidable army, to break into *Syria*. Hereupon, alarmed at the danger that threatened him, he in great haſte raiſed the ſiege, and paſſing the *Helleſpont*, marched with the utmoſt expedition to *Pruſa*, which he had appointed the place of the general rendezvous, both for his eaſtern and weſtern forces. From *Pruſa* he advanced, at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army, to meet *Tamerlane*, who gave him a total overthrow in the plains of *Angoria* in *Galatia*, on the twenty-eighth of *July* 1401. cut moſt of his men in pieces; and having taken the ſultan himſelf priſoner, to puniſh his exceſſive pride, cruelty, and arrogance, ſhut him up in an iron cage, againſt which he is ſaid to have daſhed out his brains the year following, tho' ſome aſcribe his death to poiſon [o], as we ſhall relate more at length elſewhere. *Manuel* was no ſooner informed of the overthrow
e and captivity of his inveterate enemy *Bajazet*, than he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with loud acclamations by the people, who being highly provoked againſt *John* for his ſervile compliance with the *Turks*, drove him from the throne, and reſtored *Manuel*, by whom he was baniſhed to to the iſland of *Leſbos*. This great overthrow of the *Turks* had like to have occaſioned the total diſſolution of their empire, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*; for the five ſons of *Bajazet*, taking arms againſt each other, a civil war was kindled, and continued with great fury for ten years together. *Iſa-Zelebis*, *Bajazet*'s third ſon, upon his father's death, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed ſultan; but was ſoon driven from the throne by his brother *Solyman*, as
f was *Solyman* by his brother *Muſa*. At length *Mohammed*, *Bajazet*'s youngeſt ſon, having overcome all his competitors, was univerſally acknowledged ſultan, and the ſole monarch of the *Turks*. The emperor *Manuel* in the mean time, taking advantage of theſe inteſtine diviſions, and ſiding ſometimes with one of the competitors, and ſometimes with another, recovered ſeveral provinces, which *Mohammed*, whom he had aſſiſted againſt his brother *Muſa*, ſuffered him peaceably to enjoy till his death, which happened in 1424. the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and thirty-ſeventh of his reign [p]. Some authors write, that he reſigned the empire to his ſon *John Palæologus* five years before his death, and retiring to a monaſtery, took the monaſtic habit, with

Manuel *reſigns the empire to his nephew* John.

Conſtantinople *beſieged by* Bajazet;

Who is overcome and taken priſoner by Tamerlane.

Manuel *reſtored.*

Manuel *dies.*

[o] Ducas, c. 14. [p] Idem, c. 28.

John Palæologus.

with the name of *Antony*. Be that as it will, he was ſucceeded by his ſon *John*, in whoſe reign *Amurath* II. the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Mohammed*, recovered all the provinces which had been ſeized after the death of *Bajazet* by the emperor and the other chriſtian princes. In the beginning of his reign he laid ſiege to *Conſtantinople*, being provoked againſt the emperor for eſpouſing the cauſe of an impoſtor, who, pretending to be *Muſtapha* the ſon of *Bajazet*, was acknowledged for ſultan in all the provinces of the *Turkiſh* empire in *Europe*. The citizens defended themſelves with great bravery; but, being haraſſed with continual aſſaults, muſt have in the end ſubmitted, had not the emperor prevailed upon the prince of *Caramania* to countenance another *Muſtapha*, *Amurath*'s younger brother, who, having revolted in *Aſia*, was, with the ſupplies ſent him by his new ally, enabled to lay ſiege to the city of *Nice*, which he ſoon reduced. This obliged *Amurath* to raiſe the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*, and march with all his forces againſt the uſurper, who was betrayed and delivered up to him by one *Ilras*, in whom he repoſed great confidence. *Amurath*, having got him into his power, cauſed him to be immediately ſtrangled with a bow-ſtring; and then turning his arms againſt the prince of *Caramania*, obliged him to ſue for peace; which the ſultan granted him upon what terms he thought proper to preſcribe. Having now no other enemies to contend with, he entered *Macedon* at the head of a powerful army, and having ravaged the country far and near, laid ſiege to *Theſſalonica*, which he took, and plundered with the utmoſt cruelty, as he did moſt of the cities of *Ætolia*, *Phocis*, and *Bœotia*. From *Greece* he marched into *Servia*, which country he ſoon reduced; and then breaking into the dominions of the king of *Hungary*, beſieged the ſtrong city of *Belgrade*, which made a vigorous defence, no fewer than fifteen thouſand *Turks* being ſlain by the chriſtains in one ſally; which obliged *Amurath* to drop the enterprize, and retire. In his retreat he was attacked by the celebrated *John Hunniades*, who cut great numbers of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſhelter themſelves under the walls of *Sinderovia*. Not long after he gained a ſtill more ſignal victory over the enemy in the plains of *Tranſilvania*, with the loſs of no more than three thouſand of his own men, whereas twenty thouſand *Turks* were killed on the ſpot, and almoſt an equal number in the purſuit. *Amurath*, who was then at *Adrianople*, ſent another army into *Tranſilvania*, far more numerous than the two former; but they were attended with no better ſucceſs, being cut off almoſt to a man by the brave *Hungarian*. He gained over the *Turks* ſeveral other no leſs remarkable victories, and recovered all *Bulgaria* and *Servia*; but was in the end overcome and put to flight by *Amurath*, in the memorable battle of *Verna*, fought in the year 1444. the chriſtians being diſheartened by the death of *Uladiſlaus* king of *Hungary*, who, while he was attacking the enemy with more courage than prudence, was by them hemmed in on all ſides, and cut in pieces. However, *Hunniades* having had the good luck to make his eſcape, and being appointed protector of the kingdom during the minority of *Ladiſlaus*, who was choſen king of *Hungary* in the room of *Uladiſlaus*, he raiſed a conſiderable army, and advancing to *Coſſova*, engaged *Amurath*, who lay encamped there. The battle laſted three days, both armies retiring to their reſpective camps when night approached, and renewing the fight early next morning. The two firſt days the chriſtians had the advantage; but the third day, being quite tired out and overpowered with numbers, *Amurath* charging them with freſh troops, they were, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, put to flight and utterly routed. In this memorable battle, which was fought in 1448. thirty four thouſand *Turks* were ſlain, and eight thouſand chriſtians, with the flower of the *Hungarian* nobility. As for *Hunniades*, he made his eſcape into *Servia*, and from thence returned into *Hungary*[q]. In the mean time, *John Palæologus*, the *Greek* emperor, fearing the victorious ſultan ſhould turn his arms againſt him, ſent embaſſadors to *Adrianople*, where *Amurath* then reſided, with orders to conclude a peace upon any terms. The ſultan received them with great arrogance, declaring he would march directly to *Conſtantinople*, unleſs the emperor yielded to him ſome ſtrong-holds, which he ſtill poſſeſſed on the *Euxine* ſea, and engaged to pay him a yearly tribute of three hundred thouſand aſpers. To theſe ſhameful terms the unhappy prince was obliged to ſubmit, in order to enjoy the poor remains of the *Roman* empire, now reduced to the imperial city and the adjoining country. However, as he did not doubt but *Amurath*, as ſoon as he had put an end to the war, in which he was then engaged with *George Caſtriot*, ſurnamed *Scanderbeg*,

Conſtantinople *beſieged by* Amurath II. *who is forced to raiſe it.*

Theſſalonica, *and ſeveral other places, taken by* Amurath.

John Hunniades's *ſucceſs againſt the* Turks.

He is in the end routed by the Turks.

The emperor ſubmits to pay a yearly tribute to the ſultan.

[q] Ducas, c. 30—32.

a *derberg*, prince of *Epirus*, would, under ſome pretence or other, attempt *Conſtantinople* itſelf, he applied to the weſtern princes; and the more effectually to engage them in his cauſe, he promiſed to do all that lay in his power to reconcile the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. Accordingly, hearing a council was to be held at *Ferrara*, he went thither in perſon, attended by *Joſeph* the patriarch, a great number of prelates, and the flower of the *Greek* nobility, who were all received at *Venice*, where they landed, and afterwards at *Ferrara*, with great pomp and magnificence. From *Ferrara* the council was removed ſoon after, by reaſon of a plague which broke out there, to *Florence*, where the union was effected between the two churches, and ſubſcribed to by the patriarch and the other prelates. The patriarch died ſoon after at *Florence*; b but the emperor and the other prelates, returning by land at the pope's charge to *Venice*, were conveyed from thence on the galleys of the republic to *Conſtantinople*. Upon his return, he found the people highly diſſatisfied with his conduct, and that of the biſhops, ſome of whom had refuſed to ſubſcribe the decrees of the council, till the money was paid down, for which they had before-hand agreed to ſign them. The diſturbances which this union raiſed in the church, the death of the empreſs *Deſpina*, and the inſupportable arrogance with which the unhappy prince was treated by the ſultan, gave him ſuch concern, that, being already broken with age, he ſunk under the weight of his calamities and misfortunes in 1448. the twenty ſeventh of his reign, leaving the empire, now confined within the walls of *Conſtantinople*, to his brother *Conſtantine*[r]. *Amurath*, the *Turkiſh* ſultan, did not long ſurvive him; but dying c in the beginning of *February* 1450. was ſucceeded by his ſon *Mohammed*, who had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, than he cauſed all his brothers to be ſtrangled, and ordered his father's lawful wife (for he is ſaid to have been the ſon of a concubine) to marry a ſlave, by name *Iſaac*. In the beginning of his reign, he entered into an alliance with *Conſtantine*, the *Greek* emperor, who, upon the firſt news of his father's death, had ſent embaſſadors to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the throne. The embaſſadors were received very graciouſly, the new ſultan declaring, that he had nothing ſo much at heart as to live in peace and amity with the emperor and the other chriſtian princes. The embaſſadors of the *Walachians*, *Leſbians*, *Bul-* d *garians*, *Rhodians*, *Servians*, &c. were likewiſe received in a moſt obliging manner; which encouraged them to celebrate with public rejoicings the acceſſion of *Mohammed* to the throne, whom they looked upon as a friend to the chriſtians, the more becauſe his mother was of that religion, being, according to the moſt credible writers, the deſpot or prince of *Servia*'s daughter. But notwithſtanding the friendſhip and regard he pretended to have for the emperor, he had no ſooner put an end to the war with *Ibrahim*, king of *Caramania*, who, upon the news of his father's death, had invaded his dominions in *Aſia*, than he begun to entertain thoughts of making himſelf maſter of *Conſtantinople*, and aboliſhing the very name of the *Roman* empire. With this view he built on the *Europe* ſide of the *Boſporus* a ſtrong caſtle, called by the *Turks* e *Genichicar*, and by the *Greeks Neocaſtrum*, oppoſite to another in *Aſia* called *Aſpocaſtron*, which he cauſed to be repaired, placing in both ſtrong gariſons. Theſe two caſtles commanded the ſtraits, and the former, being but five miles from *Conſtantinople*, proved a curb upon that city, and kept it in a manner blocked up. *Mohammed* had no ſooner begun the work, than the emperor and the citizens of *Conſtantinople*, alarmed at the undertaking, diſpatched embaſſadors to the ſultan, with orders to do all that lay in their power to divert him from it. But *Mohammed* was ſo far from granting them their requeſt, that tho' the emperor even offered to pay him an annual tribute, provided he put a ſtop to the work, he threatened, with the utmoſt arrogance, to cauſe ſuch as ſhould be ſent to him upon the like errand to be flead f alive. He added, that nothing beyond the ditches of the city belonged to *Conſtantine*, and that he had an unqueſtionable right to build in his own dominions what caſtles and forts he pleaſed. When the fort in the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople* was finiſhed, the gariſon left there by the ſultan began to ravage the country adjoining to the city, and making excurſions to the very gates, returned to their ſtrong-hold loaded with booty. This occaſioned ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between the chriſtians and *Turks*; in one of which a conſiderable number of the latter being killed, the ſultan, to revenge their death, ordered his men to fall upon the chriſtians, while they were reaping their corn in the open fields, and put them all to the ſword, which was done accord-

Union of the Greek and Latin churches.

John, *the emperor, dies.*

Conſtantine Palæologus.

Mohammed II.

He builds a fort on the Boſporus.

Which occaſions a miſunderſtanding between him and the emperor.

[r] Idem, c. 33.

accordingly. Hereupon the emperor, having cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut, ordered all the *Turks* within the walls to be arreſted, but ſet them at liberty the next day, ſending at the ſame time embaſſadors to *Mohammed*, with propoſals for concluding a laſting peace between the two crowns. As the ſultan ſeemed averſe to an accommodation, and was aſſembling his forces from all parts, *Conſtantine*, well appriſed of his deſign, in the firſt place took care to fill the public magazines, and ſupply the city with great plenty of all ſorts of proviſions; then by his embaſſadors to the weſtern princes, acquainted them with the deſigns of the ſultan, and the ſtorm that was gathering againſt the imperial city, the taking of which might prove fatal to all *Chriſtendom*. That they might the more readily aſſiſt him at ſo critical a juncture, he renewed the union of the two churches, and received with extraordinary demonſtrations of eſteem and reſpect the pope's legate, which gave great offence to the eccleſiaſtics zealouſly attached to the ceremonies of their anceſtors, and occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the prince and his people. Neither did the the emperor's zeal, in confirming the union, procure him the leaſt aſſiſtance from the *Latins* in the weſt, who, by a ſtrange infatuation, ſuffered the city, which they looked upon as the bulwark of *Chriſtendom*, to fall into the hands of the avowed enemy of the chriſtian name, who, they well knew, would not ſtop there, but extend his conqueſts to the neighbouring, and perhaps to the moſt diſtant, kingdoms. While *Conſtantine* was ſoliciting aid from the weſtern princes, *Caracia*, one of *Mohammed*'s chief commanders, reduced ſeveral places on the *Euxine* ſea, which were ſtill held by the emperor, *viz.* *Meſembria*, *Acheloum*, *Biſon*, &c. then advancing towards the city, took by aſſault a ſtrong caſtle called St. *Stephen*'s tower, and put the gariſon to the ſword. Other forts in that neighbourhood ſubmitted at the approach of the enemy; but *Selybria* held out for ſome time, the inhabitants defending the place with incredible bravery and reſolution; but being in the end tired out with repeated aſſaults, the town was taken, and they all to a man cut in pieces. All the forts, caſtles, and ſtrongholds in the neighbourhood of the imperial city being thus reduced, *Caracia* was ordered to ſcour the country during the winter, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any ſupplies of men or proviſions; by which means the city was in a manner blocked up by land. But as the *Greeks* were ſtill maſters at ſea, their galleys ravaged the coaſts of *Aſia*, and returned with an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of captives, who were ſold for ſlaves in *Conſtantinople* [s].

Conſtantine *has recourſe in vain to the chriſtian princes.*

All the forts in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople *taken by the* Turks.

In the mean time, *Mohammed*, having drawn together from all parts an army of three hundred thouſand men, left *Adrianople*; and bending his march towards the imperial city, encamped before it on the ſixth of *April* 1453. covering with his numerous forces the adjoining plains. His *Aſiatic* troops were poſted on the right towards the *Boſporus*; thoſe of *Europe* on the left towards the haven; and he himſelf, with fifteen thouſand janizaries, and other choſen troops, between both, over-againſt the gate named *Karſias*. On the other ſide of the haven, *Zoganus*, one of his chief officers, encamped with a conſiderable body of troops, in order to cut off all communication between the city and country on that ſide. At the ſame time *Pantologes*, the *Turkiſh* admiral, appeared before the haven with a fleet of near three hundred ſail; but the emperor had taken care to ſecure the haven, in which were three large ſhips, twenty ſmall ones, and a good number of galleys, by means of a chain drawn croſs the entrance from the city to *Pera*. *Mohammed* having thus aſſigned to each part of his army their ſeveral quarters, and ſurrounded the city both by ſea and land, he began the ſiege by planting batteries as near the city as he could, and raiſing mounts in ſeveral places as high as the walls themſelves; whence the beſieged were inceſſantly galled with ſhowers of arrows. He had in his camp a piece of ordnance of a prodigious ſize, which carried, according to *Ducas*, a ball of an hundred pound weight, made of hard black ſtone brought from the *Euxine* ſea. It had been caſt by an *Hungarian* engineer, who, not meeting with the encouragement he expected from the emperor, had fled over to *Mohammed*, while he was buſied in building the above-mentioned forts [t]. With this vaſt piece, the enemy made ſeveral breaches in the walls, which, however, were with great expedition repaired by the beſieged, who behaved with incredible bravery and reſolution, being encouraged by the example of the emperor, and directed by *John Juſtiniani*, a *Genoeſe* adventurer, who arriving, before the ſiege, with two large ſhips and a conſiderable number of voluntiers on board,

Conſtantinople *beſieged.*

Diſpoſition of the Turkiſh *army.*

John Juſtiniani *commander in chief of the emperor's forces.*

[s] Ducas, c. 37. [t] Idem, c. 35.

a board, had been by the emperor, on account of his extraordinary ſkill in military affairs, appointed commander in chief of all his forces; and beſides, for his farther encouragement, promiſed the ſovereignty of the iſland of *Leſbos*, provided he obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. That brave commander, animated with the hopes of ſo great a reward, performed exploits, ſays our hiſtorian, tho' no-ways biaſſed in favour of the *Latins*, worthy of the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity. Not ſatisfied with repulſing the enemy in their frequent aſſaults, he often ſallied out againſt them at the head of his voluntiers, overturned their machines, deſtroyed their works, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of their beſt troops, that his name ſoon became formidable. But *Mohammed*, to carry on the ſiege with more vigor, ordered new

b levies to be made throughout his extenſive dominions; which reinforcements arrive- *Mohammed's army reinforced.*
ing daily from all parts, his army was ſoon increaſed to the number of near four hundred thouſand men, while the gariſon conſiſted only of nine thouſand regular troops, *viz.* ſix thouſand *Greeks*, and three thouſand *Genoeſe* and *Venetians*. As the enemy continued battering the walls night and day without intermiſſion, great part of them, with the tower called *Baclatina*, near the *Roman* gate, was beaten down; but while the *Turks* were buſied in filling up the ditch, in order to give the aſſault, the breach was repaired, and a new wall built. This threw the tyrant into a rage hardly to be expreſſed, which was greatly heightened, when he beheld from the ſhore his whole fleet worſted by five ſhips, four of which belonged to the *Genoeſe*

c of *Galata*, and one to the emperor: the latter was fraught with corn from *Peloponne-* *The Turkiſh fleet worſted by five ſhips of the chriſtians.*
ſus, and the others with all manner of proviſions from the iſland of *Chios*, where they had paſſed the winter. When they firſt appeared, *Mohammed* ordered his admiral to take them, if poſſible, or at leaſt to prevent their entering the harbour and joining the reſt of the fleet. Hereupon the whole *Turkiſh* navy, weighing anchor, ſailed out to meet them, covering the ſtraits, as they were in all three hundred ſail, from ſhore to ſhore. The above-mentioned ſhips purſued their courſe; and ſailing into the midſt of the enemy's fleet, ſunk ſome of their galleys, diſabled others, and made ſuch a dreadful havock among them, that *Mohammed*, who beheld the whole from the ſhore, could not forbear ruſhing with his horſe into the ſea, as if he in-

d tended to ſwim to his fleet, and encourage them with his preſence. But being ſoon appriſed of the danger, he turned back, and filling the air with loud outcries, and dreadful curſes, he tore his hair, and upbraiding his men with cowardice, uttered ſuch menaces againſt the admiral, and his other officers, as ſtruck all with terror who heard them. But notwithſtanding his impotent rage, and the loud ſhouts of the whole *Turkiſh* army, encouraging their mariners to behave more manfully, the five ſhips opened themſelves a way through the midſt of the enemy's fleet, and, to the unexpreſſible joy of the chriſtians, got ſafe into the harbour[t]. The *Turks* attempted ſeveral times to force the haven, in order to attack the city on that ſide; but all their efforts proving unſucceſsful, *Mohammed* formed, and, to the great ter-

e ror and amazement of the beſieged, put in execution, one of the boldeſt deſigns we find mentioned in hiſtory. For, not being able to remove the chain drawn croſs the entrance into the harbour, and the ſhips within it making a dreadful fire on the *Turkiſh* fleet as often as they drew near in order to break it, he commanded a large road to be levelled from the *Boſporus* behind *Pera* to the haven of *Conſtantinople*, and then, by means of certain engines, the contrivance of a renegado, conveyed eighty galleys over land for the ſpace of eight miles into the haven, of which he was no ſooner maſter, the ſhips riding there being either taken or ſunk, than he cauſed a bridge, a work no leſs wonderful and ſurpriſing, to be built over it with incredible labour and expedition. By means of this bridge, which reached from the camp of

f *Zoganus* at *Pera* to the walls of *Conſtantinople*, the city was laid open to an aſſault on that ſide too. And now the place being inveſted, and battered night and day with incredible fury on all ſides, the emperor, well appriſed he could not with his ſmall gariſon hold out much longer againſt ſuch a mighty fleet and ſo numerous an army, ſent deputies to *Mohammed*, offering to acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal, by paying him yearly what tribute he ſhould think proper to impoſe upon him, provided he raiſed the ſiege and withdrew. The tyrant anſwered, that he was determined at all events to become maſter of the city; but if the emperor delivered it up forthwith, he would yield to him *Feloponneſus*, and other provinces to his brothers,

Mohammed *conveys eighty galleys over land into the haven.*

[t] Ducas, c. 38.

thers, which they ſhould peaceably enjoy as his friends and allies, whereas, if he held a
out to the laſt extremity, and ſuffered it to be taken by aſſault, he would put him
and the whole nobility to the ſword, abandon the city to be plundered by his ſol-
diers, and carry all the inhabitants, ſtripped of their wealth and effects, into cap-
The emperor rejects the conditions offered him. tivity. The city was already reduced to great ſtraits; but the emperor being
determined to periſh with it, rather than give it up upon any terms whatſoever, the
ſiege was carried on with great vigor till the twenty-fifth of *May*, when a report
being ſpread in the *Turkiſh* camp, that a mighty army was advancing full march to
the relief of the city under the conduct of the celebrated *John Hunniades*, the com-
mon ſoldiers, ſeized with a panic, began to mutiny, and preſs *Mohammed* in a
A mutiny in the Turkiſh *camp.* tumultuous manner to break up the ſiege; nay, they openly threatened him with b
death, if he did not immediately abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the
city, which they deſpaired of being able to reduce before the arrival of the ſuppoſed
ſuccours. *Mohammed*, tho' hitherto an utter ſtranger to fear, alarmed at the
menaces of the incenſed and ungovernable ſoldiery, was upon the point of yielding
to the ſtorm, and raiſing the ſiege, agreeable to the advice of the grand viſier *Haly*
who favoured underhand the chriſtians. But *Zagan*, a *Turkiſh* officer of great
intrepidity, and an irreconcileable enemy to the chriſtian name, having confirmed
the ſultan in his former reſolution, adviſed him to give, without loſs of time, a
general aſſault; to which, he ſaid, the ſoldiery, however mutinous, would not be
averſe, provided he ſolemnly promiſed to abandon the city to be plundered by them. c
As this advice beſt ſuited the humour of *Mohammed*, he readily embraced it, and
cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed throughout the camp, declaring, that he gave
up to his ſoldiers all the wealth of that opulent city, and required nothing for his
ſhare but the empty houſes. The deſire of plunder, and the proſpect of an im-
menſe booty, ſoon got the better of the fear, which had ſeized the army: they all
Mohammed *prepares for a general ſtorm.* demanded with one voice to be led immediately to the aſſault. Hereupon the em-
peror was ſummoned for the laſt time to deliver up the city, with a promiſe of his
life and liberty. To this ſummons the brave emperor anſwered, that he was
unalterably determined either to defend the city, or fall with it. With this anſwer
the meſſenger returned, and on the evening of the ſame day, which was *Trinity* d
ſunday, the twenty-ſeventh of *May*, the *Turkiſh* camp and fleet appeared illumi-
nated with an incredible number of lights ſet up by the ſultan's orders on every tent
and veſſel to admoniſh the whole army, that a ſolemn faſt was to be obſerved the
next, to implore the protection of heaven. *Conſtantine*, concluding from thence, as
he had been privately informed beforehand by his friend *Haly*, that on the *Tueſday*
Conſtantine *makes the neceſſary preparations for ſuſtaining the aſſault.* following he ſhould be attacked by ſea and land, made the neceſſary preparations for
ſuſtaining the aſſault, his life, liberty, reputation, and whatever elſe was dear to
him lying at ſtake. He ordered in the firſt place a general proceſſion, after which,
in a pathetic and eloquent ſpeech, he encouraged the nobility and citizens to exert
themſelves in the defence of the empire and the chriſtian religion. He then e
retired to the church of St. *Sophia*, attended by the cardinal *Iſidore* and ſeveral
other prelates, who had conformed to the ceremonies of the *Latins*; and there, after
aſſiſting with exemplary piety at divine ſervice, he received the holy euchariſt. *Zy-*
gomola, a modern writer, tells us, that *Conſtantine*, having firſt cauſed the empreſs
and his children to receive the ſacrament, ordered immediately after their heads to be
ſtruck off, to prevent their falling alive into the enemy's hands. But this we look
upon as one of the many fables that are to be found in moſt of the modern *Greek*
writers, it being manifeſt from *Ducas* and other contemporary writers, that *Theo-*
dora, *Conſtantine*'s firſt wife, and *Catharina Cataluſa*, his ſecond, died long before,
without his having children by them; and that the king of *Georgia*'s daughter, who f
not long before had been betrothed to him, died before ſhe came to *Conſtantinople*,
or was married to him. From the church *Conſtantine* repaired to the great palace,
and there, after taking leave of his miniſters, as if he were never to ſee them again,
he ordered every man to his poſt, and, putting on his armour, marched in perſon
at the head of a choſen body to the gate *Karſia*, where a conſiderable breach had
been made by the piece of ordnance, which we have mentioned above. Here the
emperor and *Juſtiniani* his lieutenant-general, with 300 *Genoeſe* and a ſelect body
of *Greeks*, lay all night on their arms, hearing a great noiſe in the *Turkiſh* camp, and
The Turks *begin the attack.* expecting every moment to be attacked. Accordingly, at three in the morning, g
the attack was begun by ſuch troops as the ſultan leaſt valued, and therefore,
deſigning

a designing them for ſlaughter, had ordered them to march, tne firſt with no other view but to tire the chriſtians, who, tho' few in number, made a dreadful havock of that diſorderly multitude. After the carnage had laſted ſome hours, the janiſſaries, and other freſh troops, advanced in good order, and renewed the attack with incredible vigor and fury. The chriſtians, ſummoning all their courage and reſolution, twice repulſed the enemy, but in the end being quite ſpent, and freſh troops pouring every moment in upon them, they were no longer able to ſtand their ground; ſo that the enemy in ſeveral places broke into the city. In the mean time, *Juſtinian* having received two wounds, one in the thigh and the other in the hand, he was ſo diſheartened at the ſight of his blood, that, abandoning his poſt, he cauſed
b himſelf to be conveyed to *Galata*, where he died ſoon after, not of his wounds, but of grief, in reflecting on his cowardly and ignominious conduct. The *Genoeſe* and *Greeks*, who ſerved under him, diſmayed at the ſudden retreat of their general, quitted their poſts, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. However, the emperor, attended by *Theophilus Palæologus*, *Francis Comnenus*, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, *John* of *Dalmatia*, and a few more of the moſt reſolute among the nobility, ſtill kept his poſt, ſtriving, with an unparallelled courage and intrepidity, to oppoſe the inundation of the barbarians, who, like a violent ſtorm, now broke in on all ſides. Being in the end overpowered with numbers, and ſeeing all his friends lying dead on the ground around him, *What!* he cried aloud, *is there no chriſtian left alive to ſtrike off*
c *my head?* He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when one of the enemy, not knowing him, gave him a deep cut croſs the face with his ſabre: at the ſame time, another coming behind him, with a blow on the back part of his head, laid him dead on the ground. Thus died, in the forty-ninth year of his age and tenth of his reign, *Conſtantine* XV. courageouſly defending that city which *Conſtantine* I. had founded. Some writers relate his death differently, and tell us, that being overpowered with numbers, and no longer able to ſtand his ground, he fled with the reſt, and was ſtifled and preſſed to death in the crowd. But we have followed *Ducas* and *Phranzes*, of whom the latter was chancellor to *Conſtantine*, and in the city when it was taken; the former was in the neighbourhood during the whole
d time of the ſiege, and, a few days after the city was taken, learnt both of the *Turks* and chriſtians the particulars which he relates concerning that unhappy prince's death. *Ducas* adds, that *Mohammed*, admiring his courage, commanded all the funeral honours to be paid him, that were due to an emperor [u]. The emperor being thus ſlain, the few chriſtians, who were left alive, betook themſelves to flight, and the *Turks*, meeting with no further oppoſition, entered the city, and ſcouring the ſtreets, filled that once ſtately metropolis with blood and horror. They gave no quarter, but put all they met to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. But of the unſpeakable miſeries the inhabitants ſuffered, during the three days which *Mohammed* had allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the city, the reader will find
e a minute and affecting account in *Ducas* and other contemporary writers. Many thouſands took refuge in the church of St. *Sophia*, but they were all maſſacred without pity in their aſylum by the enraged barbarians, who, prompted by their natural cruelty, the deſire of revenge, and the love of booty, ſpared no place nor perſon. Moſt of the nobility were by the ſultan's orders cut off, and the reſt reſerved for purpoſes more grievous than death itſelf. However, many of the inhabitants, amongſt whom were ſome men of great learning, found means to make their eſcape, while the *Turks* were buſied in plundering the city. Theſe embarquing on five ſhips then in the harbour, arrived ſafe in *Italy*, where, with the ſtudy of the *Greek* tongue, they revived the liberal ſciences, which had been long neglected in the weſt. When
f the three days were expired, *Mohammed* commanded his ſoldiers, on pain of death, to forbear all further hoſtilities, and they put an end to the moſt cruel pillage and maſſacre mentioned in hiſtory. The next day, he made his public and triumphal entry into the city; and chuſing it for the ſeat of his empire, he ſolemnly promiſed to take under his protection ſuch of the inhabitants as ſhould continue in it, or, being fled, ſhould return to their ancient habitations, and even to allow them the free exerciſe of the chriſtian religion. The death of the laſt *Roman* emperor, the loſs of *Conſtantinople*, and the final diſſolution of the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* empire, happened on the twenty-ninth of *May* in the year of the *Greeks* 6961. of the *Hegira* 857. and of the chriſtian æra, according to the moſt probable opinion, 1453.

Juſtinian is wounded, and retires.

The emperor's gallant behaviour.

He is killed.

And the town taken and plundered.

The total diſſolution of the Conſtantinopolitan Roman *empire.*

THE

[u] DUCAS, c. 39.

The downfal of a ſtate, once ſo mighty and powerful, was not ſudden or unexpected, but brought on by degrees, and after a viſible decay of ſeveral ages. To what cauſes that was owing, we have, on proper occaſions, pointed out in the courſe of the preſent hiſtory; and therefore, not to treſpaſs on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we ſhall only beg leave to remind him here, that we have all along confined ourſelves to the immediate cauſes of ſo great a revolution, ſuch as human policy may account for, not daring to pry into the decrees of Providence, nor aſcribe, as ſome have done, the calamities, that befal a nation, to the ſins of thoſe on whom they are inflicted. a

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The history of the Carthaginians, *to the destruction of* Carthage *by the* Romans.

SECT. I.

A description of Carthage, *and some account of the origin of that city.*

WERE the materials afforded us by the ancients for writing the history of *Carthage*, in any manner proportioned to the power and opulence of that famous republic, few nations would make a greater figure in this work; but such has been the infelicity of this state, that notwithstanding the immense riches, the extended commerce, the consummate policy and military genius of its inhabitants, rendered it formidable to all its neighbours, and even enabled it to contend with *Rome* for the empire of the world, yet we have but very short and scanty memorials left us of the great transactions in which it was concerned. Scarce a fragment of any of its own historians has reached us: the principal actions in which it bore a part, that have escaped oblivion, have either been transmitted to posterity by its enemies, or such as were favourably disposed towards them, and consequently many things omitted, which might have contributed towards giving us a juster idea of it. And yet, notwithstanding this, by collecting all the remarkable passages relating to it, scattered in the *Greek* and *Roman* authors; by comparing these together, and connecting them in a proper manner; and lastly, by making some observations of our own, in order to illustrate and explain them; we doubt not but to supply the defects of all former historians, and give the most complete, as well as the most entertaining, history of the *Carthaginians*, that has yet been offered to the public.

Carthage *when founded.*

Carthage, the metropolis of *Africa Propria* for several centuries, was, according to *Velleius* [a], built sixty-five years before *Rome*, tho' *Trogus* [b] and *Justin* will have it to be seventy-two years older than that mistress of the world. *Livy* [c] seems to place its foundation twenty-years higher than these; and *Solinus* [d] exceeds him twenty-seven years. *Timæus* [e] of *Sicily* intimates, that *Carthage* and *Rome* were founded at the same time, *viz.* thirty-eight years before the first olympiad. Lastly, from *Menander* [f] the *Ephesian*, as cited by *Josephus* (A), and the *Tyrian* annals, it appears to have preceded the *Roman* æra an hundred and forty years. We shall not take upon us to determine which of these is in the right, nor whether any of them deserves absolute credit; but only observe, that as *Carthage* [g] consisted of different parts, which were supposed to have been built at different times, it is no wonder, that the ancients should hand

[a] Vell. Paterc. hist Rom. l. i. [b] Just. hist. l. xviii. [c] Liv. hist. l. li. epit. [d] Solin. c 29. [e] Timæus Sicul. apud Dionys. Halicarnas. l. i. [f] Menan. Ephes. apud. Joseph. l. i. cont. Apion. [g] Petav. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. & Bochart. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24.

(A) *Josephus*, in his computation from *Menander Ephesius* (1), seems inconsistent with himself, or at least very inaccurate; but *Petavius* (2) has endeavoured to correct him, and makes him to fix *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa* an hundred and forty years before the foundation of *Rome*. *Solinus* (3) tallies very well with this account; for he tells us, that *Carthage*, at its final destruction by *Scipio Africanus*, had stood seven hundred and thirty-seven years. As therefore this destruction happened in the year of *Rome* six hundred and six, or six hundred and seven, it is evident, that, according to this author, *Carthage* was built an hundred and thirty, or an hundred and thirty-one years before *Rome*; and if, with Sir *Isaac Newton* (4) and *Salmasius*, we suppose *Solinus* intended the *encænia* or dedication of the city for its beginning, and that it was nine years in building, *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa* will be found to have happened an hundred and thirty-nine, or an hundred and forty years before the commencement of the *Roman* æra; which agreeing so well with *Petavius*, from whom it differs but two years, a trifle in a point of so remote antiquity, we may justly look upon it as coming pretty near the truth.

(1) *Menand. Ephes. apud Joseph. l.* i. *cont. Apion.* (2) *Dion. Petav. de doct. temp. l.* ix. *c.* 69.
(3) *Solin. c.* 27. (4) *Salmas. in Solin. c.* 27. *Newt. chronol. p.* 65.

hand down ſuch a variety of accounts, nor that the moderns ſhould diſagree ſo much amongſt themſelves in this affair. It is not very material to our preſent purpoſe, whether we can hit upon the preciſe year of this city's foundation, or not; and therefore we ſhall not be over ſolicitous about it. However, it may not be amiſs to refer our curious readers to *Petavius* [h], who has been very particular on this ſubject. That learned man, after conſidering the jarring opinions of the ancients with great attention, endeavours to rectify their miſtakes, and at laſt, with an appearance of exactneſs, fixes the time of *Dido*'s beginning to build *Carthage* an hundred thirty-ſeven years [i] before the foundation of *Rome*, if, with *Varro*, we place this in the third year of the ſixth olympiad, or an hundred forty-two, if, with archbiſhop *Uſher*, we prefer the account of *Fabius Pictor* [k] (B), who will have it to be near the beginning of the eighth olympiad, and, for aught we know to the contrary, comes as near the truth as any other chronologer whatſoever.

The Carthaginians *deſcended from the* Phœnicians.

But whatever diſagreement may be found amongſt hiſtorians and chronologers as to the exact year of the foundation of *Carthage*, yet it is agreed on all hands, that the *Phœnicians* were its founders. The *Greek* poet *Nonnus* [l], from ſome authors, whoſe works are now loſt, aſſures us, that *Cadmus* made a very ſucceſsful expedition into theſe parts. *Euſebius* [m] and *Procopius* are poſitive, that the *Canaanites* who fled from *Joſhua* retired hither; and St. *Auſtin* [n] would have it believed, that the *Carthaginians* were deſcended from theſe *Canaanites*. *Philiſtus* [o] of *Syracuſe*, a writer of good authority, who lived above three hundred and fifty years before Chriſt, relates, that the firſt traces of *Carthage* were owing to *Zorus* and *Charchedon*, two *Tyrians* or *Phœnicians*, thirty years before the deſtruction of *Troy*, according to *Euſebius*. *Appian* [p], who undoubtedly received his notion from *Philiſtus*, attributes this event to *Zorus* and *Charchedon*, the two ſaid *Phœnicians*, fifty years before that period; and from him *Scaliger* [q] corrects *Euſebius*'s numbers. In confirmation of which opinion, *Virgil* [r] ſeems to hint, that *Dido* was rather the finiſher than founder of this city, by giving us to underſtand, that the ground on which it ſtood was, before her time, occupied by people who dwelt in huts or cottages, or, in other words, that a town ſtood upon it. What likewiſe renders the account of *Philiſtus* and *Appian* not a little probable is, that the *Greeks* always called this city *Charchedon*, for which no reaſon ſo proper can be aſſigned, as that the perſon who firſt ſettled with a colony on this ſpot of ground, was called by that name. Beſides, ſomething muſt have determined *Dido* to chuſe this particular place for her *Tyrians* before any other [s]. Now, no more likely motive can be conceived, than that it had been inhabited for ſome time by the *Phœnicians*, who were her countrymen, and from whom therefore ſhe had reaſon to expect the kindeſt and moſt friendly reception. Add to this, that both the coaſt of *Africa*, and the coaſt of *Spain* [t] oppoſite to it were known in very early ages to the *Tyrians*; ſince it is remarked by *Velleius* [u], that they built the cities of *Cadiz* in *Spain*, and *Utica* in *Africa*, a little above eighty years after the *Trojan* war; and *Strabo* declares, that the *Phœnicians* were poſſeſſed of the beſt parts of *Spain* and *Africa* a conſiderable time before the age of *Homer*; all which conſiderations ſtrongly ſupport the firſt *Phœnician* ſettlement mentioned by *Philiſtus* and *Appian*. But as nothing can be laid down with certainty concerning the tranſactions of thoſe very remote times, except what is deducible from the inſpired writings of the old teſtament, and as nothing is leſs to be depended upon, than the relations we have of the origin of many ancient cities, we leave it to our readers to believe as much or as little of this as they pleaſe.

How-

[h] Petav. ubi ſupra. & de doct. temp. l. xiii. p. 370. edit. Antwerp. 1703. & l. xii. [i] Petav. ration. tempor. l. ii. c. 13. [k] Onuph. Panvin. in ant. urb imag. Uss. an. p, 87. [l] Nonn. in Dionyſ. l. xiii. [m] Euseb. in chron. l. i. p. 11. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. [n] August. in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom. ſub. init. [o] Philist. Syracuſan. apud Euſeb. in chron. ad ann. 804. [p] Appian. in Libyc. ſub. init. [q] Jos. Scalig. animadverſ. in Euſeb. chron. ad ann. 804. [r] Virg. Æn. i. & Serv. in loc. Vide etiam Car. Ruæi not. in Virg. Æn. iv. ſub init. [s] Procop. ubi. ſupra. [t] Strabo. l. iii. p. 104. edit Caſaub. 1587. Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 2.

(B) This *Fabius Pictor* was the moſt ancient of the *Roman* hiſtorians (5), and a writer of very good authority. He is followed herein by *Onuphrius Panvinius* (6), as well as archbiſhop *Uſher*. Several arguments might be offered in ſupport of his authority, particularly with regard to the point under conſideration; but we chuſe to refer our readers to archbiſhop *Uſher* (7), *Voſſius*, &c. as not having room to recite them here.

(5) *Liv. l.* i ii, *&c. Dio. Hal. l.* i. *Uſſer. an. p.* 60. *ad. ann. Jul per.* 3966. *Vaſſ. de hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 13. *&c.* (6) *Onuph. Panvin. antiq. urb. imag. apud Græv. in theſaur. ant Rom. tom.* 3. *p.* 215. (7) *Petav. de doct. temp. l.* ix. *c.* 51. *Uſſer. an. ubi ſupra. Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. & Petav. ubi ſupra,*

Elisa *either founded or inlarged the city of* Carthage.

a HOWEVER, if most of the events, mentioned by profane historians as happening before the destruction of *Troy*, may seem liable to dispute to some persons of a critical exactness, it cannot well be denied, as being the concurrent voice of antiquity, that *Elisa* [w], called also *Dido*, sister of *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre*, flying with her brother *Barca*, in the seventh year of the reign of that prince, from *Tyre*, fixed her residence at *Carthage*, and either founded, or much inlarged, this noble city. Were there any beginnings of a town there before, yet it could not have been a place of very great consideration till her arrival. The wealth of her husband [x] *Sichæus*, and the *Tyrians* she brought with her, who, at that time, were the [y] most polite and ingenious people in the world, enabled her to inlarge and beautify the place, if she did not lay the foundations of it; to wall it round, and build a strong citadel in it; to lay the basis of a most flourishing and extensive commerce, for which the *Tyrian* nation was so renowned; and to introduce a form of government, which seemed, in *Aristotle*'s [z] opinion, by his descanting so largely upon it, to have been one of the most perfect that ever was known in the world, at least, in his time. *Dido*'s arrival in *Africa*, as we have observed, was an hundred thirty-seven years before the building of *Rome*, according to the *Varronian* account; an hundred forty-two, according to *Fabius Pictor*; an hundred and fourteen before the first olympiad; eight hundred eighty-nine, or eight hundred and ninety, before the birth of Christ, and near three hundred after the destruction of *Troy*, unless, with Sir *Isaac Newton* [a], we will suppose the ancient chronologers to have anticipated that destruction near three hundred years. *Virgil* indeed seems to have allowed this supposition; for notwithstanding what has been advanced by several learned men [b] to excuse him on that head, had he been of the common opinion, the monstrous anachronism he makes, by bringing *Æneas* and *Dido* together as cotemporaries, would have been utterly inexcusable. We shall hereafter give a full and ample account of the occasion and manner of *Dido*'s flight from *Tyre*, of her putting into the island of *Cyprus*, and steering afterwards her course for the coasts of *Africa*, where she happily arrived; so that it will be intirely unnecessary, even so much as to touch upon these particulars in this place [c].

Name whence derived.

How this city came to be called *Carthage*, authors are not fully agreed. *Solinus* [d] c tells us, that its true name was *Carthada*, which, in the *Carthaginian* language, signified the *New City*; and herein he is followed by *Salmasius* [e], *Schindler* [f], *Bochart* [g], and others, who deduce it from the two *Oriental* words, *Charta Hadatta*, which are of the same import. But, besides that it is too far fetched and unnatural, these very authors themselves supply us with arguments to overthrow this etymon; for *Schindler* [h] derives *Carthago* from the *Oriental* word *Charta*, a city; and the other two [i] allow, that the city was founded long before *Dido* came into *Africa*, and that she only built that part of it called *Byrsa*, or the *citadel*. Dr. *Hyde* [k] derives it either from *Chadre Hanacha*, i. e. *The chamber of rest*, or *place of repose*, or from *Card Haneca*, the *New City*, as before, because *Plautus* in his *Pœnulus* intimates, that it was called by the t natives *Chaedreanech*; but these derivations likewise are too forced and unsatisfactory, and are besides overthrown by *Bochart* [l]. *Servius* [m] therefore seems to come nearer the truth, when he says, that, according to the *Carthaginians* themselves, who must be supposed to be the best acquainted with their own origin, it received its name from *Charta*, a town not far from *Tyre*, to which *Dido* bore a near relation; and this town is called by *Cedrenus* [n] *Chartica*, or *Chartaca*, i. e. *Charta Aca*, or *Charta Aco*, the city of *Aca* [o] or *Aco*, a celebrated sea-port of *Phœnice* (C), near *Tyre* and *Sidon*, in the territory of the tribe of *Asher* [p], tho' possessed by the [q] *Tyrians* or *Phœnicians*.

[w] JUST. l. xviii. VIRGIL. Æn. i. & SERV. in loc. CEDREN. in hist. compend. p. 140. edit. Paris 1647. Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 415, 416, &c. [x] VIRG. JUST. &c. ubi supra. [y] NEWT. chron. p. 13. BOCH. phal. & de col. Phœn. passim. 1. Kings, c. v. &c. [z] ARIST. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. [a] NEWT. chron. p 32, 65, &c. [b] LUDOVIC. DE LA CERDA CAR. RUÆUS. MACROB. aliique. [c] Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 415, 416. [d] SOLIN. c. 27. [e] SALMAS. in Solin. p. 322. [f] SCHIND. pentaglot. p. 1654. [g] BOCHART. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. &c. [h] SCHIND. ubi supra. [i] SALMAS. & BOCHART. ubi supra. [k] HYDE in not. ad Peritsol. p. 44. [l] BOCHART. Chan. l. i c. 1. [m] SERV. in Virg. Æn. i. ver. 37. & Æn. in ver. 75. [n] CEDREN, hist. compend. p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. [o] SCHIND. pentaglot. p. 1313. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 521. DIODOR. SIC. l. xix. c. 93. CORN. VEP. Datam. c. 5. PLIN. l. v. c. 19. STEPH. Byz. de urb. HIERONYM. in Am. i, ii. & LXX. in Jud. i. [p] Jud. i. ver. 31. [q] Ibid.

(C) The place was, according to *Cedrenus* a maritime city or sea-port, as will appear from a perusal of the passage referred to; which is an additional argument in favour of our notion. We find likewise a city, called *Kartah*, given to the *Levites* in this country, taken out of the territory of the tribe of *Zebulun*.

nicians. In ſupport of *Servius* and *Cedrenus*'s authority, it may be obſerved, that the *Sidonians*, *Tyrians* and *Canaanites* inhabiting that part of *Phœnice*, frequently prefixed the word *kiriath*, *cariath*, or *charta*, i. e. *city*, to the proper names of towns, as *Kiriath* [r], or, according to St. *Jerom*, *Cariath-Arba*, *Cariath-Baal*, *Cariath-Sanna*, *Cariath-Sepher*, &c. tho' ſometimes they ſtyled them ſimply *Cariath* [s], or *Charta*, *city*, and, for the moſt part in writing, uſed their proper [t] names alone; ſo that it is no wonder the town under conſideration ſhould be known by the names *Charta*, *Aca*, *Aco*, *Chartica*, *Chartaca*, *Cartaco*, &c. ſince this was perfectly agreeable to the genius of its inhabitants. Farther, tho' *Dido*'s city was conſtantly called by the *Latin* writers *Carthago*, yet its true name amongſt the antient *Romans*, who undoubtedly received it from the *Carthaginians* themſelves, was *Cartaco* [u], as is evident from the *columna roſtrata* (D) of *Duilius*. This, together with what has been [w] obſerved in the firſt volume a b

[r] Jud. i. ver. 10. Joſh. xviii. ver. 14. xv. ver. 15, 49. [s] Jerem. xlviii. ver. 24, 41. Am. xi. ver. 2. [t] Joſh. xv. ver. 9, 60, &c. [u] Vide PET. CIACCONIUM in column. roſtrat. Duil. apud Joan. Geor. Græv. in theſaur. antiquit Roman. tom. iv. p. 1810. Univerſ. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 415, 416.

(D) We have before given an *Engliſh* tranſlation (8) of the old *Latin* inſcription upon the baſis of the *columna roſtrata* of *Duilius*; but as it is a moſt curious and valuable monument of antiquity, we believe our learned and inquiſitive readers would think us guilty of a great omiſſion, were not the original itſelf inſerted ſomewhere in this work; eſpecially as many fine concluſions relating to the *Latin* language may be drawn from it; and the ſurpriſing manner in which that language was poliſhed and refined in leſs than two centuries, may be from thence diſcovered. In order therefore to render our hiſtory as complete as poſſible, and evince the point at preſent in view, we ſhall here preſent our readers with the inſcription itſelf, and the chaſms of it, as ſupplied by *Lipſius* and *Ciacconius*, together with a verſion of it into the *Latin* of the *Auguſtan* age:

C. BILIOS. M. F. COS. ADVORSOM. CARTACINIENSEIS. EN. SICELIAD REM. CERENS. ECEST. ANO S. COCNATOS. POPLI. ROMANI. ARTISUMAD OBSEDEONED. XEMET. LECION. EIS. CARTACINIENSEIS. OMNEIS. MAXIMOSQUE. MACISTRATOS. LUCAES. BOVEBOS. RELICTEIS. NOVEM. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MACELAM. MOENITAM. URBEM. PUCNANDOD. CEPET. ENQUE. EODEM. MACESTRATOD. PROSPERE REM. NAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. CESET. RESMECOSQUE CLASESQUE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PARAVETQUE. DIEBOS LX CUMQUE. EIS NAVEBUS. CLASEIS. POENECAS. OMNIS. PARATASQUE. SUMAS. COPIAS. CARTACINIENSIS. PRÆSENTED. MAXUMOD. DICTATORED. OLOROM. IN. ALTOD. MARID. PUCNANDOD. VICET XXXQUE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CUM. SOCIEIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQUE. DUCIS QUINRESMOSQUE. TRIRESMOSQUE. NAVEIS. XX. DEPRESET

AUROM. CAPTOM. NUMEI ∞ OCC

ARCENTOM. CAPTOM. PRÆDA. NUMEI. CCCIↃↃↃ C

CRAVE. CAPTOM. AES. CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ

CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ CCCIↃↃↃ PONDOD

TRIOMPOQUE. NAVALED. PRÆDAD. POPLOM. ROMANOM. DONAVET CAPTIVOS. CARTACINIENSEIS. INCENVOS. DUXET. ANTE. CUROM PRIMOSQUE. CONSOL. DE. SICELEIS. CLASEQUE. CARTACINIENSEOM TRIOMPAVET. EAROM. REROM. ERCO. S. P. Q. R. EI. HANCE. COLUMNAM. P.

Caius Duilius Marci filius Conſul adverſus Carthaginienſes in Sicilia rem gerens, Egeſtanos (ſocios atque) cognatos populi Romani artiſſima obſidione exemit. Legiones (enim) omnes Carthaginienſium (qui Egeſtam obſidebant, & Amilcar) maximus (eorum) magiſtratus (feſtinandi ſtudio) elephantis relictis novem, caſtris effugerunt. Macellam (deinde) munitam (validamque) urbem pugnando cepit. Atque in eodem magiſtratu proſpere rem navibus mari Conſul primus geſſit: remiges claſſeſque navales primus ornavit atque paravit diebus ſexaginta, & cum his navibus, claſſes Punicas omnes, paratas (ornatas) que ſummas copias Carthaginienſium, præſente (Annibale) maximo dictatore illorum, in alto mari pugnando ſuperavit;
triginta naves cum ſociis (hoc eſt cum ipſis hominibus) cepit, & ſeptiremem prætoriam, quinqueremes (præterea) ac triremes naves XX depreſſit.
Aurum captum in præda nummi III. M. DCC.
Argentum captum in præda nummi C. M.
Æs grave captum vicies ſemel centena millia pondo, atque in triumpho navali prædam (omnem in ærarium) Popul. Rom. intulit.
captivos (etiam) Carthaginienſes ingenuos (hoc eſt, nobiles aliquot) ante currum duxit: primuſque Conſul, de Siculis, & claſſe Carthaginienſium triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo S. P. Q. R. ei hancce columnam poſuit. vel
triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo Marti donum dedit atque dicavit (9).

Hence it is apparent, that, when this naval trophy was erected, the *Carthaginians* were called by the *Romans* *CARTACINIENSEIS*, and conſequently the name of their city, then in uſe amongſt the *Romans*, was *CARTACO*.

(8) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* iv. *p.* 659, 660. *in not. apud Græv. in theſaur. antiq. Rom. tom.* iv. *p.* 1810.

(9) *Vide Petr. Ciaccon. Tolet. in column. roſt. Duil.*

Vol VI

CHARTA *exhibens Situm antiquum* CARTHAGINIS, UTICÆ, TUNETIS, *et Sinus* CARTHAGINIENSIS

P. 661. 662. 665.

Promont. Herculis
Thermæ
Promont. Apollinis
Ruscinonis
Litus prægens Maris
El Mersa
Carthago
Salina
Adda
Stagnum
Aquæductus
Litus antiquum Maris
Porion
Tunes
Sinus Hipponensis
Promont. Candidum
Utica
Ripæ antiquæ Fluminis Bagradæ
Gorza
Hippo Diarrhytus
Hipponitis et Sisara Palus
Præcens Flu. Bagrade
M.t Cirna

A Birds View of the Situation of Antient Carthage

P 661 662

a. *Cisterns or Reservoirs for the Aquæduct*
b *Cisterns for Rain Water*
c *A birds View of the three Mountains on which* CARTHAGE *was built*
d. *Salt Pits*
e *The Stagnum on the S.W. Point of which was the antient City of* TUNIS

The Cothon
The Old Port
now a Garden
d
e

C. Dunford fecit

a volume of this history, seems to render the authority above-mentioned inconteſtable.

That it was usual in those early ages to denominate some cities from others, as well as from their founders, is a truth well known to all persons moderately versed in the knowledge of antiquity; and the city of *Thebes* in *Bœotia* (E), so called from *Thebes* in *Egypt*; *Pisa* in *Italy*, from *Pisa* in *Peloponnesus*; *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, from *Salamis* in *Attica*, to omit several others that might be mentioned, are sufficient instances of it.

Salmasius [x] will have the *Greek* name *Charchedon* to be derived from *Solinus*'s *Carthada*; because the *Sicilians* now-and-then used the *Greek* letter *chi* for *theta*. But sure nothing can be more weak than this; besides, were it much more plausible, it
b could not be admitted, because it clashes with the authority of *Philistus* (F), *Appian*, *Eusebius*, and St. *Jerom*. *Herodotus*, *Menander Ephesius*, *Polybius*, &c. the most ancient *Greek* authors, mentioning the *Carthaginians*, likewise disprove it, because they were not *Sicilians*.

The *Carthaginians* were called by the *Greeks*, sometimes *Libyans*, on account of the country they possessed, and sometimes *Phœnicians*, on account of the country from whence they were originally descended. The *Romans* also styled them *Pœni*, or *Phœnicians*, for the same reason; and every thing belonging to them, or their city, *Punic* or *Pœnic*, i. e. *Phœnician*, or belonging to the *Phœnicians*.

We must not omit observing, that, according to *Stephanus* [y] and *Eustathius*, this
e city was anciently named, in *Punic*, *Caccabe*, from a horse's head, which was found by the *Tyrians*, whilst they were digging for the foundations of *Byrsa*. This was looked upon as a happy omen, portending the martial disposition of the inhabitants, and the future greatness of the city. Our readers will find the whole story in *Virgil* [z] and *Justin*, and to these authors we refer them. In the mean time, we shall only remark, that the learned *Bochart* [a] has shewn the word *Caccabe* to have signified, in the *Phœnician* language, the head of the animal above-mentioned; and that, upon account of this event, the *Carthaginians* [b] had frequently upon the reverses of their coins, either a horse's head, or the body of a horse dimidiated, or a horse intire, with *Victory* upon him. Most of these coins have likewise a *Punic* inscription upon
d their said reverses, with several other symbols; as is evident from *Agostini*, *Paruta*, and others, as well as from the cabinets of the curious.

Caccabe *the* Punic *name of* Carthage.

In order to avoid all future digressions on this head, we shall here give a faithful and particular account of the situation, dimensions, different parts, and power of the city of *Carthage*, according to the condition it was in at the beginning of the third *Punic* war, extracted from *Polybius* [c], *Strabo*, *Dicdorus*, *Appian*, and other ancient authors of the best reputation and authority.

Carthage stood at the bottom of a gulf, upon a peninsula three hundred and sixty
f stadia, or forty-five miles, in circumference, the isthmus joining this peninsula to the continent of *Africa*, being twenty-five stadia, or three miles and a furlong, in breadth. On the west side there projected from it a long tract of land, in shape resembling a tongue, half a stadium broad; which shooting out into the sea, separated it from a lake or morass, and was strongly fortified on all sides by rocks and a single wall. In the middle of the city stood the fortress or citadel, erected by *Dido*, called *Byrsa*, having on the top of it a temple sacred to *Æsculapius*, seated on a very high hill, upon rocks, and to which the ascent was by sixty steps. This temple was rich, beautiful, and of a considerable extent; so that when *Byrsa* was taken by *Scipio*, towards the close of the last siege of *Carthage*, nine hundred *Roman* deserters fortified themselves

Description of Carthage.

[x] Salmas. ubi supra. [y] Steph. Byz. de urb. Eustath. in Dionys. Afr. [z] Virg. Æn. i. Just. l. xviii. Serv. & Ludovic: de la Cerda in Æn. i. Coel. Rhodigin. l. xviii. c. 38. [a] Bochart. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. [b] Ant. August. dial. vi. ant. [c] Polyb. l. i. c. 73. Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. Appian. in Libyc. p. 129. Diodor. Sic. bibl. hist. l. iii. p. 178. Oros. l. iv. c. 22. p. 277.

(E) It is plain from scripture (9), that there was a town of this name likewise in *Phœnice*, or the land of *Canaan*, not far from *Shechem*; so that whether we look upon *Cadmus* as a *Phœnician* or an *Egyptian*, it can scarce be doubted, but that *Thebes* in *Bœotia* was so denominated from some more ancient city.

(F) All these authors are clearly of opinion, that *Carthage* was built a considerable time before *Dido* came into *Africa*; and therefore, if their authority be of any weight, it is highly improbable, that from the citadel *Byrsa* only, the addition she made to the old city, the place was called *Carthada*, or the *New city*; and if this be allowed, it must likewise be admitted, that *Salmasius* endeavours absurdly to reduce *Carchedon* from *Carthada*.

(9) *Jud.* c. ix. *ver.* 50, 53.

ſelves there. At laſt *Aſdrubal*'s wife ſetting fire to it, intirely conſumed it, together a
with herſelf, her children, and the ſaid nine hundred deſerters, to avoid falling into
the hands of *Scipio*. On the ſouth ſide, towards the continent, where *Byrſa* had its
ſituation, the city was ſurrounded with a triple wall, thirty cubits high, abſtracted
from the parapets and towers, with which it was flanked all round at equal diſtances,
each interval being fourſcore fathoms, or four hundred and eighty foot. Every tower
had its foundations ſunk thirty foot deep, and was four ſtories high, tho' the walls
were but two; they were arched, and in the lower part, correſponding in depth with
the foundations above-mentioned, were ſtalls large enough to hold three hundred
elephants, with their fodder, *&c.* Over theſe were ſtables for four thouſand horſes, and
lofts for their food. There likewiſe was room enough to lodge twenty thouſand foot b
and four thouſand horſe. Such a number of forces and beaſts of war were contained
within the walls without in the leaſt incommoding the inhabitants. The walls were
weak and low in one part only, and that was an angle, which, from the firſt build-
ing of the city, had been neglected, beginning at the long tract of land advancing
into the ſea towards the weſtern continent, before taken notice of, and extending as
far as the harbours, which were on the ſame ſide. Of theſe there were two, which
were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to have a communication with one another, and
had one common entrance, ſeventy foot broad, and ſhut up with chains. The firſt
was appropriated to the merchants, and included in it a vaſt number of places of re-
freſhment, and all kinds of accommodations for the ſeamen. The ſecond, or inner c
port, was, as well as the iſland called *Cothon* in the midſt of it, lined with large
kays, in which were diſtinct receptacles for ſecuring and ſheltering from the weather
two hundred and twenty ſhips, it being deſigned chiefly for ſhips of war. Over
theſe were magazines or ſtore-houſes, wherein was lodged whatever is neceſſary
for the arming and equipping of fleets. The entrance into each of theſe receptacles
was adorned with two marble pillars of the *Ionic* order; ſo that both the harbour
and the iſland repreſented on each ſide two magnificent galleries. Upon the iſland
was the admiral's palace, from whence orders were given, and proclamations iſſued
out; and as it ſtood oppoſite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence diſ-
cover whatever was doing at ſea, tho' no one there could ſee what was tranſacting in d
the inward part of the harbour; nay, the merchants themſelves, when they entered
into their port, had no proſpect of the men of war, being ſeparated from them by a
double wall, and each port having its particular gate that led to the city, without
paſſing through the other.

Of how many parts the city conſiſted.

HENCE it is apparent, that the city conſiſted of three parts, *Byrſa*, *Megara* (G) or
Magaria, and *Cothon*. *Byrſa*, according to *Servius* [d], was twenty-two ſtadia, or near
three *Engliſh* miles, in circumference; tho' *Eutropius* ſays, it did not much exceed
two thouſand paces, which is not quite two *Engliſh* miles. It was not ſo preciſely in
the middle of the city, but that it inclined to the ſouth, or iſthmus that joined *Car-*
thage to the continent, as is obſerved by *Appian* [c]. The word *Byrſa* is only a *Greek* e
corruption of the true *Punic* or *Phœnician* name *Buſra*, *Borſa*, or *Botſra*, (for it may
be pronounced all theſe ways) *i. e.* a *fortreſs* or *citadel*, as has been demonſtrated by
Scaliger [f], *Bochart*, and others, verſed in the oriental languages, and may be inferred
from *Strabo*, *Virgil*, and *Appian*, the fable of the ox's hide having long ſince been
exploded by the learned. This was juſtly looked upon as the interior part of *Carthage*,
ſurrounded by the *Megara* [g], or *Magaria*, i. e. the houſes, or town, (for *that* the
word imports in the *Phœnician* tongue) its exterior part, according to *Servius*; ſo that
together they formed a kind of double town. *Strabo* calls the ſmall iſland in the midſt
of the ſecond harbour, *Cothon* [h]; tho' *Appian* applies this name likewiſe to that port
or harbour [i] itſelf, which, if this writer is to be credited, was environed by a ſtrong
wall, and had one of its parts round, but the other quadrangular. The word *Cothon*
is

[d] SERV. in Æn. i. ver. 320. EUTROP. & BOCHART. ubi ſupra. [c] APPIAN. & BOCHART. ubi ſupra. [f] SCALIG. in not. ad Feſt. BOCHART. ubi ſupra. SALMAS. in Solin. &c. [g] SERV. in Æn. i. & iv. [h] STRAB. l. xvii. p 572. [i] APPIAN. in Libyc. p. 129, &c.

(G) The true name of the exterior part of *Carthage*, (or that which was, properly ſpeaking, the town) was *Megara* or *Megaria*, not *Magalia*, as we formerly imagined. *Appian*, *Iſidore*, and *Servius* put this point beyond diſpute (10).

(10) *Appian.* & *Serv. ubi ſupra.* *Iſidor. in orig. l.* xiii. *c.* 12. *Vide etiam Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24.

a is of oriental extraction, and ſignifies *a port not formed by nature* [l], but *the effect of labour and art*; ſo that this ſeems to have been not a proper, but a common, name among the *Carthaginians*, who undoubtedly pronounced it *Kathum* or *Kathom*; but the *Greeks*, adopting it into their own language, gave it a *Greek* termination, and expreſſing the *Phœnician* A by their great O, (which may eaſily be conceived) thence came the name *Cothon*. The *Carthaginians* were ſo extremely active and indefatigable, that when *Scipio* [m] had blocked up the old port, or *Cothon*, they, in a very ſhort time, built a new one, the traces of which, ſcarce an hundred yards ſquare, are ſtill to be ſeen [n]. This *Cothon* was perhaps the ſame that was called the *Mandracium* [o] in the time of *Procopius*.

b THE number of inhabitants this city contained, at the beginning of the third *Punic* war, was ſeven hundred thouſand; a prodigious number, conſidering the many terrible blows the *Carthaginians* had received from the *Romans* during the courſe of the firſt and ſecond *Punic* wars, as well as from their own mercenaries in the interval betwixt theſe wars, and the deſtructive broils they had been engaged in with *Maſiniſſa*. The forces they could bring into the field, as well as their power by ſea, when they had a mind to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, were very formidable, as appears from the army commanded by *Hamilcar* in his expedition againſt *Gelon* the tyrant of *Syracuſe*, which conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men; and the fleet, forwarding the operations of the land forces, which was compoſed of c more than two thouſand ſhips of war, and above three thouſand tranſports. Their riches were likewiſe immenſe, as may be collected from what *Scipio* carried off at the final deſtruction of the town, after it had been thoroughly plundered, and, as was imagined, intirely exhauſted and conſumed, *viz.* near a million and an half ſterling. All which may ſerve to give us ſome faint idea of what *Carthage* was, when in the height of its grandeur and magnificence. *Number of inhabitants.*

As to the extent of the city, *Livy* informs us, that it was twenty-three [p] miles round; and if what is related of it above be true, this is not improbable. *Pliny* [q] intimates, that *Carthage*, when in the hands of the *Phœnicians*, was much larger than when it was a *Roman* colony; and *Suidas* affirms, that it was the greateſt and moſt d powerful city in the world. The dominion of the ſea, which it enjoyed for ſix hundred years, almoſt without interruption, together with the genius of its citizens for commerce, aggrandized it in a moſt prodigious manner; to which if we add its excellent form of government, which will be explained more fully hereafter, its extenſive trade, the mines of *Spain*, &c. thoſe inexhauſtible ſources of wealth; it can be no matter of wonder, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould have arrived at ſuch an exalted pitch of power. One particular edifice, hitherto omitted in our deſcription of *Carthage*, it may not be improper to take notice of, *viz.* the temple of *Apollo* [r], ſtanding near the *Cothon*, wherein was a ſtatue of that deity of maſſive gold, and whoſe inſide was all covered with plates of the ſame metal, weighing a thouſand talents [s]. But this was t involved in the common deſtruction of the city, being pillaged and deſtroyed by a party of *Scipio*'s men, when the *Cothon* and adjacent part of the city were taken by that general. *The extent of Carthage.*

IT has been [t] obſerved by a curious and learned modern traveller, who was himſelf upon the ſpot, that the greateſt part of *Carthage* was built upon three hills, ſomewhat inferior in elevation to thoſe upon which *Rome* was erected. All the remains of this once famous city are, according to this traveller, the area of a ſpacious room upon one of thoſe hills, over-looking the ſouth-eaſt ſhore, with ſeveral ſmaller ones hard by it; the common ſewers, which time hath not in the leaſt injured or impaired; and the ciſterns, which have very little ſubmitted to the general ruins of the city. f The harbour is now ſtopped up, and, by the north-eaſt winds with the (H) *Mejerdah*, made almoſt as far diſtant from the ſea as *Utica*, tho' it is ſtill called *El-Merſa*, or the port, lying to the north and north-weſt of the city, and formeth, with the lake of *Tunis*, the peninſula on which *Carthage* ſtood. *Preſent remains of antient* Carthage

Strabo

[l] FEST. in voc. *cothones*. SERV. in Æn. i. BOCHART. ubi ſupra. BUXTORF. in voc. קתם &c. [m] LIV. l. li. epit. [n] SHAW's geographical obſervations relating to the kingdom of Tunis, p. 150, 151. [o] PROCOP. l i. c. 20. [p] LIV. l. li. epit. [q] PLIN. l. v. c. 4. [r] APPIAN. ubi ſupra. [s] Idem, ibid. [t] SHAW ubi ſupra.

(H) This river, the *Bagrada* of the antients, will be deſcribed in the next chapter.

Vaſt extent of the Carthaginian *dominions.*

Strabo [u] obſerves, that the *Carthaginians* poſſeſſed three hundred cities in *Africa* before the beginning of the third *Punic* war; which may eaſily be believed, if we conſider, that the dominions of this ſtate in *Africa* before that war, extended from the weſtern confines of *Cyrenaica* [w], to the pillars of *Hercules*, or ſtraits of *Gibraltar* (I), a tract of land near fifteen hundred miles in length. When it was arrived at its laſt period of perfection, the beſt part of *Spain*, even as far as the *Pyrenees*, of *Sicily*, and all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean* to the weſt of this latter, were ſubject to it. How it came to make ſuch large acquiſitions, and by what ſteps it grew ſo formidable, as to diſpute the empire of the world with *Rome* itſelf, will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

[u] Strab. l. xvii. [w] Scylax Caryand. Vide & Bochart. ubi ſupra, &c.

(I) The diſtance betwixt the *Philænorum Æræ* and pillars of *Hercules*, according to *Polybius* (11), was ſixteen thouſand ſtadia, or about two thouſand miles. But from Dr. *Shaw*'s moſt accurate obſervations, it appears to have been one thouſand four hundred and twenty geographical miles, ſixty of which make a degree of a great circle. The particulars of this computation may be ſeen in the following table:

	Miles.
From *Tingi*, or *Tangier*, to the river *Malva*, or *Mullociah*	200
To the eaſtern part of the river *Chinalaph*, or *Shelliff*	220
To the river *Ampſaga*, or city of *Cirta*	165
To *Laribus* by *Theveſte*, or *Tiffeſh*	130
To *Carthage*	70
To *Kairwan*, olim *Vicus Auguſti*	75
To *Tacape* in the *Leſſer Syrtis*	110
To *Tripolis*	135
To *Leptis Magna*, or *Libda*, in the *Greater Syrtis*	115
To the bottom of the *Greater Syrtis*, now called the gulf of *Scedra*, where the *Philænorum Æræ* are ſuppoſed to have been ſituated	200
In all	1420

Hence it is evident, that *Polybius* makes this tract to have been of a greater extent than it really was, tho', conſidering the largeneſs of the geographical miles above-mentioned, that author does not ſo much exceed the truth, as may at firſt ſight be imagined.

(11) *Polyb. l.* iii.

SECT. II.

A deſcription of Africa Propria, *or the territory of* Carthage.

Africa Propria.

HAVING given our readers the beſt account of the origin and foundation of *Carthage* that can be drawn from antiquity, as likewiſe a ſmall ſketch of its power, wealth, magnitude, *&c.* which we ſhall expatiate more largely upon hereafter; before we proceed directly to the hiſtory of the *Carthaginians*, or deſcribe the religion, government, genius, commerce, manners, arts, ſciences, *&c.* of that people, it will be proper to give a deſcription of the country wherein they were ſeated, and which was looked upon as the natural territory of their city; for with regard to the other dominions they, at certain intervals, poſſeſſed, or got a footing in, they were ſometimes of a larger, and ſometimes of a narrower, extent; ſometimes in their own hands, and ſometimes in thoſe of other ſtates, according as ſucceſs or misfortune attended them in the management of their affairs.

Its limits.

Mela [a] and *Ptolemy* will have *Africa Propria* to have contained all the countries ſituate between the river *Ampſaga* and the borders of *Cyrenaica*, which, *Pliny* [b] tells us, were inhabited by twenty-ſix different nations; but this gives it too great an extent, as making it to include *Numidia* and the *Regio Syrtica*, which are countries diſtinct from the proper territory of *Carthage*. Its true limits ſeem [c] to have been the river *Tuſca* on the weſt, or ſide of *Numidia*; the *Mediterranean* or *African* ſea on the north; the frontiers of the *Garamantes* and deſerts of *Libya Interior* on the ſouth; and the *Mediterranean*, with the *Leſſer Syrtis*, on the eaſt. It [d] was divided into two provinces,

[a] Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 7. Ptol. l. iv. c. 3. Vide etiam Cellar. geogr. ant. l iv. c. 4. [b] Plin. l. v. c. 4. [c] Idem, ibid. Herodot. l. iv. Scylax Caryand. in peripl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Ptol. geogr. l. iv. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 4. [d] Plin. ubi ſupra. Strab. l. ii.

a vinces, the *Regio Zeugitana*, and *Byzacium*, with which the kingdom of *Tunis* [e], under its diviſion into the ſummer and winter circuits, at preſent nearly correſponds. According to *Dio* [f], this region was likewiſe called the *old province*, and *Numidia* the *new one*. *Byzacium* [g], or at leaſt the ſea coaſt of that province, ſeems to be the *Emporia* of *Livy* and *Polybius*. Diviſion.

Ptolemy [h] has placed *Carthage*, and all the neighbouring cities, four degrees too ſoutherly, which is not to be wondered at, conſidering the inaccuracy of that geographer in aſcertaining the latitudes of places. If we admit the poſition of *Africa Propria* to have been nearly the ſame with that of the kingdom of *Tunis*, as there is great reaſon to believe [i], it muſt have taken up almoſt four degrees of north latitude,
b *viz.* from 33° 30′ N. to 37° 12′ N. and of longitude above three degrees, ſince *Sbekkah*, the moſt advanced city of the kingdom of *Tunis* to the weſtward, is in 8°, and *Clybea*, the fartheſt to the eaſt, in 11° 20′ E. longitude from *London*. The ſpot of ground on which *Carthage* ſtood is, according to the lateſt obſervations [k], about 10° 40′ eaſt of *London*, and in north latitude 36° 40′.

Zeugitana, or the *Regio Zeugitana*, was ſeparated from *Numidia* by the river *Tuſca*, and extended as far as *Adrumetum*, which *Pliny* [l] makes to be the firſt city of *Byzacium*. The ſummer circuit of the kingdom of *Tunis* [m], including the fruitful country about *Keff* and *Bai-jah*, and ſeveral other diſtricts, anſwers at preſent to this province, which was the *Regio Carthaginienſium* of *Strabo* [n], and the *Africa Propria* of *Pliny* Zeugitana.
c and *Solinus* [o]. We ſhall not pretend here to give a minute and particular deſcription of all the cities it contained, as being incongruous with our preſent deſign; but only touch upon ſome of the principal of them, which have been taken the moſt notice of by thoſe writers who have treated of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* affairs.

The firſt place in *Zeugitana* worthy our notice, ſince *Carthage* has been already deſcribed, is *Utica*. In rank and dignity this city was next to *Carthage* itſelf, and even ſuperior to it in point of antiquity. *Ariſtotle* [p] ſays it was built, according to the *Phœnician* hiſtorians, two hundred and eighty-ſeven years before *Carthage*. *Velleius* [q], as has been above related, makes the *Tyrians* to have founded it a little more than eighty years after the deſtruction of *Troy*. *Juſtin* [r] intimates, that the *Tyrians* Utica.
d were ſettled there a conſiderable time before *Dido* came into *Africa*; nay, that this ſettlement commenced upon their firſt arrival in that country: and with theſe two laſt authors *Mela* and *Stephanus* [s] agree. From this great antiquity, *Bochart* [t] thinks the *Phœnicians* gave it the name *Atica*, *the ancient*, i. e. *city*, rather, in our opinion, *Etuca* [u] or *Ituca*, i. e. *the city of long ſtanding*, or *the great city*, *the ſtrong city*, &c. which appellation it might have gone by amongſt the *Tyrians*, even in *Dido*'s time; and this notion receives a good degree of probability from *Scylax* and *Polybius*, the moſt ancient authors mentioning it, who call it *Ituce*, or *Ityce*, to whom the other *Greek* authors, ſpeaking of it, except *Dio*, who uſes the *Latin* name, may be added. The gulph, on which both this city and *Carthage* ſtood, was formed by two promon-
e tories, *viz.* the promontory of *Mercury* and that of *Apollo*, under the laſt of which *Utica* was ſeated. *Appian* [w] ſays it was ſixty *ſtadia*, or ſeven miles and a half to the weſtward of *Carthage*; but, according to the *itinerary*, theſe two cities were twenty-ſeven *Roman* miles diſtant from each other [x]. *Utica* had a large and commodious harbour, and was famous on many accounts in the *Roman* hiſtory, but on none more than the death of the younger *Cato*, who was from thence called *Cato Uticenſis*, or *Cato* of *Utica*. After *Carthage* was razed by the *Romans*, it had a grant made it of all the country lying between *Carthage* and *Hippo*, and was for a conſiderable time the metropolis of *Africa*. An ingenious modern traveller [y] ſuppoſes this place to have
f ſtood where *Boo-ſhatter* does at preſent; the traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence ſtill viſible there, and the diſtance from *Carthage* perfectly agreeing with that of the *itinerary*, beſides other circumſtances, giving good grounds for ſuch a ſuppoſition.

The next town in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, but in a contrary direction to the former, is *Tunes*, or *Tuneta*, the *Tunis* of the moderns. This town is undoubt- Tunes.

edly

[e] Shaw's geographical deſcription of the kingdom of Tunis, chap. 1, 2, &c. [f] Dio, l. xliii. p. 246. [g] Liv. l. xxxiv. Polyb. l. i. & Cellar. ubi ſupra [h] Ptol. geog. l. iv. Shaw ubi ſup. [i] Shaw, ibid. [k] Ibid. [l] Plin. ubi ſup. & Cellar. ibid. [m] Shaw ubi ſup. [n] Strab. l. xvii. [o] Plin. ubi ſup. & Solin. c. 27. [p] Aristot. de mirabil. [q] Vell. Paterc. ubi ſup. [r] Just. l. xviii. [s] Steph. de urb. & Mela, c. 7. [t] Bochart. de col. Phœn. l. i. c 24. [u] Part Pahul. Vid. Schind. pentag. [w] Appian. in Libyc. [x] Auct. itin. int. Carth. & Utic. [y] Shaw ubi ſup.

edly of great antiquity, being taken particular notice of by *Polybius*[z], *Diodorus*, *Livy*, and others; nay, that it was of *Phœnician* original, the name itself sufficiently implies: for we find in that part of the *Lower Egypt*, almost contiguous to the borders of *Arabia Petræa* and *Phœnice*, a town called *Tanes*[a], from whence the *Tanitic* nome and *Tanitic* mouth of the *Nile* took their name. And 'tis well known, that this part of *Egypt*[b] was over-run by the *Phœnicians*, either in the time of *Joshua*, or much earlier; and that these same *Phœnicians* afterwards settled in *Africa Propria*, *Numidia*, and *Mauritania*. In confirmation of which sentiment, we find a river in *Numidia*[c], not far from the *Ampsaga*, called *Tanas*; from whence we may infer, since nothing is more common in the *oriental* languages, than a permutation of vowels, that *Tunes* is a *Phœnician* name, and that the city itself is of *Phœnician* extraction. That it was a town of some note in very early ages, is evident from *Livy*[d], *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*, who tell us, that there was a hot bath, and a famous quarry, not far from it; that it was fortified both by nature and art, and surrounded with a wall. It was seated on or near the mouth of the river *Catada*, fifteen *Roman* miles east of *Carthage*. The city is more famous now, than it was even amongst the ancients, being the capital of a powerful kingdom. The greatest part of it is situate upon a rising ground, along the western banks of the lake, which goes by the same name[e], and in a full prospect (as the ancients have described it) of the *Guletta*, *Carthage*, and the island *Zowa-moore*. *Tunis* some time since was noted for its corsairs, but of late the inhabitants have applied themselves wholly to trade, and are now become the most civilized and polite people in *Barbary* (A).

Maxula. *Maxula*, or, according to *Ptolemy*, *Mazula*[f], is an ancient town of the state of *Carthage*, and, if *Pliny*[g] may be credited, pretty near the city, in a direction contrary to the promontory of *Apollo* and *Utica*. We find on the western banks of the *Tigris* a city in *Arabic*[h], named *Mosul*, or *Mozul*, which word is not remote from the *Mazula* of *Ptolemy*. 'Tis likewise evident from the authority of *Scylax*, who mentions it, that *Mazula* was of some repute in his time, and therefore of great antiquity; from which considerations we may conclude it not improbable, as there is a very great affinity betwixt the *Arabic* and *Phœnician* languages, that this town was built by the *Phœnicians*. It stood on the eastern side of the *Catada*, now the *Miliana*; and, if the conjecture of the ingenious gentleman[i] above-mentioned be true, viz. that *Mo-raisah*, two leagues to the north-east of *Solyman*, be the *Maxula* or *Mazula*, of the ancients, this town was about eight leagues, or twenty-four *English* miles, south-east of *Tunes* (B).

Carpis. *Carpis*, a city of this district, placed by *Ptolemy*[k] one third of a degree more northerly than *Carthage*. *Pliny* calls it *Carpi*. Our learned traveller[l] supposes the spot which this town occupied, to be that which *Gurbos*, or *Hammam-Gurbos*, at present stands upon; and that the hot bath near it is the *Aquæ Calidæ* of *Livy*. Though the position *Ptolemy* assigns his *Carpis* does not agree with that of the modern *Gurbos*, this last lying above a league more southerly than *Carthage*, yet we doubt not but the gentleman is in the right, this geographer being very inaccurate in his determination of the latitudes of places.

Misua,

[z] Polyb. l. i. Liv. l. xxx. Diodor. Sic. l. xiv. Strab. l. xvii. &c. [a] Herod. Strab. Plin. Ptol. aliiq; Vide etiam Cellar. geog. ant. p. 785, 799. ed. Lipsiæ 1732. [b] D. August. in expos. epist. ad 3 Rom. sub init. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 10. Euseb. chron. l. i. p. 11. Gemar Hierosol. ad Tit. Shebith, cap. 6. Manetho apud Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. Nonnus in Dionysiac l. xiii. Newton's chronol. p 198—202. Marsham's can. chron. Bp. Cumberland's treatise on Sanchoniatho's Phœn. hist. Univ. Hist. Vol. I. [c] Sal. in Jugurth. c. 95. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 913, [d] Liv. Diodor. & Strab. ubi sup. & alibi. [e] Shaw ubi sup. p. 155. [f] Ptol. geog. l iv. [g] Plin. l. v. c. 4. [h] Val. Schind. pentaglot. Cellar. geog. ant. p. 623. [i] Shaw ubi sup. p. 57. [k] Plin. & Ptol. ubi sup. [l] Shaw ubi sup. p. 57.

(A) Somewhere near this place *Adis* or *Adda* is to be looked for, where *Regulus* gave the *Carthaginians* a memorable defeat, and forced their camp. It appears from *Polybius* (1), that this was a town of some importance; but the ancients being silent as to any farther particulars relating to it, save only that it was situated amongst rocks and hills, we shall think it sufficient just to have mentioned it.

(B) We find the *Musulani*, a people seated in the western part of *Numidia*, not far from the *Ampsaga*, taken notice of by *Tacitus* (2); and a town and promontory of *Ethiopia*, famous for the cinamon they produced, near the confines of *Nubia* and *Lilya interior*, named *Mossylon* or *Mosulum*, remembered by *Pliny* (3). Now as a *Phœnician* colony came very early into *Numidia*, and the *Nubians* and *Ethiopians* were the descendants of the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, as will hereafter be proved, possibly some light may from thence be thrown upon what we have advanced concerning the origin of this town.

(1) *Polyb. l.* i. (2) *Tacit. ann.* ii. *c.* 52. & *l.* iv. *c.* 24. (3) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 4. & *l.* vi. *c.* 29.

Miſua [m], or *Niſua*, a town taken notice of by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, between *Carpis* and *Clypea*. The ruins [n] of this place are ſtill to be ſeen at the ſanctuary of *Seedy Doud*, in the kingdom of *Tunis*, five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of *Hercules*. Miſua.

THE next place that occurs is the *Aquilaria* of *Cæſar* [o], where *Curio* landed his troops from *Sicily*. *Cæſar* tells us, it was a very convenient ſtation in the ſummer ſeaſon, and in the neighbourhood of two promontories. Of theſe, in all probability, that of *Mercury* (called by the *Moors* the *Raſ-adder*, and by the *Franks* cape *Bon*) was one; ſince this is about a league to the northward of *Lowah-reah*, ſuppoſed to be the antient *Aquilaria*. Many fragments [p] of antiquities are ſtill extant here, but among them nothing remarkable. Aquilaria.

Clypea [q], a city built upon the ſmall promontory *Taphitis*, five leagues ſouth-eaſt of the promontory of *Mercury*, which being in the figure of a ſhield or hemiſphere, gave occaſion to the name. It is called by *Livy*, *Mela*, and *Pliny*, *Clupea*; by *Polybius*, *Appian*, and *Agathemerus*, *Aſpis*; but by *Solinus* and the *itinerary*, *Clypea*. A mile [r] diſtant from the ground where the old city ſtood, is a collection of huts or cottages, called by the inhabitants *Clypea*. *Ptolemy* is guilty of a great miſtake, when he makes *Aſpis* and *Clypea* two different cities. Clypea.

Curubis, *Curobis*, and *Curabis*, a town, according to the *itinerary*, thirty-two *Roman* miles diſtant from the former; but, according to the more accurate obſervations of the moderns [s], ſeven leagues, or twenty-one miles, ſouth-weſt and by weſt of it. It is ſtyled by *Pliny* [t] the *free city Curubis*, and ſeems to have been a conſiderable place in former times; though the ruins of a large aqueduct, and of the ciſterns which received the water, are the only antiquities it can boaſt of at preſent, if the modern *Gurba* anſwers to it, as both the name and ſituation ſufficiently intimate. Curubis.

Canthele, a *Phœnician* city, not far from *Curubis*, according to *Hecatæus* [u]. This town ſeems to have received its appellation from the pagan deity *Saturn*; ſince, according to *Sanchoniatho* [w] and *Damaſcius*, the word *el* in the *Phœnician* tongue had a particular relation to that deity. In confirmation of which 'tis obſerv'd by *Ponticus*, in his life of St. *Cyprian*, that there was a town in that place called by the *Romans*, *vicus Saturni*, *the ſtreet or town of* Saturn. This was not a place of figure, at leaſt ſo low as the claſſic times, ſo that we take notice of it here purely on account of its antiquity. Canthele.

Neapolis, a famous and antient empory of the *Carthaginians* in the ſouth-eaſt part of *Zeugitana*, five leagues to the north-eaſt of *Curubis*. *Thucydides* [x] ſays, that the paſſage from hence to *Sicily* was very ſhort, as being performed in two days and a night. *Scylax* places it not far from the leſſer *Syrtis*, and about a day and a half's journey from the promontory of *Mercury*. *Nabal*, a thriving and induſtrious modern town, is a furlong to the weſtward of the antient *Neapolis*, which appears to have been a large city. *Pliny* ſtyles this place, as well as *Curubis*, *a free city*. Here is a great number of inſcriptions upon ſtones of ſix foot in length, and three in breadth; but they are either ſo unfortunately defaced, or filled with rubbiſh and mortar, that it is a difficult thing to copy them. *Strabo* and *Hirtius* agree with *Scylax* in fixing it pretty near the promontory of *Mercury*. *Nabal* [y] ſtands upon the gulph of *Hamonet* in N. lat. 36° 8′ two leagues from a little opulent town of the ſame name. Neapolis.

To theſe may be added *Nepheris*, a fortreſs lying a little to the eaſtward of *Carthage*. It was a place of good conſideration, being built upon a rock, and ſtrongly fenced by nature on all ſides. *Aſdrubal*, with his whole army, was cut off near it by *Scipio*, who, after a ſiege of two and twenty days, reduced the town; and this greatly contributed to the conqueſt of *Carthage*. *Strabo*, *Appian*, and the epitomizer of *Livy*, take particular notice of it. Nepheris.

THE only city remaining in this province that merits any attention is *Hippo*, towards the north-weſt borders of it, a ſort of frontier town on the ſide of *Numidia*. From the navigable lake *Hipponitis*, on which it was built, and which ſerved it as a natural fortification, it was denominated *Hippo Diarrhytus*, and *Hippo Zarytus*; tho', from the promontory near it the antients ſometimes gave it the denomination of *Acra*, *Hippuacra*, and *Hippagreta*. *Scylax* calls it ſimply *Hippo*, notwithſtanding it generally Hippo.

went

[m] PLIN. & PTOL. ubi ſup. [n] SHAW ubi ſup. [o] CÆS. lib. ii. civ. bell. c. 23. [p] SHAW ubi ſup. p. 158. [q] STRAB. lib. xvii. p. 573. [r] SHAW ubi ſup. [s] SHAW ibid. [t] PLIN. ubi ſup. [u] HECATÆUS perieget apud. Steph. de urb. [w] SANCHIONATHO apud Euſeb. in præp. evang. l. i. c. 10. & DAMASCIUS apud Photium in bibliothec. 242. [x] THUCYD. l. vii. [y] SHAW ubi ſup.

went by the names above-mentioned in the time of *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, and *Appian*; and this in order to diſtinguiſh it from *Hippo Regius* in *Numidia*. *Appian*[x] tells us, that it was a great city, had a port, a citadel, and repoſitories for naval ſtores. The modern name is *Bizerta*, which is a corruption of the *Hippo Zarytus* of the antients. It is pleaſantly ſituated upon a canal[y], eight miles to the ſouth and by weſt of cape *Blanco*, betwixt an extenſive lake and the ſea. It is at preſent about a mile in circuit, defended by ſeveral caſtles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the ſea. The origin of it was *Phœnician*, as has been fully proved by *Bochart*[z], who derives the name *Hippo* from the *Syriac* or *Phœnician Ubbo*, or *Uppo*, a gulph, which perfectly well anſwers to the ſituation of the place. To which by way of corroboration it may be obſerved, that the gulph, on which it was ſeated, ſeems, in contradiſtinction to the city *Hippo* or *Hippon*, to be called *Hippos* by *Ptolemy*, when he takes notice of the promontory of *Hippos*, or of *the gulph cloſe by it*; and if ſo, this was only the *Syriac* or *Phœnician Ubbo* (gulph) with a *Greek* termination ſuperadded. This gulph is formed by the *Promontorium Candidum* and *Promontorium Apollinis* of the antients, the *Ras el abeadh* and *Ras Zibeeb* of the preſent *Tuniſeens*. b

As for the inland Towns of *Zeugitana*, *Ulizibirra*, *Mediccara*, *Tucma*, *Cerbica*, *Saſura*, *Cilma*, *Vepillium*, *Vina*, *Valli*, *Cigiſa*, *Muſti*, *Membreſſa*, *Cilio*, and others equally obſcure, enumerated by *Ptolemy*, the *itinerary*, and *Peutinger*'s table; they were for the moſt part, if not intirely, modern in compariſon of the *Carthaginian* times, and never conſiderable in any other. We ſhall therefore conclude what we have to ſay of this province with obſerving, that there ſeem to be ſome traces of *Zeugis* or *Zeugitana* in the preſent name of the city of *Zowan* or *Zagwan*, a ſmall flouriſhing town built upon the north-eaſt extremity of a conſpicuous mountain of the ſame name, in the ſummer circuit of the kingdom of *Tunis*. This will appear extremely probable from what has been advanced by *Solinus*, compared with the obſervations of the learned traveller[a] ſo often cited. The *Zygantes* of *Herodotus* ſeem likewiſe to have been placed in the neighbourhood of *Zagwan*, which is an additional argument in ſupport of this notion. c

Byzacium. *Byzacium*, according to *Pliny*[b], was inhabited by the *Libyphœnicians*, that is, by a mixture of *Aborigines*, or native *Africans*, and *Carthaginians*. The ſame author tells us, it was about two hundred and fifty *Roman* miles in circumference, and of ſo great fertility, that the earth made a return of an hundred fold. The limits of this province ſeem impoſſible to be preciſely defined, becauſe the antients have paſſed over the interior part of it bordering upon *Libya* in a very ſlight manner, and greatly miſtaken the courſe, magnitude and ſource of the river *Triton*; only in general it may be proper to remark, that it is ſuppoſed not to have differed much in extent and ſituation from the preſent winter circuit of the *Tuniſeens*. We have neither room nor opportunity to be very particular in our account of the towns it formerly contained, and therefore hope that a brief deſcription of ſome of the principal of them will ſuffice. d

Adrumetum. *Adrumetum*, or *Hadrumetum*, the capital of *Byzacium*, was a city of great antiquity, and of great note in the antient world. It had a variety of names, being called by *Strabo* and *Stephanus*, *Adryme* or *Adrume*, as alſo *Adrymetus*; by *Plutarch* and *Ptolemy*, *Adrumetus* or *Adrumettus*; by *Appian*, *Adrymettus*; and by *Cæſar*, *Hirtius*, and *Pliny*, *Adrumetum*; by *Mela*, *Hadrumetum*, or according to *Voſſius*, *Hadrumentum*; and laſtly, in *Peutinger*'s table, we find it named *Hadrito*. The city was large and ſpacious, built upon an hemiſpherical promontory, like *Clypea*, at the diſtance of two leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of the moraſs, the boundary, as hath been ſuppoſed, betwixt the *Zeugitana* and this province. According to the *itinerary*, it was eighteen *Roman* miles from *Leptis Minor*, though *Peutinger*'s table makes the diſtance greater. Adjacent to the city was a *cothon*, being either a port or little iſland, in imitation of that of *Carthage* ſo called. The city, according to the judgment that can be formed from the preſent ſituation, was ſomething more than a mile in circuit; and from the remaining ruins[c], ſeems rather to have been a place of importance than extent. That it was founded by the *Phœnicians*, is evident from *Salluſt*[d] and others; as likewiſe from the name itſelf, which *Bochart*, with a great appearance of truth, derives from two *Syriac* or *Phœnician* words, importing, *the land* or *country returning an hundred fold*, i. e. *of corn* or *grain*. The extraordinary fertility, e f not

[x] Appian. in Libyc. [y] Shaw ubi ſup. [z] Bochart. de col. Phœn. l. i. c. 24. [a] Shaw ubi ſup. c. 3. [b] Plin. ubi ſup. [c] Shaw ubi ſup. [d] Sallust. in Jugurth. Bochart. ubi ſup.

a not only of the province in general, but of *Adrumetum*, the metropolis of it, in particular, is confirmed by an inſcription in *Smetius* [e], which gives a ſanction to *Bochart*'s authority, and ſufficiently convinces us of the truth of what we find related concerning it by the *Latin* authors; though at this day [f] it is but a barren and uncultivated tract, being partly of a dry ſandy nature, and partly incommoded with moraſſes and *ſhibkahs* (C) diſperſed over it, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon. If the *Herkla* of the *Tuniſeens*, the *Heraclea* of the lower empire, be *Adrumetum*, as we ſee no reaſon to doubt, it muſt have been in N. lat. 35° 50′, though *Ptolemy* places it in N. lat. 32° 40′.

Ruſpina, a town of *Byzacium*, betwixt *Adrumetum* and *Leptis Minor*, where *Cæſar* Ruſpina.
b incamped in his wars with *Scipio* [g]. The village of *Sahaleel*, a little above ſix leagues from *Herkla*, and full a mile from the ſea, has the faireſt pretenſions to *Ruſpina*; ſince we are aſſured by *Hirtius* [h], that the port of *Ruſpina* was not at a much greater diſtance from the town.

Leptis Minor, one of *Pliny*'s free cities, eighteen *Roman* miles from *Adrumetum*, LeptisMinor.
of *Phœnician* extraction. It had the epithet *minor* commonly annexed to it, in order to diſtinguiſh it from *Leptis Major*, a city of the *Regio Syrtica*, which was built either by the *Sidonians*, as *Salluſt* ſeems to intimate [i], or the *Tyrians*, according to *Pliny* [k], *Bochart* [l] deduces the name *Leptis* from the *Phœnician labt* or *lapt*, denoting a port or ſtation for veſſels. *Strabo* and *Stephanus* ſay, that *Lepethis*, a city of *Cyprus*, was
c famous for its commodious ſtation, and the ſame is ſaid of *Leptis Minor* by *Lucan* [m]. The city paid every day a talent to the *Carthaginians* by way of tribute; and all authors agree, that the circumjacent country was exceeding fruitful, which has induced *Bochart* to derive *Emporia* (its name in *Livy* and *Polybius*) from two *Oriental* words, importing *the fruitful mother*. The place is at preſent called *Lempta*; bnt there is nothing left beſides a ſmall part of the caſtle, with a low ſhelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the *Cothon*.

Agar [n], a town taken notice of by *Hirtius*, a few miles to the weſtward of *Leptis*. Agar.
The ſituation of this place is very rocky, and here is a great quantity of ſtones and ruins. The village, at preſent taking up the ſpot of ground on which *Agar* ſtood,
d is called [o] by the *Arabs*, *Boo-Hadjar*, i. e. *the father of a ſtone*; which agrees in ſignification pretty well with the old name, and anſwers to the circumſtances above-mentioned.

Thapſus, a maritime town of this province, ſeated, according to *Dio* [p], upon a Thapſus.
ſort of iſthmus, betwixt the ſea and a lake. *Peutinger*'s table makes it eight miles diſtant from *Leptis* to the ſouth. The inhabitants of *Thapſus* were famous for their fidelity to *Scipio*, in his wars with *Cæſar*; but notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the place, they were obliged to ſubmit to the latter, after he had defeated the former. *Demaſs*, the ancient *Thapſus*, is ſituated up on a low neck of land, three miles to the E. by S. of *To-bulba*, within half a league of which is the lake taken notice of by *Hirtius*.
e Here is ſtill remaining [q], in defiance of time and the ſea, a great part of the *cothon*, built in frames; the compoſition whereof is made up of ſmall pebbles and mortar, which are ſo well cemented and knit together, that a ſolid rock could not be more hard and durable. The walls of *Tlemſan* very much reſemble the remaining part of this *cothon*.

Acholla or *Acilla*, another free city, called by *Appian* [r], *Cholla*. If the ſite *Ptolemy* aſſigns this city be allowed, *Elalia*, ſix miles to the northward of *She-ah*, the ancient Acholla
Ruſpæ, upon the borders of a fertile plain, undoubtedly anſwers to it.

Turris

[e] Smetius in inſcript. vol. & Vet. Inscript. apud Gruter. p. 362. [f] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 186. [g] Ibid. p. 190. [h] Hirt. bell. Afric. ſec. 9. [i] Sallust. in Jugurth. c. 22. & 80. [k] Plin. l. v. c. 19. [l] Bochart. ubi ſup. [m] Lucan. bell. civ. l. ix. v. 951. [n] Hirt. bell. Afric. ſec, 68. 79. [o] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 191. [p] Dio, l. xliii. p. 245. [q] Shaw ubi ſup. [r] Appian. in Libyc.

(C) The word *ſhibkah* ſignifies in the *Arabic* language a *ſaltiſh plat* of ground; and denotes a ſpot generally overflowed in the winter, but dry all the ſummer (4). There are great numbers of theſe in the kingdom of *Tunis* and *Algiers*, which appear like ſo many extenſive lakes, and produce a conſiderable quantity of ſalt. In the ſummer they may be taken for bowling-greens prepared for the turf. Some of them have a hard and ſolid bottom, without the leaſt mixture of gritty mould, retaining the ſalt that lieth cryſtalized upon them after rain; but others are of a more oozy abſorbent nature, ſeldom preſerving any ſaline incruſtations upon the ſurface. The earth of them all is very pungent to the tongue, and, by a proper ſolution, would yield, no doubt, a copious portion of ſalt.

(4) *Shaw in phyſ. and miſcel. obſerv. p.* 230.

Turris Hannibalis.

Turris Hannibalis [r], the tower of *Hannibal*, was a fort, tower, or country ſeat, belonging to *Hannibal*, betwixt *Thapſus* and *Acilla*, according to *Livy*. To this place *Hannibal* fled from *Carthage*, for fear of the *Romans*; and immediately, upon his arrival, imbarking in a veſſel that waited for him, paſſed over to the iſland *Cercina*. Either *El-Medea*, five miles to the ſouth of *Demaſs*, or *Saleƈto* [s], five miles to the S. by W. of *El-Medea*, in all probability, occupies the ſpace on which this fort, tower, or country ſeat, was erected.

Thena.

Thena or *Thenæ*, a town on the coaſt of the leſſer *Syrtis* mentioned by *Strabo* [t], known at this time among the *Tuniſeens* by the name *Thainee*. It was built upon a low and rocky piece of ground, near two miles in circuit. The adjacent country is dry and barren, without either fountain or rivulet to refreſh it. b

Macodana.

Betwixt *Thenæ* and the mouth of the *Triton*, or the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, *Ptolemy* places his *Macodama*, with which perhaps *Maha-reſs* [u], four leagues to the weſt of *Thainee*, correſponds. 'Tis a village famous for nothing, but ſeveral ciſterns, with large areas to receive the rain-water.

Uzita.

Uzita, a town of ſome note near *Tiſdrus* and *Leptis Minor*, mentioned by *Hirtius*, *Ptolemy*, and *Dio*. *Bochart* [w] derives the name from *zaith* or *zait*, *an olive*, or *place where olives are produced*; and, according to *Hirtius*, the neighbourhood of this city was famous for its production of olives, ſince *Cæſar* exacted yearly from the inhabitants of *Leptis* a vaſt quantity of oil by way of mulƈt or tribute. This gives great weight to *Bochart*'s opinion, and proves the city to be *Phœnician*. c

Thala.

Thala [x], a city of great extent, taken notice of by *Salluſt*, ſituated, like *Capſa*, in the midſt of mountains and deſerts, though there were ſome fountains without the city. All which particulars agree with the ſituation of the modern *Ferre-anah*, in the ſouth-weſt part of this province.

Capſa.

Twelve leagues to the S. E. by E. of this place is *Gafsa*, the *Capſa* of the ancients, and one of the ſtrong caſtles of *Jugurtha* [y]. It is built upon a riſing ground, incloſed, almoſt in every direction, with mountains; and hath the like melancholy ſituation with *Ferre-anah*, only with this difference, that the landſkip here is ſomewhat more gay and verdant by the proſpect we have from it of the palm, olive, piſtachio, and other fruit-trees. In the eaſtern languages the word ſignifies *ſtraitly environed*, d and ſo the place is on every ſide by ſolitudes and deſerts; which is a good proof that it was originally *Phœnician* [z]. There ſeem to have been two more cities of this name, the one in *Numidia*, the other in *Libya Interior*.

Suffetula, *Turzo*, *Sarſura*, *Tiſdra* or *Tiſdrus*, *Caraga*, *Orbita*, and other obſcure towns of *Byzacium*, of which we know nothing but the bare names, either intirely depend upon the faith of *Ptolemy*, were always inconſiderable in themſelves, or built below the claſſic period of time; and therefore, as they cannot have the leaſt tendency to illuſtrate any part of the *Carthaginian* hiſtory, or ſupply us with the leaſt hint or circumſtance relative thereto, we ſhall paſs them over in ſilence, and conclude our geographical remarks upon this country with a conciſe deſcription of the moſt cele- e brated lakes, rivers, and other principal curioſities of it, and a brief enumeration of the *African* nations, who in the remoteſt times poſſeſſed it.

Lakes.

The chief lakes of this region taken notice of by the ancients (beſides the lake *Hipponitis* above-mentioned, and the *Palus Siſara* joined to it, of no great repute) were the *Palus Tritonis* or *Tritonitis*, the *Palus Pallas*, and the *Palus Libya*; all which, according to *Ptolemy*, had a communication with one another, by means of the river *Triton*, which ran thro' them into the ſea. But herein that geographer was greatly deceived. The ſource of the *Triton* is nearer the ſea than theſe lakes, which are now known to be different parts or branches of the ſame lake, whoſe modern name is, the *Shibkah El Lowdeah* [a], or *lake of marks*, ſo called from a number of trunks of palm-trees, that are f placed at proper diſtances, to direƈt the caravans in their marches over it. This lake extends itſelf near twenty leagues from eaſt to weſt, and is interſperſed with ſeveral dry ſpots, which appear like iſlands in it. To the eaſtward eſpecially, in the ſame meridian with *Telemeen*, there is one, which, though uninhabited, is very large, and well ſtocked with date trees. This ſeems to be the *Cherſoneſus* of *Diodorus* [b], and the *Phla* of *Herodotus* [c]; and the date trees in it, according to a tradition of the *Arabs*, ſprung

[r] Liv. l. xxxiii. Just. l. xxxi. [s] Shaw. ubi ſup. p. 192. [t] Strab. l. xvii. p. 572. 574. [u] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 195, [w] Bochart, ubi ſup. [x] Sallust. in Jugurth. [a] Shaw ubi ſup. p. 211, 212. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Vid. Bochart. ubi ſup. & Cellar. in Geog. ant. p. 875, 913. [b] Diodor. Sic. l. iii. p. 130. [c] Herodot. l. iv.

ſprung originally from the ſtones of thoſe dates which the *Egyptians* brought with them for proviſions, many ages ſince [f], when they invaded this part of *Africa*, and halted here. The *Punic* name perhaps was *Tarit* [g], *Terit*, or *Trit*, i. e. *paſturage*, or *paſture-ground*; for, if we may believe *Scylax* and *Herodotus* [h], it ſerved as a boundary to the *Libyan Nomades*, who abounded with flocks and herds, and whoſe country muſt of conſequence have been of ſuch a nature as the word *tarit* imports the ground bordering upon the lake and river *Triton* to have been. *Scylax* makes the lake to have been in his time about a thouſand ſtadia in circumference, which agrees tolerably well with the beſt modern deſcription we find given of it. *Feſtus* [i] tells us, that that the goddeſs *Minerva* firſt appeared in the neighbourhood of this place.

Rivers.

THE moſt famous river of *Africa Propria* was the *Bagrada* [k], *Bagadras*, or *Bragada*, for it went by all thoſe names. On the banks of which, *Regulus*, in the firſt *Punic* war, by the help of his battering engines, killed a ſerpent [l] of a monſtrous ſize, being an hundred and twenty foot in length, whoſe ſkin and jaw-bones were preſerved at *Rome* till the *Numantine* war. *Ptolemy* [m] derives this river from mount *Mampſarus*, where he fixes its ſource, making it bend its courſe almoſt directly from north to ſouth; and herein he is followed by the late geographers: but this is a miſtake [n], its ſtream flowing in a direction almoſt from weſt to eaſt. At this day it is called the *Me-jerdah* [o], whoſe firſt and moſt diſtant branches are the ſmall rivers *Hameeſe* and *Myſki-anah*, in the diſtrict of the *Hen-neiſha*; which, with the concurrent ſtreams of the *Wed el Boule*, *Scilliana*, and ſome other rivulets of the *Frig-eah*, render it as large as the *Iſis* and *Cherwell* united. By running through a rich and fertile country, it becomes ſo well ſaturated with ſoil, that it is of the ſame complection with the *Nile*, and appears to have no leſs the property of making encroachments upon the ſea. *Utica* ſtood upon the weſtern bank of the *Bagrada*, and *Carthage* on the other ſide, but at ſome diſtance from it. *Bochart* will have the *Phœnicians* to have pronounced the name *Bragda* [p] or *Bractha*, i. e. a *pond*, and produces ſeveral authorities, which give a great air of probability to his opinion.

The Bagrada.

THE *Catada* of *Ptolemy*, now the *Miliana*, is famous for nothing but having *Tunis* ſeated upon the mouth of it; nor the *Triton*, now the *Gabbs*, but on account of the lake of the ſame name already deſcribed. However, it may not be improper to obſerve, that it has its ſource [q] only about three or four leagues to the S. S. W. of *Gabbs*, and becomes at once a conſiderable ſtream, near as big as the *Cherwell*.

The Catada.

AMONG the principal curioſities of this country are to be ranked the *Hammam Leef* (D), a noted hot bath [r], very much reſorted to by the citizens of *Tunis*; the hot bath, with ſome ruins, at the creek of *Gurbos* [s], the *Aquæ Calidæ* of *Livy*; the ſalt lake near *To-bulba*, the *Stagnum Salinarum* of *Hirtius*; the *Jibbel Had-deffa*, an entire mountain [t] of ſalt, ſituated near the eaſtern extremity of the *lake of marks*, whoſe ſalt is as hard and ſolid as ſtone, and of a reddiſh or purple colour; the lead-oars at *Jibbel Riſ-ſaſs* [u], near *Hammam Leef*, which are very rich. To which many others might be added, did we not chuſe to reſerve them for a more proper place (E). THE

[f] SHAW ubi ſup. [g] BOCHART. ubi ſup. [h] SCYLAX CARYAND. in peripl. & HERODOT l. iv. [i] FESTUS POMPEIUS, & DIODOR. SIC. l. iii. p. 142. [k] PLIN. l. v. c. 4. STRAB. l. xvii. APPIAN. l. ii. bell. civil. p. 748. SILIUS ITALICUS, LUCAN. &c. [l] GELLIUS, l. vi. c. 3. PLIN. hiſt. nat. l. viii. c. 14. LIV. epit. p. xviii. VAL. MAX. 1, 8, 19. [m] PTOL. Geog. l. iv. [n] SHAW ubi ſup. l. 147. [o] Ibid. p. 146. [p] BOCHART ubi ſup. [q] SHAW ubi ſup. p. 197. [r] Ibid. p. 157. [s] Ibid. [t] Idem ibid. p. 229. [u] Idem ibid. p. 237.

(D) Theſe *hammams*, or baths, are ſo called from the *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* verb חמם *hammam incaluit*, their waters being hot, though not all in the ſame degree; perhaps the words *hummums*, which we have adopted into our language, of the ſame import, is to be deduced from the ſame original.

(E) We ſhall beg leave in this note juſt to mention the principal iſlands on the coaſt of *Africa Propria*, taken notice of by the ancients, which are the following:

1. *Coſſyria* or *Coſyrius*, a ſmall iſland in the *African* ſea, which ſome authors refer to *Sicily*; but *Strabo* makes it part of the proper territory of *Carthage*. According to *Ptolemy*, it had a city of the ſame name, which, by reaſon of its vicinity to *Carthage*, was doubtleſs a place of ſome repute. *Scylax* tells us it was a day's ſail only from the promontory *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*; and *Strabo* places it in the middle of the *African* ſea, at an equal diſtance from *Lilybæum* and *Clypea*, a city of *Africa Propria*. From ſome antique coins, exhibited by *Paruta* and *Lucas Holſtenius*, it appears, that *Coſſyra* was the name moſt frequently uſed. According to *Strabo*, this iſland was an hundred and fifty ſtadia in circumference. (5).

2. The *Tarichiæ* of *Strabo* were certain minute iſlands very near the coaſt of *Africa Propria*, almoſt oppoſite to *Leptis Minor*. They are at preſent called the *Jowries*, and lie over againſt *Lempta* and *To-bulba*. *Cæſar* ſeems to have looked upon them as poſts of ſome

(5) *Ptol. l.* iv. *c.* 3. *Scyl. Caryand. Strab. l.* vi. *Parut. apud Theſaur. ant. & hiſt. Sic. vol.* viii. *Luc. Holſten. in not. ad Steph. Byzant.*

Antient inhabitants.

The moſt antient inhabitants of this country were, according to *Herodotus* [w], the *Auſes*, ſituated to the weſt of the river *Triton*, whoſe capital city was doubtleſs *Auza* or *Auzate*, ſaid by *Menander Epheſius* to be built by *Eth-baal* or *Ithobal*, king of *Tyre*; the *Maxyes*, a *Libyan* nation; the *Machlyes*, another *Libyan* nation near the lake *Tritonis*; the *Zaueces*; and the *Zygantes*, who took a particular delight in bees, and making of honey. Theſe were, in all likelihood, a mixture of old *Libyans* or *Africans* and *Phœnicians*, a more diſtinct account of whom may be expected from us when we come to treat of the different nations of *Libya*.

As for the climate, modern ſtate, and natural hiſtory of *Africa Propria*, both with regard to its animal, vegetable, and ſubterraneous productions, we ſhall defer what we have to ſay on each of theſe heads, till, according to the method already propoſed to ourſelves, we come to write the hiſtory of the ſtates of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*.

[w] Herodot. l. iv.

ſome importance, which is all that we have at preſent to ſay of them (6).

3. *Lopaduſa*, oppoſite to *Thapſus* above-mentioned, and ſix miles long, if we will believe *Pliny*. The ſame author affirms it to have been fifty miles diſtant from *Cercina* and *Cercinitis*, two ſmall iſlands belonging to the *Regio Syrtica* (7).

4. *Æthuſa* or *Æguſa*, another little iſland mentioned by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, lying a little to the weſtward of the former (8).

5. The *Laruneſiæ*, two ſmall iſlands, according to the *Palatine* MS. of *Ptolemy*, that lay above *Ruſpina* (9).

6. The *Inſula Dracontia* of *Ptolemy*, to the north of *Hippo Diarrhytus*. Two little flat contiguous iſlands called the *Cani*, not far from cape *Blanco*, ſeem at this day to bid fair for the ſame ſituation that *Ptolemy* aſſigns his *Inſula Dracontia* (10).

7. *Galata*, a little iſland above *Tabraca*, three hundred ſtadia from the continent of *Africa* (11).

8. *Ægimurus*, a ſmall iſland in the gulph of *Carthage*, about thirty miles from that capital. *Pliny* aſſures us, that there were two rocks near this iſland called the *Aræ Ægimuri* or *Ægimori*, which, according to *Servius*, were the remains of an iſland, ſome ages before his time abſorpt by the ſea. This author likewiſe informs us, that they were called *Aræ*, becauſe on them the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* concluded a treaty, and made them the limits of their reſpective dominions. The modern *Zowamoor*, between cape *Zibeeb* and cape *Bon* or *Raſaddar*, the *Zimbra* of our ſea charts is undoubtedly the *Ægimurus* of the ancients (12).

(6) *Strab. l.* xvii. *Hirt. de bel. Afric.* §. 20. (7) *Strab. l.* xvii. *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 7 (8) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 8. *Ptol. l.* iv. *c.* 3. (9) *Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 4. (10) *Ptol. ubi ſup.* (11) *Cellar. ex itinerario maritimo, ubi ſup.* (12) *Strab. l.* xxii. *p.* 573. *Liv. l.* xxx. *c.* 24. *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 7. *Virg. Æn.* i. *ver.* 108. *Serv. in loc. Steph. Byzant.* &c.

SECT. III.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade, of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians *originally* Canaanites *or* Phœnicians.

The *Carthaginians* being originally *Phœnicians* [a], were the deſcendants of the old *Canaanites* [b], and therefore could trace up their antiquity as high as *Canaan*, the ſon of *Ham*, the acknowledged progenitor of that people. All the *Greek* and *Roman* [c] writers, that make any mention of their affairs, are clear in this point, without the leaſt variation. And that they themſelves were of the ſame opinion, is evident from a tradition prevailing amongſt their poſterity ſo late as St. *Auſtin*'s [d] days; from the authority of *Servius* and *Procopius* [e]; and from the ſtrong [f] attachment they always ſhewed to the cuſtoms and manners of that nation, from which theſe authors deduce them. One of the *Punic* names of *Carthage*, according to *Plautus* [g], was *Chaedreanech*, or *Chadre-Anak*, which *Bochart* [h] with great reaſon imagines to allude to their *Canaanitiſh* extraction; for *Anak* and his family, upon account of their extraordinary ſize of body, and diſtinguiſhed valour, being eſteemed both by ſacred and profane writers as the moſt famous of the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, from him the whole nation, or at leaſt that part of it bordering upon the ſea-coaſt near the place

[a] Univ. hiſt. vol. I. p. 415, 416, & vol. VI. p. 658. [b] Univ. hiſt vol. I. p. 322, 391, &c. [c] Philistus Syracusanus apud Euſebium in chron. ad an. 804. Appian. in Libyc. ſub init. Vell. Paterc. hiſt. Rom. Justin. l. xviii. &c. [d] August. in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom. ſub init. [e] Servius in Æn. i. v. 37. & Æn. iv. v. 75. Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 10. [f] Herodot. Polyb. Liv. Diodor. Sic. Q. Curt. Justin. Tertul. Minut. Fel. &c. paſſim. [g] Plaut. in Pœn. [h] Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 1.

a place of his reſidence, might probably receive a new denomination (A). This is to be underſtood of the moſt early *Phœnician* colonies ſettled in *Africa*, and many of their deſcendants; for it is to be naturally ſuppoſed, that ſome of theſe mixed with the *Aborigines*, or native *Africans*, whom they found there upon their arrival, and with them, or at leaſt a conſiderable body of them, formed one people. And for this reaſon it is, that the inhabitants of *Byzacium*, eſpecially of the maritime parts of it, were ſometimes called by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Libyphœnicians*, as conſiſting of both nations (B). But a fuller account of the name, as well as a more particular deſcription, of the people with whom the *Phœnicians* were incorporated, will be found in a proper place.

b Dr. *Hyde*, in his notes upon *Peritſol* [i], is of another opinion; but, in order to ſupport it, he has recourſe to hypotheſes only, and thoſe ſuch as have but a ſlender foundation. On the contrary, *Bochart* [k] proves what he advances by unqueſtionable authorities, the only ſolid arguments in points of this nature, of which he produces ſuch a train, as will not eaſily be overborn.

Some [l] authors have imagined, that the *Libyphœnicians*, or, as *Strabo* and moſt of the other *Greek* writers call them, the *Libophœnicians*, were a nation diſtinct both from the *Africans*, or *Libyans*, and *Carthaginians*, and inhabited a different tract. It is certain the true or *Aſiatic Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, bordering upon their reſpective frontiers, were called *Syrophœnicians*, upon account of their intermixing one with c another, and by way of contradiſtinction from the people inhabiting the oppoſite parts Libyphœnicians.

[i] Hyde. in Peritſ. p 44. [k] Bochart. ubi ſupra. [l] Vide Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

(A) To what has been already obſerved (1) of the *Anakims*, may be added, that profane authors themſelves, as well as ſcripture, ſeem to have had ſome knowledge of them. *Pauſanias* (2) tells us, that in the iſland *Aſteria* near *Miletus*, the body of the hero *Aſterius*, from whom the iſland received its name, was buried; that he was the ſon of *Anax*, or *Anak*, who was the ſon of the *Earth*; that his body was ten cubits long; and that the whole territory of the *Mileſians* was anciently called *Anactoria*, from his father *Anax*, or *Anak*. *Euſtathius* (3) and the epitomizer of *Stephanus* agree with *Pauſanias*, in relation to the ancient name of *Miletus*, with its diſtrict; and add, that this *Anax* was the ſon of *Heaven* and *Earth*. We are aſſured by ſcripture (4), that the *Anakims*, when driven out of their own country by *Joſhua*, fled to *Gaza*, *Gath*, and *Aſhdod*, and there ſettled themſelves. And it is likewiſe probable (5) from the *Phœnician* hiſtory, that *Gath*, the metropolis of theſe *Anakims*, was ſubject to the kings or judges of *Tyre*, as early as the days of *Pygmalion*; ſince it had revolted from the *Tyrians* ſome time before the reign of *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. From whence we may conclude, that ſome of this family might even attend *Dido* into *Africa*, though it is at the ſame time very likely, that many of them, after their chiefs had been cut off by *David* (6), might likewiſe retire to their countrymen, who had fixed their abode in *Africa* ever ſince the days of *Joſhua* (7). We muſt not omit, that the *Dioſcuri* (8), who were *Phœnician* gods, *i. e.* deified *Phœnicians* of great diſtinction, were called *Anakes*, or *Anakims*, by the *Grecks*, on account, no doubt, of their ſuperior ſtature and majeſty. The word *anax* or *anak* (9) was a term of great honour amongſt the moſt antient *Grecks*, being applied only to their kings and heroes. It has been imagined by ſome, that this is a common name, anſwering to the *Latin Torquatus* (10), and that the great men in the eaſt were in the earlieſt times ſo called, on account of the rich collar or chain that they uſually wore about their necks. *Benjamin* of *Tudela* (11) aſſerts, that he ſaw a human rib hanging up in a palace at *Damaſcus*, which was nine *Spaniſh* palms long, and two broad; and that, from an inſcription upon the tomb-ſtone, it appeared, that one of the *Anakims* was buried there, whoſe name was *Abchamaz*, and who was ſaid to have reigned over the whole world, *i. e.* over a good part of the eaſt, or all the countries in that neighbourhood. But whether this inſcription ought to be looked upon as genuine, or of a late date in compariſon of the age of the *Anakims*, and founded only upon ſome *Oriental* tradition, is what we ſhall not take upon us to determine.

(B) The *Byzacium* of *Pliny* (12) ſeems to be the *Byzacis* of *Polybius*, if we will give credit to *Salmaſius*'s emendation of a paſſage in *Stephanus*, where he quotes the twelfth book of that hiſtorian. A ſtrong preſumption in favour of this is, that both *Pliny* and *Polybius*'s provinces have the ſame extent, the ſame ſituation, and their names are pretty much alike (13). *Byzacium*, according to the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, conſiſted of two parts, the maritime or exterior, and the mediterranean or interior (14), both which were inhabited by the *Libyphœnicians*. *Bochart* derives the name from the oriental word *biza* (15), a teat, and thinks it was ſo denominated from its ſurprizing fertility, of which that was a ſymbol amongſt moſt nations. So *Virgil*,

Terra antiqua potens armis, atq; ubere glebæ, Æn. 1.
——— *Et fertilis ubere campus.* Georg. l. ii.

——— ἔθαϱ ἀϱούϱης. Il. 1.

Which, according to the ſcholiaſt, ſignifies a moſt fertile and beautiful part of the country. The *Mamma* of *Procopius* (16) in this province, a word of the ſame import with *Biza*, greatly ſtrengthens this derivation.

(1) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 133, 134—157. (2) *Pauſan. in Attic. & Achaiac.* (3) *Euſtath. in Hom. iliad.* A, *p.* 16. & *Steph. epit. ſub. voc.* Μιλητος. (4) *Joſ.* xi. 22. (5) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 416. (6) 2 *Sam.* xxi. 16—22. 1 *Chron.* xx. 4—8. (7) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 333. (8) *Cic. de nat. deor. l.* iii. (9) *Hom. iliad.* A, & *alibi paſſim.* (10) *Bochart. ubi ſupra & Val. Schind. pentaglot. ſub. voc.* ענק (11) *Benj. Tudel. itiner. p.* 56. (12) *Vide Salmaſ. in Steph. ſub voc.* Βύζακις. (13) *Conf. Steph. ubi ſupra. Plin. l.* v. *c.* 4. & *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 1. (14) *Cellar. geog. ant. l.* iv, *c.* 4. *Bochart. ubi ſupra.* (15) *Bochart. ubi ſupra.* (16) *Procop. de bell. Van. l.* ii.

parts of thoſe two regions, who were known by their proper names, *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*. In conformity to our notion of the people we are here diſcourſing of, *Livy* [m] ſtyles them *miſtum Punicum Afris genus*; and *Diodorus* [n] ſpeaks of them to the ſame effect. a

The form of government at Carthage.

The firſt government ſettled at *Carthage* [o] was probably monarchial; but this ſeems to have been but of ſhort continuance, as expiring with *Dido* herſelf, or rather in her life-time, when it was changed into a republic. As to the particular form of this republic, authors differ. *Ariſtotle* tells us, that it was partly ariſtocraticcal [p], and partly (as he terms it) political, *i. e.* democratical (C). According to *Polybius* [q], monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, all centred in it. And laſtly, *Iſocrates* [r] makes the civil government to have been oligarchical, and the military monarchical. b In the forming of it, the *Carthaginians* undoubtedly borrowed many things from their anceſtors the *Tyrians*, who, for ſeveral ages, made a great figure in the world, and were in high eſteem on account of their wiſdom, riches, and power. *Ariſtotle* [s] intimates, that the *Cretan*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Carthaginian* republics were the moſt perfect and beſt modelled of any in the world; and that theſe in many particulars agreed; tho', in ſeveral reſpects, he gives the preference to the *Carthaginian*. The conſummate wiſdom of thoſe maxims and inſtitutions, upon which this laſt was formed, appeared to him from hence, that notwithſtanding the great ſway the people bore in *Carthage* [t], there had been no inſtance, from the foundation of the city to his time, of any popular commotions capable of diſturbing the public tranquillity, nor of any c tyrant, who had been able, at the expence of liberty, to introduce oppreſſion. This was a plain proof, that the three principal powers, of which the conſtitution of *Carthage* was compoſed, were of ſuch a nature, as to counterpoiſe one another, and, by their mutual harmony, to preſerve and promote the public felicity (D). Theſe were the ſuffetes, the ſenate, and the people, who, whilſt they kept within their proper bounds, where a check upon one another, and jointly concurred to render their republic of all others the moſt flouriſhing; but when, as *Polybius* obſerves, by an unaccountable fluctuation of power, the people got the aſcendant over the ſenate, prudence was baniſhed their counſels, nothing but cabals and factions took place; and, in conſequence of this, ſuch precipitate ſteps were taken, as firſt rendered this for- d midable ſtate weak and contemptible, and ſoon after completed its deſtruction.

In order to give our readers ſome idea of the *Carthaginian* government, though the ancients afford us little light on this head, we ſhall give a brief account of the three principal powers above-mentioned.

The ſuffetes.

The ſuffetes [u] were two in number, of equal power and dignity, and the chief magiſtrates of *Carthage* [w]. They anſwered to the two kings of *Lacedæmon*, as well as to the *Roman* conſuls; for which reaſon we find them ſtyled in different authors both kings and conſuls [x]. However, theſe did not in all things correſpond; for the *Spartan* kings

[m] Liv. l. xxxi. [n] Diodor. Sic. l. xx. [o] Ubbo Emmius de ſtat. & rep. Carthag. ſub init. Christ. Hendreich. in Carthag. l. ii. ſect. 1. c. 15. p 307. Just. l. i. aliique mult. [p] Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 11. Ubbo Emm. ubi ſupra. [q] Polyb. l. vi. [r] Isocrat. in Nicocl. [s] Aristot. ubi ſupra. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Christ. Hendreich. ubi ſupra. p. 311. Corn. Nep. in Annib. Arist. ubi ſupra. & l. vi. c. 49. & alibi paſſim. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. &c. [w] Arist. ubi ſupra. Liv. l. xxx. [x] Corn. Nep. ubi ſupra. Just. l. xxxi. Calid. apud Feſtum. &c. Hendreich. & Ubbo Emm. ubi ſupra.

(C) Πολιτεία (polity or policy) taken in a general ſenſe (17), ſignified, according to *Ariſtotle*, any form of government, where the laws had their due force and efficacy. In a more confined ſenſe it was, among the antient *Greeks* before *Ariſtotle*'s time, frequently ſynonymous to δημοκρατία (18), (democracy) as may be proved from *Æſchines*, and others. But when *Ariſtotle* comes to diſtinguiſh more ſubtilly (19), he tells us, that there were two mixed forms of government, each of which was a compoſition of oligarchy and democracy. That which participated moſt of oligarchy, was called ariſtocracy; but that which inclined moſt to democracy, went by the name of polity or policy. Both of theſe, in ſome reſpects (20), prevailed in the ſtate of *Carthage*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. when we come to conſider the defects of it! for which reaſon *Ariſtotle* tells us, it was compoſed of both. In ſhort, polity or policy regarded men as rich and poor (21), ariſtocracy as rich, poor, and virtuous; both which conſiderations had their influence in the *Carthaginian* commonwealth.

(D) The legiſlator of the *Carthaginians* was undoubtedly a perſon of great political wiſdom; yet *Ariſtotle* himſelf finds ſome defects in his inſtitutions (22), and, notwithſtanding the beautiful draught he has exhibited of this republic, intimates, that the uninterrupted tranquillity it enjoyed, was, in ſome meaſure, owing to chance (23).

(17) *Ariſtot. de rep. l.* iv. (18) *Idem ibid. c.* 3. (19) *Idem. ibid. c.* 7, 8, *&c. Æſchin in Cteſiph.* (20) *Ariſtot. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (21) *Idem, l.* iv. *c.* 8. (22) *Idem, l.* ii. *c.* 11. (23) *Idem ibid. ſub. fin.*

a kings were perpetual, had an hereditary right of ſucceſſion[y], and the ſtate was ſupplied with them from two families only[z]; whereas the *Carthaginian* ſuffetes were annually elected out of all the nobleſt families, and were always ſuch perſons as moſt attracted the public regard by their virtue and great talents, as well as their wealth; which enabled them to ſupport their high ſtation with a becoming grandeur and dignity; for which reaſon *Ariſtotle* prefers the ſupreme magiſtrates of *Carthage* to thoſe of *Lacedæmon* (E). As for the *Roman* conſuls, they had not only a chief hand in the adminiſtration of civil, but likewiſe in the conducting of military, affairs; whereas it is very probable, that the ſuffetes were, generally ſpeaking, confined to the former (F). Their province was to aſſemble the ſenate, in which they preſided[a],
b to propoſe ſubjects for deliberation there, to tell the voices, and to preſide likewiſe in all emergent and deciſive debates. It does not appear by whoſe ſuffrages the ſuffetes were elected, but moſt likely[b] either by thoſe of the centumvirate, or the people. According to ſome authors, they had the power of life and death[c], and of puniſhing all crimes whatſoever. Their concurrence in[d] all points with the ſenate was neceſſary, in order to prevent any debate from coming before the people. It is remarkable, that moſt, if not all, the cities of note in the *Carthaginian* dominions[e], had their ſuffetes or chief magiſtrates, as well as the metropolis.

The ſenate.

The ſenate was a moſt auguſt aſſembly, compoſed of perſons venerable for their age and experience, as well as illuſtrious[f] on account of their birth, their riches, and,
c above all, their merit. They arrived at this honour by election, as we are informed by *Ariſtotle*[g], when he makes a compariſon betwixt the *Spartan* and *Carthaginian* ſenates; but who were their electors, is not known. Their number likewiſe we are ignorant of, tho' from *Juſtin*[h] we may infer. that it greatly exceeded that of either the *Spartan* or *Roman* ſenators; for, according to this author, an hundred were ſelected from it, and appointed as judges to inquire into the conduct of their generals; and if this number was thought requiſite to inſpect into this ſingle article, how many muſt have been deemed neceſſary to ſuperintend, and, in concert with the ſuffetes, manage every branch of the adminiſtration? Beſides, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that there was a great affinity betwixt the cuſtoms and manners of the *Sicilians* and thoſe of the *Car-*
d *thaginians*, ſince theſe laſt may be juſtly looked upon as ſome of the ancient inhabitants of *Sicily*[i]. Now, in the time of *Agathocles*, the ſenate of *Syracuſe* conſiſted of ſix hundred of the[k] principal citizens; no wonder then, if that of *Carthage* was equal, if not much more numerous. In this grand[l] council, every thing relating to peace and war, to negociations and alliances, to trade and navigation; in ſhort, to all affairs of conſequence, whether foreign or domeſtic, were debated, and for the moſt part determined[m]; ſo that the whole machine of government was animated and kept in motion by it; life and ſpirit were from thence diffuſed over all the public deliberations. When the votes[n] of the ſenate were unanimous, they had the force of laws, and from hence there lay no appeal; but when there was either a diviſion or a diſa-
e greement with the ſuffetes, the affair in[o] queſtion was referred to the people, who, in ſuch a caſe, had the liberty of offering their ſentiments freely, and even of contradicting the other parts of the legiſlature; and not only ſo, but what was thus offered paſſed

[y] Arist. de rep. l. ii c. 11. [z] Corn. Nep. ubi ſupra. Liv. l xxx. Zonar. tom. ii. Arist. ubi ſupra. [a] Liv. ubi ſupra, & l. xxxiv. Polyb. l. iii. [b] Ubbo Emm & Hendr. ubi ſupra. [c] Liv. l. xxxiii. Bochart. Chan l. i. c. 24. [d] Ubbo Emm. & Arist ubi ſupra. Polyb. l. xv. [e] Liv. l. xxviii. Selden. de diis Syris in prolegom. c. 2. & Boch. Chan. ubi ſupra. [f] Ubbo Emm. Hendr & Arist. ubi ſupra. [g] Arist. ubi ſupra. [h] Justin. l. xix. [i] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 12. [k] Ibid. p. 81. [l] Ubbo Emm. ubi ſupra. Polyb. l. iii. c. 15. Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. [m] Ubbo Emm ubi ſupra. Liv. & Polyb. paſſ. [n] Ube. Emm. & Arist. ubi ſupra. [o] Hendr. ubi ſupra, p. 323. Polyb. l. xv.

(E) He prefers the ſuffetes to the *Lacedæmonian* kings, not becauſe the *Carthaginians* had ſome regard to wealth in their election of them (for this he abſolutely condemns, as will be elſewhere obſerved); but becauſe they choſe them out of all the beſt families in *Carthage*, and eſteemed great abilities in them as an eſſential qualification; which was contrary to the practice of the *Lacedæmonians* (24).

(F) This appears not only from *Livy*, *Polybius*, and other antient authors, but likewiſe from the judicious obſervations of *Ubbo Emmius* (25). However, it muſt be allowed, that we have ſeveral inſtances of the ſuffetes commanding *Carthaginian* armies. *Hannibal*, who commanded the auxiliaries ſent to the relief of the *Ægeſtans*, or *Segeſtans*; *Himilco*, who was general in the ſecond expedition againſt *Dionyſius*; and *Mago*, under whoſe conduct many thouſand men were tranſported to *Sicily* and *Italy*, ſet this point beyond diſpute (26).

(24) *Idem ibid. ſub init.* (25) *Ubbo Emm. de ſtat. & repub. Carthag. apud. Gronov. ant. Græc. vol.* iv. *p.* 1504. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. xiv. xv. *&c. Hendr. ubi ſupra, p.* 315.

paſſed into a law, the people, in all emergencies of this nature, being the dernier refort of power. However, as *Ariſtotle*[p] obſerves, this was a flaw in the conſtitution, and was at laſt attended with fatal effects; for during the ſecond and third *Punic* wars, the populace at *Carthage* prevailed over the ſenate, whilſt the ſenatorial authority at *Rome* was in its full bloom and vigor; and this, if we may give credit to *Polybius*[q], was the principal cauſe of the riſe of the one, and fall of the other. We muſt not[r] omit, that none but perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit were ever elected ſenators, nor that their office and dignity were perpetual (G).

Power of the people at Carthage.

WHAT ſway the people had in *Carthage*, whilſt the different parts of which the conſtitution was framed were duly proportioned to one another, and each of them enjoyed its natural ſhare of power, does not appear from any antient author, tho' it can ſcarce be doubted, but ſo accurate a writer as *Polybius* muſt have taken notice of it ſomewhere in his writings. It is[s] likely they had a vote at the election of magiſtrates, at the enacting of laws, particularly thoſe in which they were more immediately concerned; and, in ſhort, in every thing that bore any relation to them. In *Ariſtotle*'s days, the commonwealth ſeems to have deviated from its original perfection, having too ſtrong a tendency to popular government, which was cenſured as[t] a defect in it by that philoſopher. However, the ſenate ſtill kept up a good degree of authority, and the power of the people was far from being uncontrolable; but in *Hannibal*'s time[u], about an hundred years after, there was reaſon to apprehend a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution; the ſenate had little regard or attention paid to it; the people arrogated to themſelves almoſt the whole power, and of courſe every thing, which might have promoted the public welfare, was obſtructed by a few ambitious and implacable demagogues. From this period the moſt famous and potent ſtate of *Carthage* began to decline, and, in the courſe of a few years, loſt not only its liberty, but its very being.

Eſtabliſhments, civil officers, &c. *at* Carthage.

HAVING thus laid down a general ſketch or plan of the *Carthaginian* government, we ſhall mention ſome of their principal eſtabliſhments, civil officers, *&c.* as taken notice of by the antients, who, it muſt be owned, have been extremely deficient in all their memoirs relating to this republic; for which reaſon the loſs of thoſe excellent pieces of *Polybius*, that, through the injuries of time, have not reached us, is the more to be regretted.

The centumvirate and quinquevirate.

THE centumvirate, or tribunal of the hundred, conſiſted of an hundred and four perſons, not ſimply of an hundred, as the name ſeems to imply, receiving its denomination from the greater number[w]. According to *Ariſtotle*, who is the only author that has given us any deſcription of it[x], the power it enjoyed was very extenſive, tho' confined chiefly to things of a judicial nature[y]. Out of this tribunal were ſelected five judges, whoſe juriſdiction was ſuperior to that of the reſt, to whom we may, with propriety enough, give the name of quinquevirs, or the quinquevirate. They had the power not only of filling up all vacancies in their own body, but likewiſe of chuſing thoſe perſons who compoſed the tribunal of the hundred[z]; were, under the ſuffetes, at the head of this tribunal; and had, in a great meaſure, the lives, fortunes, reputations, *&c.* of all the citizens depending upon them. *Ariſtotle*[a] informs us, that the *Carthaginian* quinquevirate anſwered in ſeveral reſpects to the ephori at *Sparta*; but, with

[p] ARIST. ubi ſupra. [q] POLYB. l. vi. [r] ARIST. ubi ſupra. UB. EMM. HENDR. POLYB. LIV. JUST. &c. paſſ. [s] UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi ſupra. [t] ARIST. ubi ſupra. POLYB. l. vi. [u] JUSTIN. l. xix. ARIST. ubi ſupra. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid.

(G) According to *Livy* (27), there was a council formed of ſuch ſenators, as were the moſt venerable and eminent for their wiſdom, who were called *ſeniores*, *ſeniorum principes*, or ſimply, as *Juſtin* (28) intimates, *principes*. This council was in the higheſt repute at *Carthage*, on account of the vaſt influence it had over the ſenate (29). Recourſe was therefore had to it in all caſes of an extraordinary nature. It is not improbable, that this counſil was *Ariſtotle*'s centumvirate, as being inveſted with great authority, and conſiſting of a pretty large number of members. *Livy* tells us (30) that thirty of theſe were deputed to wait upon *Scipio*, and ſue to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms for a peace with *Rome*. *Polybius* likewiſe makes a diſtinction between theſe and the other ſenators; for he ſays, that among the priſoners taken at *New Carthage* by *Scipio*, there were two [ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας] belonging to the aſſembly of old men and fifteen [ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου] of the ſenate (31). In other authors, the ſenate, or at leaſt this moſt venerable part of it, went by appellations equivalent to the *optimates* and *patres conſcripti* of the *Romans* (32).

(27) *Liv. l.* xxx. (28) *Juſt. l.* xi. *c.* 31. (29) *Liv. ubi ſupra.* (30) *Idem ibid. Vide & Q. Curt. l.* iv. *c.* 3. *edit Amſt.* 1677. (31) *Polyb. l. x.* (32) *Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. l.* xx.

with ſubmiſſion to this philoſopher, we think the quinquevirate ſhould be ſubſtituted in its room, as having a better title to the compariſon: for [b] with regard to the ephori, firſt, they were the moſt deſpotic magiſtrates in *Sparta*, their authority being, in a manner, boundleſs, and the lives, fortunes, *&c.* of all the *Lacedæmonians* almoſt intirely depending upon their will and pleaſure; which may be [c] ſaid of the quinquevirate in *Carthage*, with more reaſon than of the centumvirate. Secondly, the centumvirate was perpetual [d]; but whether the quinquevirate was ſo or not, is uncertain. Now, the ephori were elected annually [e]. Thirdly, the ephori were five in number [f], and ſo were the quinquevirs. Fourthly, an univerſal adminiſtration of juſtice, with regard to individuals, was the province of the quinquevirate at *Carthage* [g], as it was of the ephori at *Lacedæmon*; whereas the inſtitution of the centumvirate was intended only at firſt as a curb to the authority of their generals [h], by calling them to an account for their conduct on their return from the campaign, tho' afterwards it extended to many branches of civil affairs. From which conſiderations it is probable, that the council of five in *Carthage*, rather than the tribunal of the hundred, reſembled the *Lacedæmonian* ephori. The great authority annexed to the quinquevirate, gave the *Carthaginian* ſtate [i] the appearance of an oligarchy, tho', as the members of this council diſcharged the duties of their function without any ſalary or reward, and were elected freely by ſuffrages, not by lot (H), it had likewiſe the reſemblance of an ariſtocracy [k]. *Ubbo Emmius* [l] thinks, that the ſuffetes preſided in this council, and the centumvirate, as well as in the ſenate, being the chief magiſtrates concerned in the adminiſtration of juſtice. If ſo, their office was, in all probability, perpetual, till the time of *Hannibal* [m], by whoſe influence a law paſſed, whereby it was enacted, that all the judges ſhould be choſen annually; with a clauſe, that none ſhould continue in office beyond that term. This laſt obſervation will point out to us the reaſon why the ſupreme magiſtrates at *Carthage* were called *ſuffetes*, and enable us to trace up that inſtitution to its firſt ſource (I).

THE

[b] Univ. hiſt. vol, ii. p. 574. [c] ARIST, ubi ſupra. Vide etiam UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi ſupra. [d] ARIST. ubi ſupra. LIV. l. xxxiii. Vide etiam ROLLIN. in hiſt. anc. des Carthag. ſect. 3. [e] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. ii. p. 574. [f] Univerſ. hiſt. & ARIST. ubi ſupra. [g] Univerſ. hiſt. UB. EMM. & ARISTOT. ubi ſupra. [h] JUSTIN. UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi ſupra. [i] ARIST. ubi ſupra. [k] Idem ibid. [l] UB. EMM ubi ſupra. [m] LIV. l. xxxiii.

(H) The *Carthaginian* republic, in this reſpect, followed the *Lacedæmonian*, in which the ſenate, ephori, *&c.* were elected by ſuffrages or votes (33). On the contrary, at *Athens* the ſenate, prytanes, *&c.* were all choſen by lot. This laſt method of electing was peculiar to the democratical form of government, as the former was to the ariſtocratical. The manner in which the *Athenians* choſe their magiſtrates and rulers by lot, has been already deſcribed in the former part of this hiſtory (34); and the *Lacedæmonian* election of civil officers has been fully handled by *Cragius*. It may not be improper here to repeat, that *Solon* was the *Athenian* legiſlator, and *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian*.

(I) *Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Feſtus*, derives this word from the verb צפה tzaphah, *he looked from on high*, or, *he overlooked others*; and ſo makes it agree in ſignification with the *Greek* ἔφορος, ἐπόπτης, ἐπίσκοπος, &c. (35). But this, notwithſtanding it has ſome appearance of truth, is not ſo eaſy and grammatical as *Bochart*'s etymon. That learned man, after the great *Selden*, will have ſuffetes to be the ſame word with שופטים ſophetim, or ſofetim, *judges*, *magiſtrates*, &c. which notion is abſolutely confirmed, not only by what we have advanced, but likewiſe by *Paulus*, *Calidius*, and *Feſtus* (36). If this be allowed, it cannot well be denied, that the *Carthaginian* ſuffetes reſembled very much the old judges of the *Iſraelites*, who governed that nation from the death of *Joſhua* to the election of *Saul*, the firſt king of *Iſrael*. We ſay, this cannot well be denied; for theſe old judges were called in *Hebrew ſophetim*, or *ſofetim*, for which reaſon the *Hebrews* always ſtyled the book of judges *ſophetim*; and this very government flouriſhed in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, the mother of *Carthage*. We may therefore reaſonably preſume, that the *Carthaginians* borrowed their ſuffetes either from *Tyre*, or immediately from the *Iſraelites* themſelves, by whom ſome of their anceſtors the *Canaanites* were at firſt expelled their country in the time of *Joſhua*, and others in the time of *David*, after they had, for a conſiderable period, been contiguous to them. If the *Carthaginians* derived this inſtitution from the *Tyrians*, theſe laſt probably received it from the *Iſraelites* their neighbours. However this may be, it is certain ſuch magiſtrates as theſe were in *Tyre* after the deſtruction of the old city by *Nebuchadnezzar*; for *Joſephus*, in his treatiſe againſt *Apion*, has given us a ſeries of them (37). It ought to be obſerved, that but one perſon was inveſted with the ſupreme authority amongſt the *Hebrews* during the goverment of the ſophetim, which was likewiſe the cuſtom at *Tyre*; and therefore it is natural to ſuppoſe, that it was ſo originally at *Carthage* alſo (38). The *Romans* had very inadequate ideas of the *Carthaginian* government in general, and of their magiſtrates in particular; and therefore we cannot abſolutely depend upon their accounts of them. Yet even from ſome of theſe it ſeems not improbable

(33) *Ariſtot. de repub. & Nic, Cragius de rep. Lacedæm. l.* ii. *c.* 1. (34) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* ii. p. 440. *Car. Sigon. de rep. Athen. l* ii. *c.* 3. *& Nic. Crag. ubi ſupra.* (35) *Scalig. in Feſt. ſub. voc.* ſufes. (36) *Seld. de diis Syris, in prolegom. c.* 2. *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24. *Paulus & Calid. apud Feſt. ſub voc.* ſufes. (37) *Joſeph. cont. Apion. l.* i. (38) *Jud.* ii. 18, 19. *&* iii, iv, vii, *&c. Joſeph. ubi ſupra.*

Civil officers at Carthage.

THE principal, if not only, civil officers eſtabliſhed at *Carthage* (beſides the a ſuffetes) that have been remembered by the ancients, were the prætor, the quæſtor, and the cenſor.

The prætor.

THE great *Hannibal*, who, by reaſon of his glorious atchievements, as well as noble extraction, was the moſt illuſtrious of the *Carthaginians*, had the prætorſhip [n] conferred upon him in the fifth year after the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war; from whence it is evident, that this muſt have been one of the firſt imployments in the ſtate. The perſon inveſted with this high dignity had a vaſt influence, not only in paſſing, but likewiſe in repealing, laws, as may be inferred from *Hannibal*'s impeaching the whole bench of judges, and carrying his point againſt them, during his continuance [o] in this office. He moreover [p] received the tribute paid by the dif- b ferent nations under the *Carthaginian* power; collected the yearly taxes and ſubſidies levied upon the citizens, and had the care of every thing relating to the public revenues. It is remarkable, that a tranſition [q] from the office of ſuffetes (after it became annual) to the prætorſhip, was not uncommon in *Carthage*; of which *Hannibal* and *Mago*, not to [r] mention other inſtances that might be produced, ſupply us with abundant proof. Whether there were more prætors than one in this republic, or whether any branches of buſineſs, beſides thoſe above-mentioned, pertained to the office, are points that, for want of ſufficient light from antiquity, cannot be determined.

The quæſtor.

THE quæſtor [s] was an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who, tho' ſubordinate to them, had a very conſiderable degree of power. He [t] likewiſe collected c and managed the public money, under the prætor; which induced *Livy* to give him the name of quæſtor. This officer, in his double capacity, ſeems to have anſwered to the old *Roman* quæſtors, who [u] were introduced under the regal government, as well as thoſe who were appointed in the time of the commonwealth. He was ſometimes at leaſt, if not of courſe, admitted into the bench of judges, at the expiration of his office. This, and the other particulars, we learn from *Livy* and *Polybius*; but as to any thing further, either concerning him or his function, we are intirely in the dark.

The cenſor.

WE find another civil officer eſtabliſhed at *Carthage*, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſpect into the manners of the citizens; on which account he is ſtyled by *Cornelius* d *Nepos* [w] the præfect of manners, or the cenſor. *Hamilcar* [x], the father of *Hannibal*, tho' the firſt man in the republic, could not eſcape this inſpection; for the cenſor took from him a beautiful youth, named *Aſdrubal*, on a report that he was more familiar with this youth than was conſiſtent with modeſty; from whence we may conclude, that

[n] Idem ibid. & UB. EMM. ubi ſup. [o] LIV. ubi ſup. [p] Idem ibid. UB. EMM. & HENDR. ubi ſup. [q] HENDR. ubi ſup. [r] LIV. POLYB. DIODOR. Sic. &c. [s] LIV. l. xxxiii. [t] Idem, l. xxiii. [u] Vide Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 473. in not. [w] CORN. NEP. in vit. Hamilc. [x] Idem ibid.

improbable, that one of the ſuffetes, even towards the decline of *Carthage*, had a greater ſhare of power than the other; which is a ſort of proof, that at firſt the power of the ſuffetes was lodged in a ſingle hand. *Juſtin* calls *Hanno* the prince, or principal perſon, of *Carthage*. *Cornelius Nepos* gives *Hannibal* the name of prætor; *Livy* and *Gellius* of dictator. 'Tis plain *Hannibal* was by far the greateſt man in the city, becauſe he over-ruled all the other magiſtrates, when he limited the power of the whole bench of judges. *Feſtus* ſays the *ſufes* (or, according to the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, *ſufet*, as appears from the genitive caſe *ſufetis*) was the ſupreme magiſtrate of *Carthage*. And laſtly, from ſome inſcriptions in *Gruter*, it is clear, that ſeveral cities in *Africa* had each of them a ſufes (39). The old *Archontic* government, that took place at *Athens* after the death of *Codrus*, ſeems likewiſe to have been of this form. We find ſome little variation in the *Carthaginian* word *ſuffetes* from the *Hebrew ſophetim*, which is owing partly to the *Latin* termination, and partly to the affinity betwixt the *Punic* language and the *Syriac*. That ES is a *Latin* plural termination, needs no proof; and that the *Punic* language was near akin to the *Syriac*, though it borrowed moſt of its words from the *Hebrew*, is evident, not only from the nature of the thing, but likewiſe from the authority of St. *Jerom*, St. *Auguſtin*, (40), and *Priſcian*. What therefore the *Hebrews* wrote *ſophetim*, the *Carthaginians* in all probability, wrote *ſuphetin*, or emphatically *ſuphete* (שופטא) א or E being the emphatical maſculine plural termination in *Syriac*, as ין or IN was the abſolute one. The *Hebrew* וּ *cholem*, or O, anſwered to the *Syriac* and *Punic* V (41); and though the MSS of *Livy* and *Nepos* have *ſuffetes* with a double F, yet, from the authority of *Feſtus*, *Calidius*, and the above-mentioned inſcriptions, they ought to be corrected, the true reading being undoubtedly *ſufetes* with a ſingle F. We have been a little more prolix than uſual in this note, becauſe we take the ſubject of it to be of a very curious nature, and ſuch a one as may lead us to farther diſcoveries both in ſacred and profane hiſtory.

(39) *Juſtin. l.* xxi. *Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Liv. l.* xxiii. & lxxxiii. *A. Gell. l.* x. *c.* 52. *Feſt. ſub. voc.* ſufes. *Gruter. p.* 470. *inſcript.* 1, 2. *edit. Græv. Amſt* 1707. (40) *D. Hieron. com. ad. Jerem.* v. *D. Aug. l.* iii. *cont. lit. Petil. Donat. & Priſcian. l.* v. (41) *Vide Boch. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24. & *Joſ. Scalig. in Feſt. ſub. voc.* ſufes.

a that the power of this magiſtrate extended to every ſubject of the ſtate, even thoſe of the greateſt figure and diſtinction.

As for the *Carthaginian* laws, our readers muſt not expect any regular ſyſtem of them. The utmoſt we can pretend to is, to give them a few fragments, or rather traces of an inconſiderable part of theſe laws. They have all long ſince been buried in oblivion; nor have even the titles of any of them, but what we here produce, eſcaped the general wreck of time. *The* Carthaginian *laws.*

1. THERE was a law of very long ſtanding amongſt the *Carthaginians* [y], by which they were injoined to ſacrifice to *Saturn* only children nobly born. This, not being complied with for a certain period, grew into diſuſe, the children of ſlaves and b foreigners being ſubſtituted in the room of the others. But when *Agathocles* [z] reduced *Carthage* almoſt to the laſt extremity, it was revived, the inhabitants imputing all their misfortunes to the anger of *Saturn*, who, as they imagined, was offended at the non-obſervance of this law. However, to atone for this crime, two hundred children of the beſt families in the city were offered up to that deity. *Children of the beſt families ſacrificed to* Saturn.

2. BY another law, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* were admitted into the number of the *Carthaginian* deities [a]. Magnificent ſtatues were erected in their honour; prieſts were ſelected from amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the city for their ſervice; and ſacrifices, after the *Greek* manner, were offered up to them. This happened during the conſternation the people of *Carthage* were thrown into by the *African* inſurrection, c and the ill ſucceſs that attended them in their war with *Dionyſius* the tyrant of *Syracuſe*. It was done in order to appeaſe the anger of thoſe goddeſſes, whoſe farther reſentment they feared, becauſe *Himilco*, the *Carthaginian* general in *Sicily*, had plundered their temples in the ſuburb of *Acradina*. Ceres *and* Proſerpina *admitted into the number of the* Carthaginian *deities.*

3. ABOUT this time likewiſe a law was enacted at *Carthage* [b], by which all the inhabitants were prohibited learning either to write or ſpeak the *Greek* language. It was hoped by this means to prevent for the future all treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy. The law was occaſioned by a *Carthaginian* traitor [c], who, writing in *Greek* to *Dionyſius*, had given him intelligence of the motions of the army, and particularly of its departure from the city (K). But this law was afterwards either repealed, or totally neglected; for we find, that the [d] great *Hannibal* himſelf underſtood d this language ſo well, that he compoſed in it a hiſtory of the actions of *Manlius Vulſo* during the time of his proconſulſhip in *Aſia* [e], having been taught it by *Soſilus* the *Lacedæmonian* (L). Greek *language forbidden in* Carthage.

4. IT has been lately hinted, that a council was formed at *Carthage* [f], conſiſting of an hundred perſons taken out of the ſenate, whoſe province it was to inquire into the conduct of their generals at the end of the campaign. Now, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that this could any otherwiſe have been effected, than by a law paſſed for that purpoſe. The ends propoſed by this law were, to reduce the exorbitant power of *Mago*'s family within proper bounds, which, by ingroſſing all the beſt employments, was become too overgrown for the ſtate; and to ſecure the republic againſt the great e authority of its generals in all ſucceeding ages, who, whilſt in the field, were quite deſpotic. It is generally believed, that this council was the ſame with the centumvirate, or [g] tribunal of the hundred, which has been already deſcribed. *The centumvirate inſtituted to reſtrain the power of the* Carthaginian *generals.*

5. A ſort of ſumptuary law was made by the *Carthaginian* ſenate, to reſtrain all kinds of exceſſes at marriages. This was occaſioned by a deſign of *Hanno*, the principal

[y] DIODOR. Sic. l. xx. PLUT. de ſuperſtit. & de ſer. vindic. dcor. HERODOT. l. vii. [z] DIODOR. Sic. ubi ſup. PESCEN. FEST. apud Lactant. inſt. l. i. c. i. [a] DIOD. Sic. l. xiv. [b] JUST. l. xx. [c] Idem ibid. [d] CORN. NEP. in vit. Hannib. [e] Idem ibid. & PLUT. in Scip. [f] JUST. l. xix. [g] Idem ibid. & UB. EMM. ubi ſup.

(K) This traitor's name was *Suniator*, *Suniates*, or *Suniatus*, a profeſſed enemy to *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* general, and who, in order to hurt him, did not ſcruple an attempt to ſacrifice his country. He was a citizen of the firſt rank, and wrote to *Dionyſius* in *Greek*, giving him advice of the military preparations making againſt him, as well as the incapacity of *Hanno* for the poſt he was in; but his letter being intercepted, he received the puniſhment due to his crime (42).

(L) This *Soſilus*, with *Philenius* or *Silenus*, another *Lacedæmonian*, attended *Hannibal* in all his expeditions. That general ſpoke *Greek* with a tolerable fluency, and is ſaid to have written other books in this language, beſides the work here mentioned. *Soſilus* and *Silenus* undertook to write the hiſtory of their hero; but whether or no they executed that deſign, is not known. If they did, we are never the better for it; ſince not a fragment of either of their pieces has come down to us (43).

(42) *Juſtin. l.* xx. *Ubb. Emm. ubi ſup. apud Gronov. p.* 511. (43) *Vide Corn. Nep. in vit. Hannib. edit. Lugd. Bat.* 1734. *p.* 604. *not.* 6. *Cic. de divin. l.* xxiv. *Liv. l.* xxvi. *Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. l.* iii. *p.* 413.

cipal perſon in the city, to make himſelf maſter of the commonwealth upon the day of his daughter's marriage. In order to this, his intention was to keep open houſe for the populace that day, and to regale the ſenate in a moſt magnificent manner. All the members of this laſt were to have been taken off by poiſon at this entertainment, which would have enabled him to ſeize upon the government without oppoſition. *Hanno*, upon account of his great wealth and power, had ſuch an influence in the city, that the ſenate, upon the diſcovery of this plot, did not think proper to puniſh him for it; but contented themſelves with paſſing the law here mentioned [h].

Defects in the Carthaginian conſtitution.

Before we conclude our account of the political ſtate of *Carthage*, it may not be amiſs to take notice of a few defects in that conſtitution, as *Ariſtotle* himſelf has pointed them out to us (M).

First, The [i] philoſopher looked upon it as an imperfection in this commonwealth, that when the members of the ſenate were not unanimous in their voices, the power of deciding thereby devolved on the people; for this he intimates to be contrary to the maxims of all well regulated ſtates, as tending too much to popular government.

Secondly, He will have it, that the quinquevirate, or, as he terms it, the pentarchy, enjoyed a degree of power inconſiſtent with the nature of a true ariſtocracy, which either originally was, or at leaſt was intended to have been, a principal ingredient in the *Carthaginian* conſtitution.

Thirdly, He reckons it an evil, that merit and a conſpicuous birth, without riches, were not ſufficient qualifications for a man to fill the firſt poſts; for this, in his opinion, does not only oftentimes exclude perſons of the moſt exalted merit from having any ſhare in the government, but likewiſe opens a door to avarice, and all kinds of corruption, which, in the end, muſt ruin any ſtate. The experience of after-ages ſhewed this reflection of his not to have been ill-grounded; for the *Barcan* faction, by the omnipotence of money, carried their point on all occaſions for a conſiderable time; others after them did the like, which at laſt proved the republic's deſtruction.

Fourthly, He will by no means allow, that the ſame perſon ſhould aſſume to himſelf ſeveral imployments; than which no practice was more common at *Carthage*. The reaſons he aſſigns for this are, that a man poſſeſſed of but one office, is much more capable of acquitting himſelf well in the execution of it; that public affairs are managed with more ſpirit and expedition, when the different branches of buſineſs are lodged in different hands; that different imployments frequently claſh with one another; and laſtly, that the welfare of every ſtate is highly promoted by an equal diſtribution of its places amongſt its members. All which reaſons are indiſputably juſt, eſpecially the laſt; ſince nothing more ſtrongly excites an emulation amongſt men of merit, than an impartial diſpoſal of the preferments in a ſtate amongſt them, nor more effectually prevents all thoſe inconveniencies which muſt be the neceſſary conſequence of one man's monopolizing the whole adminiſtration.

Fifthly, He blames the *Carthaginian* conſtitution in general, for not having a ſufficient proviſion made in it againſt all popular commotions, or acts of violence, that at any time might happen. Should a majority of the citizens at any time have taken

[h] Justin. l. xxi.

[i] Aristot. ubi ſupra.

(M) Since we follow *Ariſtotle* here in reciting the defects of this ſtate, it will be but juſt, by way of contraſt, to touch upon two things, which may be conſidered as excellencies in it.

1. The *Carthaginians* had public meals or entertainments, which ſeem to have been appointed at firſt in imitation of the *Lacedæmonian phiditia*, and in order to ſerve the ſame ends (44). The *phiditia* were one of the moſt uſeful inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*, which, 'tis imagin'd, he received from *Crete*, becauſe they went at firſt by the *Cretan* name *Andria*. They were intended to repreſs all kinds of luxury; to form the minds of the *Lacedæmonian* youth, by inſpiring them with virtuous ſentiments; and to excite a noble emulation amongſt them At theſe meals young people were inſtructed by their ſeniors in the art of converſation, heard the moſt uſeful topics frequently diſcuſſed, and had always before them ſhining examples of wiſdom and virtue. But it is ſufficient juſt to have hinted this here, ſince an ample account of the inſtitution itſelf has been given in its proper place (45).

2. The *Carthaginians* had a laudable cuſtom amongſt them, of ſending colonies from time to time into different parts of their dominions (46). This procured a decent ſettlement for ſeveral citizens, for whom there was no room in the ſtate; provided for the neceſſities of the poor; and carried off great numbers of people, who were always prepared for innovations. All which ſalutary precautions muſt not a little contribute to the preſervation of the public tranquillity

(44) *Ariſtot. de repub. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (45) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 562. *Vide etiam Joan. Meurſ. miſcel. Laconic. l.* i. *Plut. in Lycurg. Strab. l.* x. *Ariſt. ubi ſupra*, *c.* 9, 10. *Porphyr. de abſt. l.* iv. *Macrob. ſat. l.* vii. *c.* 3. & *Dicæarch. apud Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* iv. (46) *Ariſtot. ubi ſup. c.* 11. *ſub fin.*

taken it into their heads to revolt, or be angry with their governors, the laws (N), according to him, could not have afforded a ſufficient relief on ſuch an occaſion. This conſtitution, indeed, as we have already obſerved from him, was at firſt excellently calculated to prevent or avoid all inteſtine diſorders; but it was not ſo well contrived, at leaſt in his time, to allay any heats that might break out in it. He therefore ſeems juſtly to conclude, that the tranquillity and repoſe of the ſubjects of *Carthage* were not then ſettled upon a ſolid foundation.

Religion of the Carthaginians.

THE *Carthaginians* being deſcended from the *Tyrians*, their religious worſhip muſt of courſe have agreed in all points at firſt with that of the *Phœnicians*, which has been already in ſome meaſure deſcribed [k]. In proceſs of time, by their intercourſe with the *Greeks*, eſpecially thoſe of *Sicily*, they came to take a liking to the ſuperſtition of that nation, adopted ſeveral new deities before to them unknown [l], and intermixed ſome of the *Greek* religious ceremonies with the *Tyrian* [m]. But in this they copied after their anceſtors the *Phœnicians*, who gradually imbibed many ſuperſtitious notions prevailing amongſt the greater ſtates [n], by reaſon of their vicinity to, and correſpondence with them; and afterwards, upon their ſubjection to thoſe ſtates, had great alterations made in the whole ſyſtem of their religion. The *Carthaginians* likewiſe, by reaſon of their extended commerce, muſt have been in ſome ſome ſort acquainted with the different kinds of ſuperſtition eſtabliſhed in moſt nations, with which doubtleſs they tinctured their own; ſo that from hence, as well as from other conſiderations, it may appear, that the religion of *Carthage*, was a very groſs and multifarious idolatry.

THE knowledge we have of the *Carthaginian* manner of worſhip, as well as the objects of that worſhip, is derived from the *Greek* and *Roman* writers, who have affixed the names of their own gods [o] to thoſe of the *Carthaginians*. This has rendered their accounts and obſervations on this head more imperfect and leſs valuable; for though we are well aſſured, that the *Egyptian*, *Phœnician*, *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Carthaginian* deities did in the main agree, yet we are as well aſſured, that each of thoſe nations had not only ſome particular modes of worſhip, but likewiſe ſome particular deities peculiar to itſelf. 'Tis impoſſible therefore to come to an exact knowledge of the *Carthaginian* gods from what is delivered of them by the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. All that we can do is, to conſider their different attributes, and the circumſtances attending that adoration their votaries paid them, as given us by the aforeſaid authors. By comparing theſe with what we find related in holy writ of the idols of the *Canaanites* and neighbouring nations, as well as the religious cuſtoms and manners of thoſe nations, we may, perhaps, give our readers a tolerable account of the religion of the *Carthaginians*.

Saturn *the principal deity at* Carthage.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the *Carthaginians*, in a particular manner, adored *Chronus* [p]; who, according to *Quintus Curtius* [q], and an infinity of other authors, was the *Saturn* of the *Latins*. The ſacrifices offered up to him were children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families, as has been above obſerved. Upon the ſignal defeat of the *Carthaginian* army by *Agathocles*, three hundred citizens voluntarily ſacrificed themſelves, in order to render him more propitious to their country. *Diodorus* farther ſays, that they had a brazen ſtatue or coloſſus of him, the hands of which were extended

[k] Univ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 397——404. [l] DIODOR. Sic. l. xiv. xx. &c. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Univ. hiſt. vol. i. ubi ſup. [o] HEROD. POLYB. DIOD. SIC. LIV. QUINT. CURT. aliiq; mult. [p] DIODOR. Sic. l. xx. & alibi paſſ. [q] Q. CURT. l. iv. c. 3. PESCENNIUS FESTUS apud. LACTANT. divin. inſtit. i. c. 21. aliiq; multi.

(N) In this reſpect it ſeems to have been the ſame form of government as that introduced by *Phaleas Chalcedonius*, which has induced a learned man to believe, that he was the legiſlator of the *Carthaginians* (47). When he lived, *Ariſtotle* (48), who mentions both him and his republic, informs us not; but he muſt have been much later than the firſt formation of the *Carthaginian* republic; for *Chalcedon* itſelf was built near three hundred years after *Carthage*. However, there ſeems to be ſome foundation for the above-mentioned conjecture, as will appear from comparing *Hendreich* with *Ariſtotle* (49). It is therefore probable, that the firſt commonwealth ſettled at *Carthage*, which took place immediately after the abolition of monarchy, was of a different form from that which exiſted in *Ariſtotle*'s time. This, in all likelihood, nearly reſembled (if it was not exactly upon the ſame model) the antient *Tyrian* or *Hebrew* republic, wherein one ſupreme magiſtrate preſided. What we have advanced in a former note (50) will ſtrengthen this ſuppoſition, and likewiſe itſelf receive additional force from it.

(47) *Hendr. in Carthag. p.* 329. *Vid etiam Reineccii hiſt. Jul. in Carthag. t.* ii. *p.* 460. (48) *Ariſt. de rep. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (49) *Hendr. ubi ſup. Ariſt. ubi ſup. & c.* 2. (50) *Vid. not.* (I).

extended in act to receive, and bent downwards in such a manner, as that a the child laid thereon immediately dropped into a hollow, where was a fiery furnace [r].

The same author adds, that this inhuman practice [s] seemed to him to confirm a tradition handed down to the *Greeks* from very early antiquity, *viz.* that *Chronus* devoured his own children. But in this we cannot agree with him; for it can scarce be doubted, but that the fable itself owes its origin to this most execrable superstition, especially as the knowledge of it could not be hid from the antient *Greeks*, who received both their religion and theology from the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* (O).

But though the *Carthaginian* god, to whom human victims were so agreeable, had the name of *Chronus* given him by *Diodorus*, yet we cannot certainly infer from b hence, that he was the same deity; because his *Punic* name is unknown, and therefore 'tis impossible to determine whether it was of the same import with *Chronus*, or no. However, we shall endeavour to supply this defect, by offering some reasons, which, if they will not absolutely evince the point in view, will yet render it highly probable.

1. In the first place, the *Carthaginian* custom of giving up their offspring as an expiatory sacrifice to this god, bears a great analogy to the *Greek* tradition concerning *Chronus*, *viz.* that he devoured his own children. This seems to have been a great inducement to *Diodorus* himself to conclude, that he and *Chronus* were the same [t]. c

2. Both the oblations offered to this *Carthaginian* deity, and the manner of offering them, as likewise the brazen statue mentioned by *Diodorus*, plainly enough shew, that he was *Moloch* [u] or *Milchom*, the famous idol of the *Ammonites*, *Canaanites*, and neighbouring nations. The description already given of this false divinity, in conjunction with scripture, will remove all doubts as to this point. Now that *Moloch* or *Milchom* was the *Chronus* of *Diodorus*, seems clear from the following considerations (P).

Chronus

[r] Diodor. Sic. ubi sup. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 293, 294, &c. Lev. xviii. 21. xx. 2, 3, 4. 2 Kings xxiii. 10. Psal. cvi. 37, &c. Vid. etiam Grot. in Levit. Voss. de idololat. Le Clerc com. in Levit. Saurin's discourse, and Calmet's dissertation on that subject.

(O) Bishop *Cumberland* proves from several authors, that human sacrifices were offered to the *Cabiri* (51), and *Sanchoniatho* asserts (52), that *Chronus* or *Saturn* sacrificed his son to the *manes* of his father, whom he had before inhumanly murdered. From which source the learned bishop derives the unnatural practice here mentioned, which prevailed for many ages over a great part both of the eastern and western world. But the fragment of *Sanchoniatho*, preserved by *Philo Byblius* and *Eusebius*, notwithstanding all the learned bishop's endeavours, as well as those of M. *Fourmont*, to render it intelligible, is so dark and intricate, especially in this particular, that we cannot intirely depend upon it.

(P) Nothing can be more evident, than that *Moloch*, *Milcom*, *Baal*, *Bel*, *Chronus*, &c. are all words of the same signification. They denote a king or prince. *Chronus*, in particular, does so. The word קרן *keren* or *kren* properly imports a horn, which was an emblem of power and dominion amongst the eastern nations. From thence undoubtedly our *English* word *crown* is to be deduced, or at least the *Latin corona*, if it should be thought more proper to derive the *English* word from this. It might likewise, for aught we know to the contrary, anciently have signified a crown, since all the eastern princes were, from the earliest antiquity, adorned with that ensign of royalty; and *Tertullian* (53) tells us, that *Chronus* was the first who wore it. *Eupolemus*, as preserved to us by *Alexander Polyhistor* in *Eusebius*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, and *Damascius*, compared with scripture, render it incontestably clear, that *Chronus*, *Moloch*, and *Baal*, were the same person (54). We shall beg leave here to consider a difficult passage of scripture, which is not at all foreign to our present subject (55). In the original it is; ונשאתם את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם כוכב אלהיכם אשר עשיתם לכם which, being rendered exactly according to the letter, is; *But ye have born the tabernacle of your* (god) Moloch, *and* (ye have likewise borne) Chiun *your likenesses, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves* (56). St. *Luke*'s (or rather the *Septuagint*) version of this into *Greek*, is: Καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολὸχ, καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥεμφὰν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Which ought to be thus rendered; *Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of* Moloch *and* Remphan *the star of your god*, (*i. e.* Moloch) *figures which ye made to worship them*. Our readers will observe, that this is different from the common *English* translation, which has it; *Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of* Moloch, *and the star of your god* Remphan, *figures which ye made to worship them*. Now surely no one can hesitate a moment in determining which of these is the most eligible. The first, in agreement with the original *Hebrew*, makes St. *Luke* to declare, that *Remphan* is the name of the star, not of the god. The second, in contradiction to the *Hebrew*, will have him to assert, that *Remphan* or *Chiun* is the name of the god, not of the star; which is itself a sufficient reason for our rejection of it.

(51) *Cumberland. in append. de Cabir.* (52) *Idem ibid. & in Sanchoniath. p.* 134—157. (53) *Tertul. de corona.* (54) *Apud Euseb. de præp. Evang. l.* ix. *Theoph. Antiochen. ad Autolyc. l.* iii. *Damascius in vit. Isidor. Jer.* vii. 31. & xix. 5. *Isai.* xxxvi. 19. & xxxvii. 12. & *alibi pass.* (55) *Amos* v. 26. (56) *Act.* vii. 43.

Chronus[w] had, for a conſiderable period, even amongſt the old inhabitants of *Latium*, human victims offered up to him, as *Moloch* had in *Paleſtine*. THE

[w] MACROB. Saturn. l. i c. 7. OVID. in faſt. LACTANT. de falſ. relig. l. i. SELD. de diis. Syr. ſyntag. 1. c. 6. DAN. CLASENIUS in theol. gent. l. iii. c. 4. SCHERLOG. antiq. bibl. de Moloch. GEUS. de victim. human. p. m 64. RAVANELL. biblioth. ſacr. BUXTORF. lex. p. m. 108. FAG. annot. in targ. Onkel. Lev. xviii. 21. B. SALOM. GLASS. phil. ſ. p. m. 1617. ATHANAS. KIRCH. in Oedip. Ægypt. l. i. ſ. 4. c. 15. p. 328. & in prod. Copt. c. 5. p. 147.

it. Beſides, the common tranſlation inſinuates, that *Moloch* and *Remphan*, or *Chiun*, were different deities: whereas, according to ours, they were the ſame; ſince it makes *Chiun* and *Remphan* the names of that ſtar, which the *Arabians* and *Egyptians* appropriated to the falſe deity, called by the *Ammonites*, *Canaanites*, &c. by way of eminence, *Moloch*. And how conſonant this is to the general voice of antiquity, may be ſeen from the plan we are now upon. The ſun, moon, and ſtars were the firſt objects of falſe worſhip; afterwards the deification of dead men took place (57). The *Egyptians* and *Arabians* adhered to the former ſpecies of falſe worſhip longer than the *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians*. However, all thoſe nations agreed in this, that, from very early antiquity, they formed a mixed kind of idolatry, made up of the worſhip of the ſtars and dead men. In conſequence of which they aſſigned a planet to each of the chief of their deified worthies, thinking this the greateſt honour they could do them. The higheſt and moſt remote of the planets is known to be *Saturn*, whom the old *Egyptians* called either *Remphan*, *Raphan*, *Ramphan*, *Rephan*, *Rempha* or *Repha*; but the *Arabians*, *Civan* or *Ciwan*, (from whence the *Hebrew Chiun*) as the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and *Perſians* do at this day. The *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and *Canaanites*, though they had a knowledge of this planet, and conſidered him as conjoined with a deified prince, yet they adored this prince under a bodily repreſentation; whereas the *Arabians* and *Egyptians* paid divine honours to the ſtar, with which they imagined him conjoined. Hence it came to paſs, that the former addreſſed themſelves to an image or ſtatue, and the latter to a ſtar, tho' they all of them intentionally pointed at the ſame object. Now the *Iſraelites* had learned the *Egyptian* idolatry during their abode in *Egypt*, and that of the *Arabians* whilſt they were in *Arabia Petræa*, or at leaſt its neighbourhood, where they worſhipped the falſe god at preſent under conſideration; and as at the ſame time they were upon the borders of the *Canaanites*, with whom doubtleſs they had ſome kind of intercourſe, 'tis natural to ſuppoſe, that they were likewiſe initiated in their form of ſuperſtition. This will account for their having with them the *Canaaniti/h* image of *Moloch*, in a ſmall portable temple, or tabernacle, carried either on mens ſhoulders, or by oxen; and a ſtar painted on the inſide of this tabernacle, or upon the idol itſelf, in compliance with the *Egyptian* and *Arabian* cuſtom. *Kircher* tells us, that the name of *Saturn* amongſt the modern *Coptes* in *Repkan*; from whence *Bochart* infers, that the *Septuagint* rendered *Chiun* by *Rephan*, becauſe they made their verſion in *Egypt*, where this word denoted the ſame planet that *Chiun* did in *Arabia* and *Phœnice* (58). The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that *Moloch* ſignified in the old *Egyptian* language *Mars* (59). But as *Moloch* was a *Phœnician*, not an *Egyptian*, word; as he proves his aſſertion only from a modern *Copto-Arabic* vocabulary MS. purchaſed at *Alexandria* by Sig. *Pietro della Valle* in the year 1615. and by affirming, that the *Egyptian Mars*, *Oſiris*, *Typhon*, the *Perſian Mithras*, &c. were the ſame deity, which is a palpable abſurdity, we think little regard in this laſt point is to be paid to him. Some will have the god of the *Syrians*, called by the *Septuagint* and the *Maſorets*, *Rimmon*, according to the *Syriac* form, *Remvan*, to have been the *Remphan* of St. *Luke*, as well as the *Rephan* of the *Septuagint* (60). Now *Saturn* is the higheſt of the planets, as the name ſeems to import, and therefore might be *Rimmon* or *Remvan*. This god was moreover, without diſpute, the *Moloch* and *Baal* of the *Ammonites*, *Canaanites*, &c. the *Bel* of the *Babylonians*, the *Chronus* of the *Greeks*, &c. and a deity very well known in the countries where both the *Septuagint* and St. *Luke* wrote. Biſhop *Cumberland* imagines *Saturn* to have been called *Riphas* or *Rephan*, becauſe he was of a healthful conſtitution, long life, large ſtature, and great ſtrength, all which the *Hebrew* word רפא includes in the idea it conveys to us (61). He farther obſerves, that all his deſcendants, who reſembled him herein, were denominated *Rephaim*; which the *Septuagint* in ſome meaſure confirm, by rendering *Rephaim*, γίγαντες, *giants*, alluding to the ſuperiority of ſtrength and conſtitution they enjoyed. We muſt not omit remarking, that, in conformity to our tranſlation of the *Greek* paſſage in the *Septuagint* and St. *Stephen*'s ſpeech, the *Syriac* verſion in *Amos*, v. 26. makes *Moloch* and *Chiun* to be the ſame; nor that *Jonathan*'s *targum* expreſly calls *Chiun* a ſtar. Some critics have derived *Chiun* and *Rephan* or *Remphan* from two *Oriental* roots implying the ſame thing, *i. e.* the great principle of life and exiſtence; which is not very different from the notion of *Saturn* to be found in the verſes of *Orpheus*. Others have believed, that כיון before the time of the *Maſorites* was read *Chivan*, and that the foot of the initial letter *caph* being defaced, it appeared to the LXX. elders like *reſh*, who therefore pronounced it *Rephan* (62). But this is too bold a criticiſm, eſpecially as St. *Luke* has ſo cloſely followed the aforeſaid elders, and as *Diodorus Siculus* mentions a moſt opulent king of *Egypt* named *Remphis*, who flouriſhed in very early times (63). This laſt is a full proof, that *Remphis* or *Rempha* was an *Egyptian* proper name of very high antiquity; if not, that this king was the *Egyptian Saturn*, or at leaſt was worſhipped under the form of the planet ſo called. It likewiſe proves, that St. *Luke*'s *Rempha* or *Remphan* is preferable to the *Repha* or *Rephan* of the LXX. as alſo, that the modern *Copts* have borrowed their *Rephan* from the latter, ſince they have not the true *Egyptian* name, but one that is a corruption of it, taken from ſome corrupted copy, which can be no other than one of the LXX. whoſe original reading, we doubt not, was *Rempha* or *Remphan*. Neither is it at all improbable, that the ſame people have taken the name *Moloch* (a *Phœnician* or *Hebrew* word) from the ſame paſſage of this verſion, and, through ignorance, applied it to the planet *Mars*. What gives great weight to this conjecture is, that the notion itſelf is intirely repugnant to the whole ſtream of antiquity; and that *Vettius Valens Antiochenus* and *Julius Firmicus* poſitively declare, that the *Egyptian* or *Coptic* names of the planet *Mars* were *Artes* and *Pyrois* (64).

(57) *Herod. Diod. Sic. Plato, Chron. Alex. Plut. Maimonides, Hyde, Prideaux, aliiq; multi.* (58) *Athan. Kircher in prod. Copt. c. 5. p. 140. & in Oedip. Ægyptiac. tom.* i. §. 4. *v.* 15. *Boch. phal. l.* i. *c.* 15. (59) *Idem ibid.* (60) *Vid. ſynopſ. Criticor. in Am.* v. 26. *& Act.* vii. 43. *ut & Dan. Claſen. in theol. gent. l.* iii. *c.* 4. (61) *Cumberland on Sanchoniath. rem.* 2. (62) *Synopſ. criticor. ubi ſup.* (63) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. (64) *Vettius Valens Antioch. apud Seld. de diis Syr. ſyntag.* 1. *& Jul. Firmic. ibidem.*

The *Cretans* [x], in ancient times, sacrificed children to *Chronus*, as the *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* did to *Moloch*.

Moloch [y] was the principal god of the country in which his worship prevailed, as appears from his name, which implies sovereignty in it, from his having such particular notice taken of him in scripture, and from the intimation given in holy writ, that he was the great god of the *Ammonites*. Now *Chronus* [z] was the chief object of adoration in *Italy*, *Crete*, *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and all other countries where divine honours were paid him (Q).

Lastly, to omit many other arguments that might be produced, both *Moloch* and *Chronus* were indisputably the great *Baal*, *Bel* [a] or *Belus* of the *Sidonians*, *Babylonians*, and *Assyrians*, and consequently the same individual deity. [b]

3. *Baal* [b], *Belus*, *Bal* or *Bel*, (for he was known by all these names) was the great god of the *Carthaginians*. As it is therefore apparent from scripture [c], that he was delighted with human sacrifices, and as he was the *Chronus* [d] of the *Greeks*, 'tis evident from hence, that the *Carthaginian* divinity *Diodorus* had in view must have been really *Chronus*.

4. From several traces to be found in the proper names of *Carthage*, we may discover, that the deity under consideration was known there by the two appellations *Baal* and *Moloch*, as in the east. *Hanni-bal*, *Asdru-bal*, *Maher-bal*, &c. point out *Baal* or *Bal*; as *Hi-milce*, *Hi-milco*, *Ha-milcar*, *Melicus* [e], *Malchus* [f], &c. do *Moloch* or *Milcom*. These therefore being different names of the same deity, who was the *Chronus* of the *Greeks*, it must be allowed, that *Chronus* or *Saturn* was not only worshipped, but likewise looked upon as the principal god, at *Carthage* (R). [c]

The

[x] Istrus in collect. sacrific. & Dan. Clasenius ubi sup. Ovid. Macrob. Istr. Porphyr. Seld. Clasen. &c. ubi sup. [y] Univ. hist. vol. I. p. 293. [z] Vossius de idololat. & alibi Seld. de diis Syr. ubi sup. l. ii. c. 5. Vossius ubi sup. Vid. etiam Lud. Viv. ad D. August. de civ. Dei l. vii, c. 9. Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 152. Suid. sub voc. Βεέλ. [a] Jer. xix. 5. [b] Author. supra laudat. & Serv. in Æn. i. Isidor. origin. l. viii. &c. [c] Jer. xix. 5. & alibi. [d] Vid. author. supra laudat. & Cumberland on Sanchoniath. Seld. de diis Syr. &c. Vid. & ipsum Sanchoniath. apud Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10, &c. [e] Sil. Italic. l. 3. [f] Gronov. the saur. ant. Græc. tom. ii.

(Q) A strong argument in favour of what is here advanced may likewise be drawn from the general homage paid to *Saturn*, as the principal of the gods in most countries. He seems to have been known to the *Gauls*, *Scythians*, *Celtes*, *Africans*, and even the most barbarous nations. Human sacrifices were offered up to him where-ever his worship took place, tho' this did not continue long amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whose natural sentiments of humanity and compassion soon became too strong to permit them to tolerate so infernal a practice. The solemnities observed at the offering up of human victims to the *Carthaginian* god (whose name we may reasonably suppose was either *Baal* or *Moloch*, or both) answered pretty nearly to those observed by the *Canaanites* on the like dire occasion, as we learn from *Plutarch* (64). This is a further presumption, that the *Phœnician Moloch* and this deity were the same. 'Tis an ingenious conjecture of *Banier* (65), that the *Ammonites* worshipped the seven planets in the idol of *Moloch* jointly, as well as *Saturn*, his proper star, and the sun singly.

(R) It is believed by some, that *Saturn* or *Baal* was the sun, *Baaltis* or *Astarte* the moon, and that these were the only deities of the eastern nations. But this we cannot allow; for notwithstanding the sun and moon were two of the most noted objects of false worship, and possibly the first, yet we think it undeniable, that the *Orientals* had other false gods, in very ancient times. From scripture we learn, that the nations bordering upon God's people worshipped the sun, moon, and other planets, in very early ages (66). *Philip*'s treaty with the *Carthaginians*, a copy of which is preserved to us by *Polybius* (67), renders it indisputable that this people had other deities besides the two luminaries above-mentioned, some of which were planets distinct from them. But we shall endeavour to trace up this planetary worship to its first source, or as near it as possible. God created the world, or this system, in six days, and rested the seventh (68). This was the foundation of the *Antediluvian* as well as the *Hebrew* week; and seems to be the reason that the number *seven* was so remarkable both amongst the *Antediluvians* and the *Hebrews*. Vengeance *seven*-fold was denounced against any person that should slay *Cain* (69); *Noah* was commanded to take unto him the clean beasts by *sevens* (70); the fowls of the air also by *sevens* (71); God foretold to him the beginning of the deluge (72) *seven* days before it happened; the same patriarch sent a dove out of the ark a second time to explore *seven* days after the first (73), and a third time *seven* days after this; *Abimelech* received *seven* ewe-lambs of *Abraham*, as a testimony that a well belonged to him (74); *Jacob* served *Laban* for *Rachael seven* years (75); *Pharaoh* in his dream saw *seven* fat and *seven* lean kine come out of the river, portending (76) so many years of plenty and famine; *Elijah* sent his servant *seven* times towards the sea, to discover the cloud that was forming itself for rain (77); his successor *Elisha* ordered *Naaman* the *Syrian* to wash himself *seven* times in the river *Jordan*, in order to be cured of his leprosy (78), &c. Now 'tis observable, that there is a surprising analogy betwixt the days of the original week, and the system then created.

(64) *Plutarch. de superstit. Seld. ubi sup. & Scalig. in epist. ad Casaub.* (65) *Vid. Fourmont. reflex. crit. t.* i. *p.* 357. & *Banier in mythol. l.* vii. *c.* 6. (66) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 5. (67) *Polyb. l.* vii. (68) *Gen.* i. ii. &c. (69) *Gen.* iv. 15. (70) *Gen.* vii. 2. (71) *Gen.* vii. 3. (72) *Gen.* vii. 4. (73) *Gen.* vii. 10, 12. (74) *Gen.* xxi. 28, 29, 30. (75) *Gen.* xxix. 18, 27. (76) *Gen.* xli. 2, 3. (77) 1 *Kings* xviii. 43. (78) 2 *Kings* v. 10, 14.

3 The goddeſs *Cæleſtis* or *Urania* was held in the higheſt veneration by the *Carthaginians*. The prophet *Jeremiah* [g] calls her *Baaleth ſhemain* the queen of heaven, i. e. *Juno Olympia*; *Megaſthenes* [h], in *Euſebius*, *Beltis* or queen *Beltis*; *Sanchoniatho* [i], in *The goddeſs* Cœleſtis *worſhipped at* Carthage.

[g] Jer. vii. 18. xliv. 17. & alibi. [h] MEGASTHENES & ABYDENUS apud EUSEB. in chron. [i] SANCHONIATH. & PHILO BYBL. apud. EUSEB. de præp. evang. l. i.

The ſix primary planets, for the moon is the ſatellite of the earth, move round the ſun, which is fixed, or at reſt, and together they are in number *ſeven*, this anſwers exactly to the ſix days of work or motion, and one of reſt, in all ſeven, of which the original week did conſiſt. Thus the *Moſaic* account of the creation is a ſymbolical deſcription of the world or ſyſtem created; and ſuch deſcriptions as theſe were perfectly agreeable to the genius of the *Orientals*, eſpecially the *Egyptians*, in the firſt ages, and particularly in that wherein *Moſes* lived, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, where it in any manner neceſſary. Hence we have the greateſt reaſon to imagine, that the *Antediluvian* as well as the *Poſtdiluvian* patriarchs, the firſt *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, &c. famed for their knowledge in aſtronomy and aſtrology, knew the number of the planets, and had names for them. *Moſes* likewiſe, *being learned in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians, had undoubtedly a great ſhare of knowledge in the celeſtial ſciences (79). That the *Egyptians* had magicians and wiſe men, or aſtrologers, amongſt them a conſiderable, if not a long, time before *Joſeph*'s arrival in *Egypt*, appears from ſcripture, ſince it was a common practice in that country then to conſult ſuch perſons (80) upon any extraordinary occaſion; and the number *ſeven* ſeems likewiſe to have been ſymbolical; from whence we may infer, that none of the planets were unknown to them, even from the firſt formation of their monarchy. The *Coaldees* or *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, &c. agreed with the family of *Abraham* or *Heber* in the moſt early ages, in their computation of time by weeks, or periods of *ſeven* days (81), as well as in ſhewing regard to the number *ſeven*; they were likewiſe famed for their early application to the ſtudy of the celeſtial ſciences, which is a good proof that they muſt have been acquainted with the ſeven planets, even from the beginning. According to *Iamblichus* and *Syncellus*, *Pythagoras* was taken priſoner by *Cambyſes* in *Egypt*, in the firſt year of the ſixty-fourth olympiad, *i. e.* about five hundred and twenty-four years before the birth of Chriſt Now the learned are univerſally agreed, that this philoſopher brought with him home from *Egypt* that antient ſyſtem of the world which bears his name (82), and is generally believed to be the true one, and that he received this from the pillars of the firſt *Hermes*, who was almoſt as antient as the beginning of the *Egyptian* monarchy, and a moſt celebrated adept in the knowledge of the heavenly bodies. We muſt therefore allow it probable, that theſe bodies, and the true ſyſtem of the world, were known even from the firſt origin of things. In order to ſupport farther what is here advanced, it may not be improper to obſerve, that from the moſt early antiquity the planets were imagined to bear a new relation to the days of the week, ſince the cuſtom of calling the latter by the names of the former is ſo antient, that the beginning of it cannot be diſcovered. 'Tis undoubtedly as antient as the diviſion of the day into twenty-four hours, ſince the great regard paid to the planets, from a notion of their influence over all terreſtrial bodies, was the cauſe of that diviſion, as that diviſion was of the order in which they ſucceeded one another in their government of the days of the week (83), which does not agree with their ſituation in our ſyſtem. The caſe therefore ſeems to have been thus: There was a great analogy between the days of the firſt, or original, week, and the *ſeven* principal parts of the ſyſtem then created; the former ſeem to have been a ſymbolical deſcription of the latter. This occaſioned the number *ſeven*, common to both of them, to be taken great notice of by all the firſt inhabitants of the world. The knowledge of the planets, which was coeval with *Adam*, at firſt afforded many pleaſing ſpeculations to mankind; but afterwards became a ſnare to them, and inſenſibly led them on to the worſhip of theſe heavenly bodies. After this took place, the ſame, if not a greater, regard was paid to the number *ſeven*, out of the high veneration the planets were held in amongſt them. They allotted every particular hour, every particular day of the week, to the government of ſome one of them; and, in conſequence of this, gave the name of the planet governing to the day governed. This we take to be the origin of the cuſtom of denominating the days of the week after the planets; and conſequently believe, that it was coeval, or nearly ſo, with the firſt origin of idolatry. *Alexander Aphrodiſienſis* affirms, that the number *ſeven* is perfect in its own nature, becauſe God governs the earth by the *ſeven* planets (84); *Pythagoras*, according to *Apuleius*, revered it in an extraordinary manner (85), looking upon it as a number ſacred to religion, and pointing (86) out particularly to the ſeven planets; *Apuleius* judged it neceſſary, before he addreſſed himſelf to the moſt powerful god, to be immerſed *ſeven* times in ſalt water (87), in conformity, no doubt, to the *Pythagorean*, *i. e.* the moſt antient *Chaldean*, *Egyptian*, &c. ſuperſtition; *Ariſtotle* inſinuates, that *ſeven* is the number (88) of which the world, *i. e.* this ſyſtem, is compoſed; *Photius*, *Macrobius* (89), and others, likewiſe declare, that *ſeven* is a religious number. From which teſtimonies, as well as an infinite number more that might be produced, it is abundantly evident, that the eſteem the antient pagan world ſhewed for the number *ſeven* was owing originally to the planets, and that theſe were adored from very remote antiquity.

As infinite power cannot be confined in its productions to any particular part of duration, and as the manner of every one of the divine operations muſt be calculated to ſerve ſome wiſe end, we may preſume, that there was ſome final cauſe why the world, or this ſyſtem, was created in *preciſely* ſix days, which, in a conjunction with a *ſeventh*, formed the firſt period of time. Now it will not be eaſy to aſſign a more rational one than we have hinted above, *viz.* that this was done with a deſign to point out to the firſt inhabitants of the earth the principal parts of which the ſyſtem then created did conſiſt; as likewiſe to remind them in a particular

(79) *Acts* vii. 22. (80) *Gen.* xli. 8. (81) *Gen.* xxix. 27. (82) *Univ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 222, 223, *&c.* (83) *Idem*, *p.* 730. *note* (L). (84) *Alexander Aphrodiſ. in Ariſtot. probl. l.* ii. (85) *Apul. Mileſ.* 11. (86) *Vid. Joan. Meurſ. Denar. Pythagor. c.* 9. (87) *Apul. ubi ſup.* (88) *Ariſtot. maj. metaphyſ. c.* 7. *& Alex. Aphrodiſ. in loc.* (89) *Photius in excerpt. e Nicom. Macrob. in ſomn. Scip. l.* i. *c.* 6. *Etymolog. magn.* &c. *Vide etiam Procl. in Timæ. l.* iii. *Plutarch. ſympoſ. l.* viii. *c.* 1. *& l.* ix. *c.* 4. *Diog. Laert. in Platon. l.* iii. *& Joſ. Laurent. de ſiſt. & tintinnab. c.* 3. *apud Gronov. theſ. ant. Græc c.* viii. *p.* 1467.

in *Philo Byblius*, *Dione* and *Baaltis*; *Hesychius* [k], *Belthes*. According to this last author, the word was applied both to *Juno* and *Venus*; and indeed in the *Phœnician* theology, we scarce find any distinction betwixt these two deities. St. *Augustin* says, that *Carthage* was the place where *Venus* had established her reign [l]; and *Virgil* informs us, that *Juno* preferred that spot to all others, even to *Samos* itself [m]. As therefore both the *Greeks* and *Romans* had, generally speaking, one single chief divinity to preside over every particular city, country, and district, this double one must have been owing to the *Phœnician* or *Punic* word above-mentioned, which included both of the aforesaid goddesses. *Ashteroth* and *Astarte* were synonymous to *Urania* and *Baaltis*, and denoted the moon as well as *Venus* and *Juno*, who was invoked in great calamities, particularly in droughts to obtain rain [n]. The antient *Greeks* frequently confound *Juno*, *Venus*, and *Diana*, or the moon which is to be attributed to the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, from whom they received their system of religion, who seem in the most antient times to have had but one name for them all. In such a perplexed point as this, we shall expatiate no farther, since it would be both fruitless and unnecessary; besides, it would carry us from our subject. Our readers will find as distinct and particular an account of the goddess or goddesses here mentioned, as they can with reason expect, in the first volume of this history [o]. To that part therefore, we refer them (S).

Many deities went antiently by the name of Belus.

Besides the first *Belus* already taken notice of, there were several others of a later date in great repute amongst the *Phœnicians*, particularly those of *Tyre*, and of course amongst the *Carthaginians*. *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, or the sun, &c. were all of them so styled, according to the most celebrated authors who have treated of this subject. That *Jupiter* was worshipped by this people under the denomination of *Belus* or *Baal*, is notorious from *Polybius*, *Menander Ephesius*, and *Dius* [p]. To him they addressed their oaths, and placed him, as there is reason to believe, for the most part, at the head of their treaties. For which reason some have not scrupled to affirm, that he was the *Baal Berith* of *Phœnice* [r]; but we are rather inclined to suppose, with bishop *Cumberland*, that this last deity was *Chronus* [s]. *Mars*, according to the *chronicon Alexandrinum*, compared with *Homer* and *Hestiæus*, an antient author cited by *Eusebius* [t], was dignified with the title of *Belus* by the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, and doubtless by the *Carthaginians* also, since he was a favourite divinity in their state [u], especially amongst their generals. *Bacchus* was called *Belus* by the poet *Nonnus* [w], and

[k] Hesych. sub voc. Βήλθης. [l] D. August. in psal. xcviii. [m] Virg. Æn. i. [n] Tertul. apolog. c. 23. [o] Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 397—404. [p] Polyb. l. vii. & alibi pas. Menander. Ephesius & Dius apud Joseph. antiq. l. viii c. 2. [q] M. Banier. in mythol. vol. i. [r] Cumberland. on Sanchoniath. p. 152. [s] Homer. pas. Hestiæus apud Euseb. de præp evang. l. ix & apud Joseph. antiq. l. i. c. 6. Vid. etiam Selden. de diis. Syr. syntag. 2. [t] Polyb. ubi sup. & alibi pas. Sil. Italic. l. i. [u] Nonnus in Dionysiac. apud Seld. de diis Syr. synt. 2.

cular manner every *seventh* day, that these *seven* heavenly bodies were created by God, intirely dependent upon him, and therefore ought not to be esteemed as objects of adoration. The great propensity of mankind in after-ages, particularly the *Hebrews*, God's own people, to this species of false worship, adds no small weight to our hypothesis. That the primitive week, long before the law was in being, consisted of *seven* days, is clear from scripture (90); as likewise, that every one of those days, in the symbolical language of the most early ages, stood for a year (91). We could pursue this point much farther, would the subject we are upon permit; but as it will not, we hope to be able to give our readers a full discussion of it in some future part of this work; and in the mean time shall content ourselves with having suggested a few remarkable hints in this place.

(S) *Urania*, *Baaltis*, *Astarte*, &c. is by some taken to be the *Isis* (92) of the *Egyptians*; as *Baal*, *Belus*, &c. their *Osiris*. The *Carthaginian Juno*, according to *Virgil* (93), had armour and a chariot, though of what form he tells us not. *Servius* says (94) she had a buckler as well as a chariot, and was invoked by the name of *Juno Curulis*. *Plutarch* seems to give her a spear, since he calls her *Juno Curitis*, *curis* in the *Sabine* language signifying that weapon. Some are of opinion, that her chariot was a small portable tabernacle, in which her image was carried either from place to place, or in procession. 'Tis certain such tabernacles as these were in use amongst the *Carthaginians*. As for the etymon of *Ashtaroth*, *Ashtoreth*, or *Astarte*, we must refer our readers to the *Phœnician* history (95). According to *Scaliger* (96), *Juno* was represented at *Carthage* sitting upon a lion, with thunder in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. No wonder she should have been so much revered by the *Carthaginians*, since she was in a particular manner the goddess of the *Sidonians*, their ancestors (97).

(90) *Gen.* xxix. 27. (91) *Ibid.* (92) *Bishop Cumberland on Sanchoniath. & in orig. gent. ant. See also the first vol. of this hist. p.* 205, 398, *&c.* (93) *Virg. Æn.* i. (94) *Serv. in Æn. i.* (95) *Univ. hist. vol.* i. *p.* 398. (96) *Jos. Scalig. de emend. comp.* (97) *Univ. hist. ubi sup. Vid. etiam Apul. metam.* vi. *Cyprian. in lib. de idol. Solin. c.* 30. *Tertul. apol. c.* 24. *Sil. Ital. l.* i. *Herodian. l.* v. *Voss. theol. gent. l.* ii. *c.* 21. *August. in Judic. c.* 7. *Voss ubi sup. c.* 25, 26, &c. *Francisc. Florid. Sabin. in lect. subsc. l.* ii. *c.* 7. *& Herodot. l.* iv.

and no wonder, since he is often taken to be the same with *Jupiter* (T). The nation we are discoursing of had, in all probability, some knowledge of him [x]. *Apollo*, or the sun, went frequently either by this name simply, or by others, in which this made one part of the composition [y]. Though sometimes the people of *Carthage* reposed great confidence in him, yet we find their ancestors, the *Tyrians*, in a case of extremity, were dubious of him; for being apprehensive, that he intended to forsake them, and go over to *Alexander*, then vigorously pushing on the siege of their city, they fastened his statue with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules* [z]. *Neptune* was likewise one of the *Dii majorum gentium*, or gods of the first class, of the *Carthaginians* [a]. It cannot well be doubted, but that he was the *Baal* of *Sidon*, called *Thalassius*, or the *Sea Baal*, taken notice of in a former part of this history [b].

THE

[x] Compare NONNUS, SELD. & BOCHART. with Sir ISAAC NEWTON in his chronol. p. 23, 24, 97, 98, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, &c. [y] SELDEN. ubi sup. [z] Q. CURT. l. 4. c. 3. [a] POLYB. l. vii. DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. [b] Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 397.

(T) In a former part of this work we observed, that *Pezron* derived *Jupiter* from the *Celtic Jou*, *young*, because the deity so called was supposed to have been the youngest son of *Saturn* (98). But the regard we bear to truth obliges us now to declare, that we dissent from that learned man in this particular, as well as in all the points depending upon it. We are fully satisfied, that this name is formed of the word *pater*, *father*, in conjunction with the *Tetragrammaton* or *Jehovah*, as will most evidently appear from the following observations.

1. There can scarce an instance be found in all antiquity of any prince's receiving his true and proper name from so slight a circumstance as that mentioned by *Pezron*. That *Jupiter* therefore, who was so potent a prince, or rather so celebrated a deity; that he who was so frequently styled by the most ancient writers *the father of gods and men*, should be so called, because he was his father's youngest son, is utterly improbable (99). We may therefore, after the best writers, venture to assert, that the ancient *Latins* either took *Jupiter* to be a term equivalent to *Baal*, *Deus*, &c. *i. e.* God, Lord, *&c.* as *Neptune* was the sea *Jupiter*, *Pluto* the infernal *Jupiter*, &c. or by it understood the great governor of the universe himself, as the wisest of them most certainly did (100). In either of which cases it can satisfactorily be derived from no other source than the *Tetragrammaton*.

2. *Diodorus Siculus*, a very good author, where he does not too closely copy after *Ctesias*, as he cannot in the point before us, calls the God of *Moses*, the legislator of the *Jews*, *Iao* (1). This is a clear proof, that the God of *Moses*, or *Jehovah*, was known to the *Greeks* by the name *Iao*, which was their pronunciation, though a corrupt one, of the *Tetragrammaton*. Add to this *pater* or *father*, a word which both the *Greeks* and *Latins* affixed to *Zeus* and *Jovis* (2), and it becomes *Iao-pater*, which is evidently the *Jupiter* of the *Latins*. As therefore the *Iao* of *Diodorus* cannot be derived from the *Celtic* word *Jou*, so neither can *Iao-pater*, *Iaopiter* or *Jupiter*, as *Pezron* thinks; being made up of *pater* and *Iao*, that is, of *pater* and the *Tetragrammaton*.

3. We are told by *Macrobius* (3), that the oracle of *Apollo Clarius* affirmed *Iao* to be the greatest of the gods, or rather the supreme God. Now this oracle was of a very high antiquity, as we learn from *Strabo* (4), who makes *Mopsus*, a famous soothsayer in the time of the *Trojan* war, to have lived within the verge of it. Nay, it may be collected from *Macrobius* (5), that it was superior in point of antiquity to *Orpheus* himself, which will carry us a vast way back into the mythic period of time. *Æschylus* also intimates, that there was a *Zeus* (6), or *Jupiter Clarius*, which must undoubtedly have been the great God *Iao* above-mentioned. Since therefore *Zeus* and *Iao* are terms synonymous, as we have before proved *Iao* and *Jupiter* to be; this is a further argument, that these all must have had the same original, and consequently that *Jupiter* is not of *Celtic* extraction.

4. In a fragment of *Philo Byblius* taken from *Sanchoniatho*, and handed down to us by *Eusebius* (7), mention is made of the God *Ievo*, and of his priest *Jerombalus*, which can have no manner of relation to the *Celtic Jou*, because *Sanchoniatho* was a *Phœnician*. *Irenæus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Eusebius*, and *Epiphanius*, also evince, that the *Tetragrammaton* or *Jehovah* was written in *Greek Iacu* or *Iau* (8). *Drusius* moreover remarks from *Porphyry*, that *Ievo* of *Sanchoniatho* was *Iao* or *Jehovah* (9). From all which authors it appears, that the *Greeks*, in all probability, received this great name from the *Phœnicians*. As therefore the *Phœnician Ievo*, the *Greek Zeus*, the *Latin Jupiter*, were all the same with *Iao*, that is, the *Tetragrammaton*, it can by no means be admitted, that the name *Jupiter* is to be deduced from the *Celtic*.

But it is urged in defence of this notion, that *Thursday*, or the Day of *Jove*, is called in the remains of the *Celtic* language *Diz-Jou*. (10). Be it so; yet this will not come up to the point. For *Diz-Jou* is so very near the *Latin Dies Jovis*, that every one will be apt to believe the former to have been taken from the latter, and not the latter from the former. Aud why may not this be the case? If the *Romans* made it a maxim to propagate their language where-ever they came, and even tinctured with it the languages of most countries they obliged to submit to their arms, why should it appear incredible, that several, nay, many *Roman* terms should have been transplanted into the old *British* and *Armorican* tongues, since the *Romans* were masters of the countries where they were used for several centuries, and some of their emperors were either born, resided, or died in these parts of their dominions? This is by no means improbable; especially as the word *Jou* in *Diz-Jou* bears not the least resemblance to the name of that day in the *Hibernian* dialect of the *Celtic* (11), which was unknown to

(98) *Univ. hist. vol.* ii. *p.* 261. (99) *Hesiod. theogon. Hom. in Iliad. pas.* (100) *Virg. Hor. Senec. aliiq.* (1) *Diod. Sic. bibliothec. hist. l.* i. *c.* 7. (2) *Homer. & Hesiod. ubi sup. & Aul. Gell. l.* v *c.* 12. (3) *Macrob. Saturn. l.* i. *cap.* 18. (4) *Strab. l.* xiii. (5) *Macrob. ubi sup.* (6) *Æschylus in supplic.* (7) *Sanchoniatho apud Eusеb. de præp. evang, l.* i. (8) *Iren. l.* i. *Epiphan. hæres.* 26. *Eusеb. de præp. evang. l.* iv. *Clem. Alexandr. strom.* 5. (9) *Drusius in lib. de Tetragram. Vid. & Theodoret. quæst.* 15. *in Exod.* (10) *Pezron ant. nat. Celt. c.* 12. (11) *Lhuyd in primar. Britan. & Hibern. ling harmonic, p.* 54.

Baal, *at first a name of the true God.*

The word *Baal*, in itself an appellative, at first served to denote the true God, among those who adhered to the true religion; though afterwards, when it became common

to the *Romans*. The argument therefore would have been but of little force, even supposing the opposite opinion had been supported by no reasons at all; but as the reverse is true, as moreover we find not the least intimation of any divinity going by the name *Jou* in any of those authors who have treated of the *Druidical* religion, which prevailed amongst the *Celtes*, it scarce deserves to be mentioned. But to proceed:

5. According to *Plato*, the *Greek* name *Zeus* imported properly the same thing that *Jehovah* did, *i. e.* the *Being of Beings*, the principle of life and existence (12). This is a farther proof, nay, a most strong presumption, that these two names were originally applied to the same being.

6. *Gellius* affirms, that the antient *Latin* name of *Jupiter* was *Jovis* (13), which, supposing *is* to be a *Latin* termination, as it really is, comes very near the *Tetragrammaton*. This will appear to be exactly true from what follows.

7. The old *Etruscans* (14), who were the descendants of the most antient *Pelasgi*, *Phœnicians*, and *Lydians* (15), called *Jupiter Juve* or *Jove*. All the earliest literary monuments of this nation now remaining have their letters drawn from the right- and to the left, after the *Oriental* manner (16), which is a convincing evidence of their high antiquity. Every thing considered, we look upon this as a decisive argument in favour of our opinion; and not only so, but are fully persuaded, that the true pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton* is hereby discovered. The *Masoretical* pronunciation indeed differs something from it; but undoubtedly the *Etruscan Juve* or *Jove* is many centuries older than the very being of the *Masorets*. Besides, as the *Phœnician* U answered to the *Hebrew* O, and the *Masoretical scheva* is a vowel of a most rapid pronunciation, we may take for granted, that *Juve* or *Jove*, and *Jehovah*, are the same.

8. *Seneca* assures us, that the *Etruscan Juve* or *Jove* was the cause of causes, the great governor and director of the world, the principle of life and motion, and, in short, the Deity himself (17); and that the *Etruscans* themselves considered him in all these views. After this, what can be offered further in support of what we advance? or indeed, what can be required of us further to offer?

But notwithstanding *Jupiter* was the same with the *Etruscan Juve* or *Jehovah*, and even at first, as the word (18) itself implies, the name of the supreme God in most nations; yet we pretend not to deny that there was a king of *Crete*, who being, by reason of his heroic actions, deified after his death, received this name as a title the most illustrious of any that could be conferred upon him. This notion and what we have advanced are by no means incompatible. But still we must insist, that it ought to be considered as a title only, and not as his proper name, of which we are intirely ignorant. 'Tis evident to all persons who have made any researches into antiquity, that the neighbouring idolatrous nations did not only imitate the *Hebrews* in those rites which were originally of divine institution, but likewise gave several appellations to their fictitious deities, which the *Hebrews*, and even they themselves, whilst they remained in the true religion, appropriated to the true God. Of this *El*, *Baal*, *Adonai*, and even *Jehovah* itself, are pregnant instances. One of their false gods the *Greeks* called *Zeus*, and the *Latins Jupiter*, whose worship was established at *Carthage* by *Dido* herself, as *Justin* relates (19); for which end she carried one of his priests with her from *Cyprus* to *Africa*. Under what form the *Carthaginians* exhibited *Saturn* and *Jupiter* to public adoration, is no-where said; but the manner in which *Baal* was represented in the east, has been already touched upon (20).

Mars, called by the *Sabines Mamers*, was the god of war, and, according to *Vossius* (21), of *Oriental* extraction. Sir *Isaac Newton* says *mavors* (22) or *ma-fors* was a *Phrygian* word, signifying valiant. It appears from *Silius*, that the *Carthaginians* (23) addressed their oaths to *Mars* as well as to *Jupiter*. *Hannibal* sacrificed to this god with great solemnity, before he set out upon the *Italian* expedition (24); from whence we may infer, that he was greatly reverenced by the *Carthaginian* generals.

Bacchus was undoubtedly in *Africa*, and, without question, known in *Carthage*; but as he was more famous in *Libya*, we shall defer what we have to say of him, 'till we come to the history of that country.

Bochart seems to think, that *Apollo* was originally an *African* deity (25). He takes him to have been the *Phut* of *Moses*, known among the *Greeks* by the name *Pythius*. The *Carthaginians*, when they took the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, found a statue of *Apollo* of an extraordinary size (26), which they sent to their mother city *Tyre*; and this was the statue which the *Tyrians* fastened with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules*, when they were under an apprehension, that he was going over to *Alexander*, then besieging their city. Besides this, there was another at *Carthage* of an immense value, taken by *Scipio* at the conclusion of the last siege, and, as *Plutarch* (27) intimates, sent to *Rome*. The temple of *Apollo*, as described by *Appian*, was the richest and most superb edifice at *Carthage*, of which we have given an account above. It was placed in the forum. *Valerius Maximus* relates, that the hand of one who came to strip him of his golden garments was found amongst the pieces of gold cut off from him, which he mentions as an instance of his resenting sacrilege in a high manner (28). If we consider him as the sun, he was the *Osiris* of the *Egyptians*, and the *Mithras* of the *Persians* (29), and consequently the great god of all the east. The *Apollo Libycus* (30) will be fully considered in a proper place.

Neptune some take to have been *Japhet*, the king of the isles (31), as they think appears not only from the office antiquity assigned him, but likewise from his name. He presided over earthquakes, plagues, and inundations (32); and, in order to render him propitious, the *Carthaginians* threw victims into

(12) *Conf. Hieron. Column. & G. J. Vossii. not. in Enn. p.* 289. *ed. Hesselii Amst.* 1707. *cum Plat. in Cratylo.* (13) *Aul. Gell. l.* v. *c.* 12. (14) *Vid. suite de l'extrait de l'histoire diplomatique de M. Maffei, in bibliotheque Italique, tom. troisiem art.* 1. *à Geneve,* 1728. (15) *Tab. Eugubin.* 5. *l.* v. *& alib. Vid. & tab. Eugubin.* 6. *apud Dempst. de Etrur. regal. tom.* i. (16) *Vid. moniment. & inscript. Etrusc. apud Dempst de Etrur. regal. & P. Bonarotæ additament. ed Florent.* 1726. (17) *Senec. natural. quæst. l* ii *c.* 45, 46. (18) *Shuckford's connect. of the sacr. and prof. hist. b.* ix. (19) *Justin.* l. xviii. (20) *Univ. hist. vol.* i. *p.* 398, *not.* (E). (21) *Vossius in theol. gent.* (22) *Sir Isaac Newton chronol. p.* 23 (23) *Sil. Italic. l.* i. (24) *Idem ibid.* (25) *Boch. Phal. l.* i. *c.* 2. (26) *Univ. hist. vol.* i. *p.* 420. (27) *Plutarch. in Flamin.* (28) *Val. Max.* (29) *Strab. Suid. Hesych. Univ. hist. vol.* i. *p.* 204, 205. *vol.* ii. *p.* 291. (30) *Vid. Lucium Ampelium apud Bochart. ubi. sup.* (31) *Boch. Phal. l.* i. *c.* 1. (32) *Diod. Sic. l.* xv. *c.* 6.

a common amongſt the idolatrous nations, and they, as well as his own people, applied it to their reſpective idols, he rejected it [b]. The falſe god to whom they firſt appropriated it, was *Chronus* or *Saturn*, as intimated above. In proceſs of time it became a title, or mark of diſtinction, prefixed to the names of many others. Hence the *Baal-Peor*, *Baal-Zebub*, *Baal-Moloch*, &c. of the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians* [c]. The term imported *god* or *lord* amongſt the *Orientals*, as *zeus* did amongſt the *Greeks* [d]. The plural *Baalim* in ſcripture ſignifies *gods*, *lords*, *maſters*, *ſovereigns*, &c. correſpondent to the ſenſe of *Bel* in the *Chaldee* tongue. According to *Servius* [e], who is followed by *Voſſius* herein, *Bal* in the *Punic* language had two ſignifications; it either ſpecified *Saturn*, or was equivalent to the *Latin deus*, or *god*. *Xenophon* [f] inſinuates,
b that, in the earlieſt times, every head of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in all countries was called *Chronus* or *Saturn*; every firſt-born ſon or daughter of ſuch families *Jupiter* or *Juno*; and the moſt valiant of their offspring *Hercules*. *Theodoret* ſeems to apply this to the *Phœnicians* in particular [g]; adding, that ſuch noble perſonages were deified, on account of ſome ſignal ſervice they did to their country. As we have made *Baal*, and *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, words of the ſame import in different languages, we may ſay of the former what *Varro* in *Tertullian* ſays of the latter, *viz.* that the number of thoſe ſo ſtyled amounted to three hundred. Notwithſtanding which, ſome will have it, that there were originally but two gods of the *Phœnicians*, and conſequently of the *Carthaginians*, or, what is the ſame thing, that all the other deic ities were reſolvable into thoſe two, *viz.* *Baal* [h] and *Aſhtoreth*, or *Belus* and *Aſtarte*.

Baalſamen, or, as the *Hebrews* would have written it, *Baal-ſhemaim*, i. e. the lord of heaven, ſeems to have been the ſun, as *Beliſama*, or the queen of heaven, above-mentioned, the moon. According to St. *Auſtin*, he had religious honours paid him by the *Carthaginians* [i]. It is probable they had no repreſentation of him at all, becauſe they could not forbear beholding him daily in all his glory, *Damaſcius* calls him *El*, *Bolathes*, &c. and makes him to have been the ſame with *Saturn* [k]. *The ſun worſhipped at* Carthage.

THE *Carthaginians* introduced *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* as *Greek* deities, when ill ſucceſs attended their arms in the war with *Dionyſius* of *Syracuſe*. This *Diodorus* tells us [l]. But *Virgil* aſſerts, that *Dido* herſelf ſacrificed to *Ceres* [m]. The poet here, we think, *As likewiſe* Ceres *and* Proſerpina.
d ought to give way to the hiſtorian; for it is much more probable, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould receive a *Greek* or *Roman* deity from the *Greeks* or *Romans*, than from the *Phœnicians*. The ſtatues of theſe two goddeſſes ſtood in the temple of *Dido*, who was likewiſe deified by thoſe idolaters, together with her ſiſter *Anna*. We find on the reverſes of ſeveral *Carthaginian* coins an ear or ears of corn, either in alluſion to the goddeſs *Ceres*, or as a ſymbol of the fruitfulneſs of the country.

As the *Carthaginians* were a people who ſupported themſelves chiefly by commerce, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they neglected the worſhip of the god of genius, induſtry, and traffic. *Mercury* the antients allotted this province to; and accordingly we find the *Carthaginians* paid divine honours to him, under the name of *Aſumes* or *And* Mercury
c *Aſoumes* [n] (U).

NOTHING

[b] SELD. de diis Syr. c. 1. ſub init. & Hoſ. ii. 16, 17. [c] SELD. ubi ſupra. [d] Idem ibid. [e] SERV. in Æn. 1. VOSS. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 4. [f] XENOPH. in œquiv. [g] THEODORET. de Græc. affect. l. iii. [h] SELD. de diis Syr ſynt. 2. c. 2. p. 145. SHUCKFORD in his connect. b. v. [i] AUGUST. in Jud. quæſt. 16. [k] DAMASC. in vit. Iſidor. [l] DIOD. SIC. l xiv. c. 7. [m] VIRG. Æn. 4 ver. 58. [n] PLIN. nat. hiſt l. xxv. c. 5. & BOCHART. ex auctario Dioſcorid. Chan. l. ii. c. 15.

into the ſea as offerings to him. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance during *Hannibal*'s ſiege of *Agrigentum* (33), when a number of prieſts were in this manner offered. The antients attributed to him every thing that related to the management of horſes; and from the rock out of which the firſt horſe is ſuppoſed to have ſprung, he had the denomination of *Scyphius* given him (34) *ſcyph* in *Punic* ſignifying a *rock* or *ſtone*. *Bochart* makes his name *Poſidon* to be a *Punic* term, importing *broad* or *expanded* (35). His name *Neptune* ſhall be accounted for, when we come to viſit *Libya*; for, according to *Herodotus*, he was originally a *Libyan* (36).

Our readers will not be ſurpriſed, that we have paſſed over in ſilence the *Carthaginian* images or repreſentations of theſe four laſt deities, ſince we are intirely in the dark as to the manner in which they were figured at *Carthage*. Poſſibly in the main the *Carthaginians* might agree with the *Greeks* and *Romans* in this particular; and if ſo, no piece ſo proper can be recommended to the peruſal of the curious, as that of *Albricus* upon this ſubject (37).

(U) *Mercury* was the miniſter of the gods, and preſided over the roads or highways, as well as traffic and commerce (38). The old *Etruſcans* named him *Camillus*, *Caſmillus*, or *Cadmilus*, i. e. a ſervant or

(33) *Idem l.* xiii. *c.* 12. (34) *Pind. ſcholiaſt. in Pyth. od.* 4. (35) *Bochart. ubi ſupra.* (36) *Herodot. in Euterp.* (37) *Albric. de deor. imag. Baſ.* 1570. (38) *Voſſ. theol. gent. l.* ii. *c.* 32.

Divine honours paid also there to Hercules.

Nothing is more celebrated in antient history than the *Tyrian Hercules*, whose worship was brought to *Carthage* by *Dido*, and diffused itself afterwards over all the coasts of *Africa*, and as far as *Gades* or *Cadiz*, where he had a magnificent temple. The reason of his name *Melcartus* has been already assigned [o]. The *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* supposed him to preside over gold, silver, and all sorts of treasures; on which account he was held in high veneration in the island of *Thasus* [p], where a *Phœnician* colony being planted discovered some gold mines. The *Thasians* adored him with the same solemnity as the people of *Tyre*, and had a brazen statue of him ten cubits high, with a club in the right hand, and a bow in the left; in which manner they undoubtedly represented him both at *Tyre* and *Carthage* [q]. The *Pelasgi* [r], originally *Phœnicians*, vowed him the tenths of every thing they had [s], on account of a great scarcity of grain they once laboured under. The *Carthaginians* for a considerable time never failed sending to *Tyre* the first fruits of their revenues, nor the tithe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to *Hercules*, the protector of *Tyre* and *Carthage* [t]. Public diversions were instituted in honour of him at *Tyre*, which they celebrated every four years [u]. At *Carthage*, no doubt, the same custom prevailed, as likewise that of offering [w] annually human victims up to him. *Varro* mentions forty-five heroes who bore this appellation; but the oldest of them seems to have been the *Tyrian* or *Carthaginian Hercules* (W).

Iolaus.

Iolaus comes next to *Hercules*, as being either related to him, or one that introduced some of his relations into the island of *Sardinia* [x]. The natives of that island, at his arrival, were *Tyrrhenians* or *Etruscans* [y]. Those people inhabiting the mountainous parts of *Sardinia*, received from him the appellation of *Iolaenses*; and even the most fruitful provinces had the name of *campi Iolei*, the *Iolean* or *Iolaan fields* [z]. *Hercules* and *Iolaus*, according to *Vossius* [a], had jointly divine honours paid them here, either because he was *Hercules*'s near relation, or assisted him in destroying the *Hydra*, which

• Univers. hist. vol. i. p. 400. not. (P). [p] Vide Wolfang. Lazium in Græc. ant. l. i. c 2. [q] Idem ibid. & Burchard Niderst. Melita vetus & nov. l. ii. c. 6. [r] Strab. Herodot. Dionys. Halicarn. Epiphan. Boch. Salmas. Grot. & Univers. hist. vol. ii. p. 345. not. (D). [s] Dion. Halicarn. l. i. [t] Polyb in excerpt. legat. [u] Macab. & Theodoret. lib. semest. serm. iii. c. 2. [w] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 6. [x] Strab. l. v. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Diod. Sic. & Strab. ubi supra. [a] Voss. theol. gent. l i. c. 40.

or minister of the gods (39); and the *Carthaginians Asumes* or *Hassumes*, which imports a servant (40). *Bochart* thinks he was *Canaan*, because that word properly denotes a merchant, and in some respect answers to the name *Mercury* (41); which conjecture he farther confirms by observing, that, in conformity to *Mercury*'s office, *Noah* predicted, that *Canaan* should serve his brethern (42). His *pileus* and *caduceus* being winged, seem to allude to the sails of ships, and remotely to the long voyages the *Phœnicians* made, and the fartherst parts of the world they were acquainted with, as doth likewise his government of the highways above-mentioned. *Bochart* and *Vossius* set this in a very clear light (43).

(W) We cannot help being of opinion, that the *Phœnician* or *Tyrian Hercules* was the same with the *Egyptian*. It appears from *Philostratus* (44), that the *Egyptian Hercules*, as well as the *Theban*, i. e. the *Phœnician*, were worshipped in the same temple at *Gadira* or *Gades*; that there were no statues erected to either of them there; that the temple was adorned with the twelve labours of *Hercules* finely wrought; which must naturally have pointed at both of them; that the golden olive of *Pygmalion* king of *Tyre* (a *Phœnician*) bearing *smaragdine* fruit, of wonderous workmanship, was kept in this temple. Bishop *Cumberland* proves (45), that the *Phœnician Hercules* was a *Phœnician* king in *Egypt*; that he found out the purple dye, which is of *Phœnician* extraction; and that he built the temple on the island near the *Straits*, to which he gave the *Phœnician* name *Gadira*. Lastly, Sir *Isaac Newton* makes it evident (46), that the *Hercules* called *Melcartus*, who was king of *Carteia*, had the temple at *Gades* consecrated to him, as *Philostratus* intimates the *Egyptian Hercules* had (47); and that this *Hercules* was a *Phœnician*. From whence it may rationally be supposed, that the *Phœnician Hercules* and that of *Egypt* were the same.

The word itself is to be sought for from the east, undoubtedly ערקל *yercol* or *ercol*, signifying *swift* and *sinewy*, or *strong*, was the original This *Hercules* was likewise upon the coast of *Africa*, and, according to *Orosius*, built *Capsa* there (48). Bishop *Cumberland* imagines him to have been called *Assis* or *Aziz*, i. e. the strong, as well as *Ercol* or *Hercules* (49). *Africanus* and *Eusebius* give him the name of *Archles* (50). It is probable he was elected king or general of the *Phœnicians*, on account of the great glory he had acquired (51). Some believe, that he, in a manner, traversed the then known world; but the relations given us of his atchievements are so interlarded with fable, that we know not well what to make of them.

(39) *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 12, 33, *& alib.* (40) *Idem ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (41) *Boch. Phal. l.* i. (42) *Gen.* ix 25, 26. *Vide etiam Var. Plut. in num. Fest. & vet. auth. apud Phavorin. &c.* (43) *Voss. & Bochart. ubi supra. Vide Isai.* xviii. (44) *Philost. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l.* v. *c.* 1. *p.* 211. (45) *Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p.* 159, 160. *in orig. p.* 113, 114, *&c. Vide Palaphatum Egyptium apud chron. Alex. & Maneth. apud Euseb. in chronic. p.* 352. (46) *Newton's chronol. p.* 111, 112, 113, 114, *&c.* (47) *Philostrat. ubi supra* (48) *Oros l.* v. *c.* 15. *Flor. l.* iii. *c.* 1. *Sallust. in Jugurth.* (49) *Cumberland. in orig p.* 113. *& Maneth. apud Joseph. cont. Apion.* (50) *African & Euseb. in chronic. Herodot. in Euterp. &c.* (51) *Newton's chronol. p.* 111.

a which he did by drying up the gore with a red hot iron, when any of the heads was cut off, to prevent others from ſprouting out in its room. *Ovid* [b] pretends, that, at the interceſſion of *Hercules*, *Hebe* reſtored him to his youth, when he was grown extremely decripet. As the *Carthaginians* had this iſland in poſſeſſion a conſiderable time, it is ſuppoſed they borrowed him from the *Sardi*; for that he was one of their principal deities, we are given to underſtand by *Polybius* [c]. The rites and ceremonies obſerved at his public worſhip are fully deſcribed by *Voſſius* out of *Pauſanias* [d].

Hendreich intimates, that the *Dea Syria*, or *Syrian goddeſs*, was a deity of the *Carthaginians* [e]; but who ſhe was, authors are not agreed. By the deſcription of her temple already given [f], and the ſtatue in it, ſhe muſt either have been *Juno*, or a b group of all the goddeſſes; which laſt opinion ſeems moſt probable. The curious may find further ſatisfaction on this head, by conſulting *Tertullian* and *Lipſius*, as well as the firſt volume of this hiſtory [g]. Dea Syria.

THE people of *Carthage* likewiſe addreſſed themſelves to *Æſculapius*, whom *Servius* calls *Pœnigena*, becauſe he ſuppoſes his mother to have been a *Carthaginian* [h]. The place more particularly ſacred to him was *Byrſa*, or rather the top of that fortreſs, famous for his ſpacious temple there ſituated [i]. We have already obſerved, that *Aſdrubal*'s wife, at the final deſtruction of *Carthage*, burnt this edifice, together with herſelf, her family, and nine hundred *Roman* deſerters. Conſiderable quantities of vervain, a herb ſacred to him, were preſerved in this place. The beſt authors take c him to have been originally a *Meſſenian*, or an *Egyptian*; yet, according to *Voſſius*, the *Carthaginians* received him immediately from the *Tyrians*, to whom either the *Syro-Macedonians* or *Egyptians* [k] communicated him. *Alexander* took *Tyre* in the firſt year of the hundred and twelfth olympiad; and *Carthage* was finally deſtroyed by *Scipio* in the third year of the hundred and fifty-eighth; in the interval betwixt which two periods the worſhip of *Æſculapius* paſſed from the *Syro-Macedonians* or *Egyptians* to the *Tyrians*, and from them to the *Carthaginians*. *Toſorthrus*, or *Seſorthrus*, a king of *Memphis*, and the ſecond of the third dynaſty of *Manetho*, for his great ſkill in the art of phyſic, is generally allowed to have been the firſt *Æſculapius*. He preceded many ages the *Meſſenian* [l]. Æſculapius.

d *Herebus*, another *Carthaginian* deity mentioned by *Silius* and *Polybius*, ſeems to have been *Pluto*, or *Dis*. We know nothing farther of him, than that he was invoked as the god of hell, and repreſented under a human ſhape, with long looſe hair. *Voſſius* and *Hendreich* both take notice of him [m]. Herebus.

Triton, the ſea god, had a place amongſt the deities of *Carthage*, as we learn from the treaty concluded betwixt *Philip* the ſon of *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and the *Carthaginians* [n]. Some authors have told us, that he was ſo called from Τρίτων, a *Greek* word, ſignifying a *wave* [o]. It appears from *Virgil*, that the province of *Triton* and *Cymothoë* was to releaſe or heave off veſſels run aground, and to clear them from the rocks. The antient mythologiſts make the nymph *Cymothoë* to have been the daugh- e ter of *Nereus* and *Doris*; but *Triton* the ſon of *Neptune* and *Amphitrite* [p]. Triton.

Mopſus, a famous augur or ſoothſayer, after his death, became a ſort of oracle [q] at *Carthage*. The memory of this deified ſage has been tranſmitted down to poſterity by *Lactatius Placidus* and *Apuleius* [r]. *Strabo* takes notice of one *Mopſus* the ſon of *Manto* the daughter [s] of *Tireſias*. But, according to *Voſſius* [t], this was the ſon of *Ampycus* an *Argonaut*, mentioned by *Apollonius* and *Valerius Flaccus* [t]. All that can be added concerning him is, that temples were erected to him by this nation, from whence reſponſes were given, as from ſo many oracles. Mopſus.

RIVERS, meads, waters, *&c.* or rather the ſuppoſed genii of all theſe inanimate parts of the creation, were [u] eſteemed as objects of adoration. This humour likewiſe f prevailed amongſt the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and moſt other nations, from very antient times. No one has handled this ſubject better than *Voſſius* [w], whoſe writings our learned readers will peruſe with great pleaſure. Some maintain, that the worſhip of *Rivers, meads, waters, &c. gods.*

the

[b] OVID. met. ix. [c] POLYB. l. vii. [d] Voss. ubi ſupra. [e] HENDR. l. ii. ſect. 1. c. 4. [f] Univerſ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 372, 373. [g] TERTUL. apol. c. 24. LIPS. elect. l. ii. c. 21. epiſt. quæſt. l. ii. c. 22. & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſupra. [h] SERV. in Æn. 7. [i] APPIAN in Libyc. [k] Voss. ubi ſupra, l. i. c. 32. [l] Univerſ. hiſt. vol i. p. 218. [m] SIL. ITAL. l. i. POLYB. l. vii. Voss. theol. gent. l. ii. c. 60. & HENDR. ubi. ſupra [n] POLYB. l. vii. [o] HEND. ubi ſupra. [p] VIRG. Æn. 1. ver. 148. [q] APUL. de deo. Socrat & HENDR. ubi ſupra. [r] LUCT. PLAC. in Stat. Thebaid. iii. APUL. ubi ſup. Vide etiam SENEC. in Med. chor. & CÆL. RHODIGIN l. xxix. c. 15. lect. ant. [s] STRAB. l. xiii. [t] Voss. theol. gent. l. i. c. 32. VALER. FLAC. & APOLLON. in Argonaut. [u] SIL. ITAL. l. i. Voss. ubi ſupra, c. 67. [w] Voss. ibid. p. 67——74.

the elements was prior to all others in the pagan world; but we muſt beg leave to a
diſſent from their opinion.

As likewiſe fire. *Scaliger* [x] the elder acquaints us, that the old *Africans* paid a religious homage to fire, which was perhaps likewiſe the cuſtom at *Carthage*. This ſentiment he ſeems to have taken from *Leo Africanus* [y], an author whom we ſhall have occaſion to conſult hereafter.

As alſo the air and winds. WITH this [z] the air and winds alſo ſhared divine honours, which was probably derived from the *Aſſyrians*. The air to this nation appeared to be ſuperior to the other elements, and to have them, as it were, under its government and direction [a]; for which reaſon it was honoured with adoration. We read in *Scanchoniatho* [b], that *Uſous* conſecrated two rude ſtones or pillars to fire and wind; to which we may add, b
that the worſhip of the air and winds was not unknown to the *Greeks* and *Perſians* [c].

Anna Perenna *worſhipped at* Carthage. THE *Carthaginians* ſometimes ſwore by the *Manes* of *Dido*, as *Silius* relates [d]. *Anna* her ſiſter paſſed for a goddeſs, under the name of *Anna Perenna* [e], according to ſome. It is imagined, tho' with no great appearance of truth, that ſhe fled with *Æneas*, and was drowned by *Lavinia* in the river *Numicus* [f]; from whence ſhe was called *Nympha Numicia*. It is certain the *Romans*, as well as the *Carthaginians* [g], paid her divine honours. *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* were ranked with *Dido* [h], as being all in the ſame temple. *Ceres* was either *cæleſtis*, i. e. the *moon* [i], or *ſubcæleſtis*, i. e. the *fruitful earth*. She anſwered to the *Egyptian Iſis*. Theſe two laſt are amply treated of by various authors [k]. c

And Sichæus *during* Dido's *life-time.* THE honour that *Dido* herſelf received from the people of *Carthage* after her death, ſhe, according to *Ovid* [l], had in her life-time conferred upon her huſband *Sichæus* [m].

And Tellus. *Tellus*, or the *Earth*, was worſhipped by the *Carthaginians*, as appears from the treaty of peace with *Philip*, mentioned by *Polybius*. For a further account of this deity, our readers may have recourſe to *Voſſius* [n].

As likewiſe Hamilcar. "*Hamilcar* [o], ſays, *Herodotus*, by his father's ſide a *Carthaginian*, but by his
" mother's a *Syracuſian*, was, by reaſon of his virtue and ſuperior abilities, elected
" king of the *Carthaginians*. The ſame day that the battle of *Salamis* was fought,
" being defeated by *Gelon* and (his father-in-law) *Theron* near *Himera*, he vaniſhed,
" and could never after be found, tho' *Gelon* cauſed the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made d
" for him. The *Carthaginians*, who have his image in high veneration, ſay, that
" during the engagement between the barbarians and the *Greeks*, which continued
" from morning till evening without intermiſſion, *Hamilcar* ſtaid in the camp ſacri-
" ficing, and throwing intire victims upon a flaming pile; but that ſeeing his troops
" put to the rout, he himſelf ruſhed into the fire, and, being conſumed, was never
" more ſeen. Whether he diſappeared in the manner as related by the *Phœnicians*, or
" as the *Carthaginians* aſſert, it is certain, that they offer ſacrifices to him, and have
" erected monuments to his memory in all the cities they have founded, tho' the
" moſt memorable are in *Carthage*." So far *Herodotus*. It is not unlikely that the e
Carthaginians adopted other favourite generals into the number of their gods; nay,
we are aſſured by *Silius*, that, notwithſtanding the infamous treatment he met with
from his countrymen at laſt, *Hannibal* was adored in his life-time [p]. Theſe deities
ſeem to have been of the ſame kind with the *dii indigetes* of the *Latins*.

And the Phi- THE *Carthaginians* alſo ranked among the gods the two *Philæni*. Theſe brothers, having been ſent by their countrymen to accommodate ſome differences with the *Cyreneans*, and, in conjunction with the commiſſaries appointed by that people, to ſettle the limits of their reſpective dominions, by fraud extended their own frontiers, to the prejudice of the others. The *Cyreneans*, incenſed at this, would not cede the tract demanded, unleſs the *Philæni* would ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive in the f
place which they had pitched upon for their boundary. To this they inſtantly agreed, and had afterwards two altars erected there to their memory; which ſerved as a land-mark or limit to the *Carthaginian* territories on the ſide of *Cyrenaica* for many ſuc-

ceeding

[x] JUL. CÆS. SCALIG. exercit. 258. [y] JOAN. LEO. AFRICAN. de priſc. Afr. fid. & relig. l. i. [z] JUL. FIRMIC. profan. relig. lib. [a] HENDR. ubi ſupra. [b] SANCHONIATH. apud Euſeb. præp. evang. l. i. [c] HENDR. ubi ſupra. [d] SIL. ITAL. l. i. [e] HENDR. ubi ſupra. [f] OVID. faſt. l iii. SIL. ITAL. l. viii. Voss. theol. gent. l. i. c. 12. & inſtit. orat. l. i. c. 6. ſect. 8. Vide etiam VOLATERR. l. xxxiii. [g] OVID. ubi ſupra. [h] SIL. ITAL. l. i. [i] Voss. ubi ſup. l. ii. c. 59. [k] LIPSIUS de cruc. l. i. c. 5. POMPON. SABIN. in Æn. 4. VARRO apud Voſſ ubi ſub. P. NANNIUS. in miſc. l. vii. c. 10 aliique multi. [l] OVID. heroid. 7. [m] POLYB. l. vii. [n] Voss. ubi ſup. c. 9, 51, &c. [o] HERODOT. l. ii. [p] SIL. ITAL. l. xvii. & BARTHIUS in adverſ. p. 801.

ceeding ages. *Salluſt*, *Mela*, and *Valerius Maximus*, give all the particulars of this
a ſtory [q].

Aba ddires *and* Eucaddires Carthaginian *divinities.*

ST *Auſtin* tell us, that ſome of the *Carthaginian* divinities had the name of *Abaddires* [r], and their prieſts that of *Eucaddires*. This claſs in all probability, was derived from the ſtone which *Jacob* anointed with oil, after it had ſerved him for a pillow the night he had his viſion; for in the morning he called the name of the place where he lay *Bethel*. Now, it is no wonder this ſhould have been eſteemed as ſacred, ſince God himſelf ſays he was *the God of* Bethel, *the place where* Jacob *anointed the pillar* [s]. From *Bethel* came the *Bætylus* of *Damaſcius*, which we find called *Abaddir* by *Priſcian* [t]. This *Abaddir* is the *Phœnician Aban-Dir*, i. e. the *ſpherical ſtone*, exactly anſwering to
b the deſcription of the *Bætylus* [u] given us by *Damaſcius*, and others. The caſe ſeems to have been this: The *Canaanites* of the neighbourhood firſt worſhipped the individual ſtone itſelf, upon which *Jacob* had poured oil; afterwards they conſecrated others of that form, and worſhipped them; which falſe worſhip was perpetuated even to the time of St. *Auſtin* [w]. *Abaddir* may likewiſe be underſtood to mean *Ab-Addir*, i. e. the *magnificent father*, a title given to the true God himſelf; but afterwards applied to thoſe, who by nature were no gods [x]. That *Addir* was an epithet joined to the names of falſe gods in the eaſt, may, in ſome meaſure, appear from *Addir-Dag*, the *magnificent fiſh*, i. e. *Adergatis*, *Atergatis*, &c. [y]. *Abaddires* therefore was an appella-
c tion belonging to ſome *Punic* deities, as *Eucaddires*, i. e. *Enucaddires*, *perſons initiated in the ſacred myſteries of the* Addires or Abaddires [z], was a term appropriated to their prieſts (X).

Portable temples in uſe amongſt the Carthaginians.

WE muſt not omit, that the *Carthaginians* carried about with them ſome ſmall images, repreſenting certain gods, in covered chariots. *Euſtathius* [a] calls theſe ναὸς ζευγηφορεμένους, portable temples, or temples carried by oxen. They were a ſort of oracle, and their reſponſes were underſtood by the motions impreſſed upon the vehicle. This was likewiſe an *Egyptian* and *Libyan* cuſtom. The antient *Germans* alſo had ſomething like it, as we learn from *Tacitus* [b]. *Philo Byblius* relates, that *Agrotes* [c], or at leaſt his image, was carried about in proceſſion in this manner. The tabernacle of *Moloch* above mentioned, we take to have been a machine of this kind.

The Genius *of* Carthage.

d IT is remarkable, that, in the treaty of *Philip* ſo often cited, mention is made of the *Dæmon* or *Genius* of *Carthage* [d]. Who this might be, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; but only in general obſerve, that the pagan world looked upon theſe *Dæmons* as intelligences of a middle nature betwixt the gods and men, as beings who had, in a great meaſure, the adminiſtration of the world committed to them. Hence it is no wonder they ſhould have received religious honours; for when once mankind were poſſeſſed with the opinion, that they were the miniſters of the gods, and truſted with the diſpenſation of their favours, as well as the infliction of their puniſhment, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that they would be deſirous of making their addreſſes

[q] SALLUST. Jugurth. c. 79. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 7. VALER. MAX. l. v. c. 6. Vide POLYB. l. iii. STRAB l. iii. PLIN. l. v. c. 4. SOLIN. c. 30. & CELLAR. geog. ant. l. iv. c. 3. [r] AUGUST. epiſt. Max. Madaur. 44. [s] Gen. xxxi 13. [t] PRISCIAN. grammat. HESYCH. in voc. DAMASC apud Phot. p. 1047, 1062, 1063, &c. [u] DAMASC. ubi. ſup & BOCHART. Chan. l. ii. c. 2. [w] AUGUST. ubi. ſup. [x] Pſal. viii. 1, 9. & lxxvi. 5. & xciii. 4. Iſai. xxxiii. 21. 1. Sam. iv 8. DRUS. in loc. Vide BOCHART. ubi. ſupra. [y] Idem. ibid. [z] Idem ibid. [a] EUSTATH in Iliad. A. SERV. ad. Æn. vi. [b] TACIT. de ſit. mor. &. pop. Germ. [c]. PHIL. BYBL apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. i. [d] POLYB. l. vii.

(X) The *Bætyli* were ſtones that were believed to be animated, and were conſulted by ſome fanatics as oracles. Theſe ſtones were round, and of ſuch a ſize, that ſome of them might be carried about by their votaries, either by hanging at the neck, or in ſome other way (52).

Iſidorus tells us, they were of different ſorts; and that ſome of them were conſecrated to *Saturn* others to *Jupiter*, others to the *Sun*, &c. (53)

Their origin was very antient, if any credit may be given to *Sanchoniatho*, who makes *Ouranus* the inventor of them. *Bochart* proves, that *Philo Byblius* has wrongly tranſlated *Sanchoniatho*'s words *animated ſtones*; and that it ought to have been *anointed ſtones* (54).

The antient *Greeks* and *Latins*, who have taken any notice of the *Bætyli*, hardly afford any other notion of them, but as the ſtone which *Saturn* ſwallowed in the place of *Jupiter* (55). The ſcholiaſt upon *Heſiod* relates, upon the authority of *Agathocles*, a *Babyloniſh* author, that *Rhea* had taken that ſtone from the iſland of *Proconeſa*; and *Stephanus* adds, that *Saturn* ſwallowed it upon mount *Thaumaſius*. M. *Falconet* has publiſhed a diſſertation upon this ſubject, which, together with what M. *Fourmont* has offered, will, according to the abbe *Banier*, abundantly ſatisfy the curious (56).

(52) *Banier in mythol. l.* i. *c.* 1. (53) *Damaſc. in vit. Iſidor. apud Photium.* (54) *Sanchoniath.* *apud Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* i. *Chan. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *Banier ubi ſup.* (55) *Idem ibid.* (56) *Idem ibid.*

addreſſes to them. We hope to give our readers a full and particular account of theſe inferior deities, when we come to the *Arabic* hiſtory.

The Cabiri *adored there.*

So full an account has already been given of the *Cabiri*, that their is neither room nor occaſion to be prolix here. To what has been already ſaid we ſhall, however, add, that the *Pelaſgi* introduced the worſhip of theſe gods into *Samothrace*, *Greece*, and all other countries where they ſeated themſelves; that men and all animals, without diſtinction, nay, even all kinds of inanimate ſacrifices, were offered up to them; that they had at firſt no proper names, but were worſhipped under the general denomination of gods; that the word *Cabiri* either ſignified certain anonymous divinities, or their prieſts, known by the name *Corybantes*; that from an antient inſcription mentioned by *Aſtorius*, it is manifeſt the *Cabiri* were likewiſe called *Dioſcuri*; that the *Phœnicians* firſt paid them divine honours, afterwards the *Egyptians*, who built them a magnificent temple at *Memphis* in the earlieſt ages, which continued to the time of *Achilles Tatius*; that the *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Cypriots*, *Phrygians*, *Etruſcans*, *Latins*, *Carthaginians*, and almoſt all the antient pagans, had the moſt profound reverence for the *Cabiric* or *Samothracian* myſteries; that the vulgar believed all initiated into theſe myſteries could not fail of being happy, both here and hereafter; that, according to *Sanchoniatho*, the *Dii Cabiri* were eight in number, being the ſons of *Sydik*; that the inhabitants of *Samothrace*, ſacrificed dogs to *Hecate* in the cave *Zerinthus*, ſacred to the *Cabiri*; that the *Pelaſgi*, *Samothracians*, &c. celebrated the *Cabiric* myſteries in the night-time, with great indecency; and that this was the principal motive with the antients not to tranſmit them down in writing to poſterity. Biſhop *Cumberland*, the abbé *Banier*, and *Aſtorius*, have, in a manner, exhauſted this ſubject. A catalogue of the authors who have ſupplied them with materials, our readers [c] will find here inſerted, to whom they may have recourſe at their leiſure (Y).

And the Anaces *or* Anactes.

The *Anaces*, *Anactes*, or *Dioſcuri*, are by ſome thought to have been the ſame with the *Cabiri*, by others different from them. However this may be, they were undoubtedly deſcended from the *Anakims* of *Moſes*. It can ſcarce be queſtioned but *Inachus* himſelf was of this race, as his name plainly imports [f]. Some believe, that the word *Anactes* was a title given to thoſe princes of *Inachus*'s line, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their heroic actions; which evidently alludes to the name of that family, ſo eminent in ſcripture for its gigantic ſtature [g]; and we own ourſelves inclinable to fall in with this ſentiment. *Pauſanias*, *Pliny*, *Philoſtratus*, and *Julius Pollux*, not to mention many other authors that occur, render it probable, that [h] in antient times there were not wanting inſtances of perſons of a monſtrous ſize of body.

However,

[c] Cumberland in append. de Cabir. Herodot. in Euterp. Dionys. Halicar. l. i. Lucian. de dea Syr. Pausan. in Bœotic. Heliac. & alib. Achilles Tatius apud Cumberland. in append. de Cabir. Sanchoniath. apud Euſeb. ubi ſupra. Damasc. apud Phot. Pherecyd. Syr. Nonnus. & Herodot paſſ. Acesilaus Arg. apud Strabon. l. x. Var. de ling. Lat. l. iv. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 12. & alib paſſ. Tertul. de ſpect Orpheus. in Hym Curet. Seld. de diis Syr. ſynt. ii. c. 4. Horn. hiſt. Phil l. ii. c. 4. Schol. vet. in Apollon. Arg. l. i. Dionysiod. apud. eund. Strab. l. x. & alib. Diod. Sic. l. v. & alib. Plut. in Alexandr. & alib. Suid. &c. Macrob. Plat. Dion. Chrysost. Procl. Clem. Alexand. Lycophr. Stephan. Hesych. Cic. Lactant. Arnob. Firmic. Meurs. aliiq; paſſ. Vide Joan. Astol. diſſert. de Cabir. Banier. in mythol. l. vii. c. 8, &c. [f] Cumberland. in append. de Cabir. & Banier ubi ſupra. [g] Voss. Bochart. & Banier. ubi ſup. [h] Pausan. in At. Plin. l. vii. c. 16. Philost. Heroic. Jul. Pol. in Onomaſt.

(Y) *Reland*, who has favoured the learned world with a diſſertation upon the *Cabiri*, concludes, that they were the gods of the dead; that *Ceres* was the earth which received them; *Pluto* and *Proſerpina* the infernal regions where they came to dwell; and *Camillus* or *Mercury* the god who conducted them thither (57).

The myſterious names *Axieros*, *Axiokerſa*, *Axiokerſos*, and *Caſmilos*, *Bochart* has happily interpreted, and proved, that, in the *Phœnician* language, they denote *Ceres*, *Proſerpina*, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*. Princes, and perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were ambitious of being initiated into the awful myſteries of theſe great gods, upon account of the high reputation they were in. *Voſſius* thinks, that we are to underſtand by the name *Cabiri* only the miniſters of the gods, as the *Curetes* and *Dactyli* of *Crete*, and the *Corybantes* of *Phrygia*; but this, as running counter to all antiquity, can by no means be admitted (58).

Arnobius aſſerts, that, in the celebration of thoſe myſteries, they ſlew one of the initiated, and is followed therein by *Firmicus*; but this ſeems rather to refer to an accident that once happened, than to prove, that ſuch a practice was authorized by cuſtom (59).

The prieſts of the *Cabiri*, according to *Heſychius*, were called *Coes*, a word manifeſtly derived from the *Hebrew cohen*, i. e. a prieſt; a further proof this, that the old obſolete language uſed by the prieſts in their ceremonies, was the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* (60).

(57) *Reland. in diſſer. miſcel.* (58) *Boch, Chan. l.* i. *c.* 12. *Diodor. Sicul. l.* v. *Apollon. Arg. Plin. in Alexand. Suid. &c.* (59) *Arnob. l.* v. *Jul. Firmic. de cor. prof. rel.* (60) *Heſych. in voce Κοὶς.*

a However, many of theſe relations, particularly thoſe of *Phlegon*, *Abydenus*, *Solinus*, and others [i], muſt be allowed to be fabulous (Z).

To what has been obſerved of the *Pataici*, or *Patæci*, in the firſt volume of this hiſtory, we ſhall only ſubjoin, that the ſtatues of theſe gods, of the *Cabiri*, and of the *Egyptian Vulcan*, had a great reſemblance to one another; that therefore, ſince *Vulcan* was eſteemed the moſt antient of the gods, the *Patæci* muſt have been of great antiquity; that, in after-ages, the *Penates* had the ſame reſpect paid them by the *Romans*, as theſe received from their votaries the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*; and laſtly, that the word, according to *Scaliger*, is to be deduced from the *Hebrew patach*, *he engraved*, or, as *Bochart* will have it, from *batach*, *he confided in*; either of which b etymologies very well quadrates with the uſe the *Phœnicians*, and after them the *Greeks*, made of the gods *Patæci* [k]. *And* Pataici *or* Patæci.

As the *Palici* were *Sicilian* deities [l], of eaſtern extraction, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they owed their origin in *Sicily* to the *Carthaginians*, who got a footing in that iſland in very antient times, and therefore may juſtly be looked upon as ſome of its moſt antient inhabitants. This, we ſay, is probable; but as there is not the expreſs teſtimony of any good author to ſupport it, we ſhall drop all further particulars concerning them; and conclude here what we have to ſay of the gods of the *Carthaginians*. *The* Palici.

The barbarous cuſtom of offering up human ſacrifices did not expire with the city t of *Carthage*, but continued amongſt the *Africans*, even till the time of *Tiberius*. That prince, tho' none of the moſt humane and compaſſionate, was ſo ſhocked at the unnatural practice of offering up children to *Saturn*, that in his proconſulſhip, according to *Tertullian* [m], he ordered the prieſts concerned in that horrid impiety to be hanged, and committed the care of the execution to the *African* militia. This practice had been retained, with little or no intermiſſion, from the foundation of the city; for notwithſtanding the *Carthaginians*, to avoid drawing upon themſelves the indignation of *Darius Hyſtaſpis* [n], might, for a few years, ſuſpend it, or at leaſt pretend ſo to do, yet it is certain, that, in his ſucceſſor *Xerxes*'s time, they had reſumed it. This appears from hiſtory; for *Gelon*, after he had vanquiſhed them in the reign of that d prince, concluded a treaty of peace with them, of which this was one article, *that no more human ſacrifices ſhould be offered to* Saturn [o]; nay, to ſuch a pitch of frenzy, or rather ſavage barbarity, were they come, that mothers, who are naturally the moſt ſuſceptible of tender impreſſions, made it a merit to view their own offſpring thrown into the devouring flames, without ſo much as a groan [p]. They even, by kiſſes and embraces, huſhed the cries of their children, before they were caſt into the flaming ſtatue of *Saturn* above-mentioned, imagining the efficacy of the ſacrifice would have been intirely loſt, if any thing that might have been interpreted as a mark of the leaſt reluctancy *The cuſtom of ſacrificing men remained in* Africa *till the time of* Tiberius.

[i] Phleg. Tral. de mir. c. 14. Abyden. & Eupolem. apud Euſeb. Solin. Beros. Plut. &c. [k] Æschylus, Callias. Polemon, & Xenagoras apud Macrob. Saturn. l. v. c. 19. Sil. Italic. Diodor. Sic. l. ii. Ovid. meram. l. v. Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 28. [l] Bochart. ubi ſupra. [m] Tertul. apolog. c. 9. [n] Just. l. xix. [o] Diodor. Sic. l. xi. Plut. de ſer. vind. deor. [p] Plut. de ſuperſt.

(Z) *Voſſius* is of opinion, that the name of the gods *Anactes* was originally from *Phœnice*; but he thinks it had been brought into the weſt by *Cadmus*, or by the *Canaanites*, whom *Joſhua*, by his conqueſts, had obliged to quit *Phœnice*, and who had retired into *Greece*. He farther thinks, that the *Spartans*, who called themſelves allies of *Iſrael*, as we learn from *Joſephus*, were a colony of the *Canaanites*, who were moſtly deſended from *Abraham* by *Hagar* and *Keturah*; and this is the reaſon why the moſt famous of the *Greek Anactes* were *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, natives of *Sparta*, the *Lacedæmonians* having given them that name to honour the memory of *Anak*'s deſcendants, of whom they had heard ſo many wonderful ſtories. We ſhall only add, that it was a common thing with the *Greeks* to call thoſe perſons the ſons of the *Earth*, who were ſo antient, that they had but a very imperfect account of their original; for this reaſon they called *Anax* or *Anak* the ſon of the *Earth*, as we have obſerved above from *Pauſanias*.

Pauſanias inſinuates, that the *Dioſcuri* were to be diſtinguiſhed from the *Cabiri*; but that the *Anactes* were the ſame with them (61). His words are to this effect: "With regard to the *Anactes*, men are "divided in their ſentiments about them; ſome will "have them to be the ſame with the *Dioſcuri*; o"thers with the *Curetes*; but the moſt intelligent "perſons take them to be the *Cabiri*." *Suidas* intimates, that the word was applied both to kings and gods (62). *Pindar*, *Cicero*, and *Tzetzes* all take particular notice of them (63).

The account publiſhed by Sir *Hans Sloane* in the *philoſophical tranſactions*, of the foſſil teeth and the bones of elephants, which falls in with this ſubject, is very well worth the peruſal of our curious readers (64).

(61) *Pauſan. in Phocic.* (62) *Suid. in voc.* Ἄνακοι. (63) *Cic de nat. deor. l.* iii. *Pind. Pyth.* ii. *epod. ult. Tzetzes in Lycophron.* (64) *Philoſophical. tranſact numb.* 403, 404.

reluctancy or regret had been ſhewn [q]. They uſed a drum or a tabret, among other inſtruments, to drown the ſhrieks and outcries of the unhappy victims [r]. Some authors believe, that the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Carthaginians* derived this deteſtable cuſtom, contented themſelves with making their children paſs through the fire, without burning them; but *Selden* and others evince this to be a miſtake [s]. *Plutarch* tells us, that the mothers were, in ſome meaſure, obliged to ſtand by as unconcerned ſpectators; ſince a groan or tear falling from them would have been puniſhed by a fine, and ſtill the child muſt have been ſacrificed [t]. In times of peſtilence, or other public calamities, the *Carthaginians* endeavoured to appeaſe their offended gods by vaſt numbers of ſuch oblations; of which we have given an inſtance or two above [u] (A).

The Carthaginians *extremely addicted to ſuperſtition.*

FROM many authors it appears, that the *Carthaginians* were extremely addicted to ſuperſtition. They had, however, in general, ſome good notions: they addreſſed themſelves to the gods, before they attempted to put in execution any enterprize by them formed; and after any advantage gained, they were not ſlack in making proper returns [w] to the powers above for it. Temples very magnificent they abounded with at *Carthage*, and took care to have no deficiency of them in any part of the *Carthaginian* dominions. One famous temple, ſacred to *Baal* or *Balis*, in a city of that name on the borders of *Cyrenaica*, we find taken notice of by *Stephanus* [x], who intimates, that the city received its appellation from that deity. There is great reaſon to believe, that *El*, *Il*, *Bel*, *Bal*, *Baal*, *Belus*, *Balis*, *Helius*, &c. were different names of the ſame pagan divinity.

Carthaginian *women proſtitute themſelves for gain in the temple of* Aſtarte.

WE have already deſcribed the manner in which the *Babylonian* women proſtituted themſelves [y] to ſtrangers at the temple of *Mylitta*, as likewiſe the ſame cuſtom prevailing amongſt the *Phœnicians* [z], whoſe women, for this end, repaired to the great temple of *Aſtarte* at *Byblus*. We have now to add, that the ſame thing, in all reſpects, was practiſed at *Carthage*; excepting that the money got by this infamous commerce amongſt the *Babylonians* and *Phœnicians* was preſented to *Mylitta* or *Aſtarte*, i. e. *Venus*, whereas the *Carthaginian* women applied the wages of their proſtitution to their own uſe [a]. This indeed ſavoured ſomething more of the common harlot than the other; but all theſe nations were arrived at ſuch a height of infatuation and impiety, on account of their groſs idolatry, and variety of pollutions attending it, that it is hard to ſay which of them was the worſt (B).

A VERY

[q] Idem ibid. & TERTUL. in apol. [r] PLUT. ubi ſup. [s] SELD. de diis Syr. ſynt. i. Univ. hiſt. vol. I. p. 294. [t] PLUT. ubi ſup. [u] Vide etiam DIODOR. SIC. l xx. [w] LIV. l. xxi. xxiii. &c. [x] STEPHAN. περὶ ἐθνικῶν. [y] Univ. hiſt. Vol. I. p. 918. [z] Idem ibid. p. 401, 402. [a] Vide VALER. MAX. l. ii. & HENDR. ubi ſupra.

(A) Thoſe perſons who are not diſpoſed to give over-much credit to the fragments of *Sanchoniatho*'s hiſtory ſtill extant, think human ſacrifices can be traced up no higher than *Abraham*. The *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* (65), in whoſe country that patriarch attempted to offer up his ſon *Iſaac*, in obedience to the divine command, imitated the *Jews* in many particulars, and derived many of their inſtitutions from thoſe of that nation, which were of divine origin, as has been before obſerved. It is probable therefore, that they might reaſon with themſelves after this manner: "If God was "ſo highly pleaſed with *Abraham*'s bare intention of offering up his ſon *Iſaac*, that he ſhowered down bleſſings upon his poſterity in a moſt "extraordinary manner, what marks of the divine favour may not thoſe perſons expect, who "actually do ſacrifice their children?" Thus the higheſt inſtance of obedience upon record might, through the depraved imaginations, and blind underſtandings, of a great part of mankind, together with the ſuggeſtions of their grand enemy, become the accidental cauſe of one of the moſt enormous and unnatural kinds of wickedneſs that could be committed

(B) *Canaan*'s poſterity were a moſt profligate and abandoned race of men, addicted to all, even the moſt unnatural, kinds of luſt, as the ſcripture gives us good reaſon to apprehend. Now, if is worthy admiration, that *Noah* curſed *Canaan* only of *Ham*'s ſons (66), on account of *Ham*'s breach of modeſty in expoſing his father's nakedneſs, which was both unchaſte and unnatural. This is a ſtrong intimation, that *Canaan* only was an accomplice of his father *Ham* in this wickedneſs, which was an evident token of a moſt diſſolute and vitious turn of mind. This vile diſpoſition exerted itſelf in his poſterity, and vaſtly contributed towards drawing down thoſe heavy divine judgments, which, in proceſs of time, fell upon them. Hence it appears, that, in conformity to the patriarch's prediction, *Canaan*'s deſcendants were ſubject to the poſterity of *Shem*, i e. the *Jews*; and that this very judgment was, in a great meaſure, occaſioned by the effects of that vile diſpoſition inherent in them, which ſo eminently diſplayed itſelf in *Ham*, and, as is probable, in *Canaan* alſo, and which immediately drew upon them all the curſe of their great anceſtor *Noah*. So true is that obſervation of the pſalmiſt, *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments* (67).

(65) *Vide Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. Hyde de relig. vet. Perſ. alioſq; ſcriptor. quamplurim.* (66) Gen. ix. 22, 25, 26, 27. (67) *Pſal.* cxix. 137.

A very learned author of our own nation imagines, that some traces of the *Succoth Benoth* [b], mentioned in scripture, may be found in *Sicca Venerea*, the name of a city in *Numidia*, not far from the borders of *Africa Propria*. The name itself bears a near allusion to the obscene custom above taken notice of, and seems to have been transported from *Phœnice*. This cannot well be disputed, when we consider, that in this very city there was a temple, where [c] women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies. The author of the *itinerary* sometimes calls it simply *Sicca*, and *Solinus Venerea*. *Sicca* signifies a tabernacle, as well as *Succa*; and therefore probably this was what it imported in the *Punic* tongue. *Procopius*, *Victor Uticensis*, and others, in conjunction with our author, render this opinion almost inconteſtable [d].

Some traces of Succoth Benoth *to be found in* Sicca Venerea.

If any points of consequence relating to the worship of the people at present under consideration should have hitherto escaped us, they will be occasionally touched upon hereafter, as they offer themselves in the course of this history.

The *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* languages were in a manner the same, as has been observed in several places of this history [e]; and is apparent, not only from the nature of the thing, but from the concurrent testimony of learned men, who, generally speaking, agree in this particular. The *Pœni* or *Carthaginians* therefore having been originally *Phœnicians*, 'tis undeniable, that their language must at first have been the *Phœnician*. However, *Scaliger* [f] believes, that the *Punic*, (he must mean that of after-ages) in some respects, deviated from the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, which, considering how distant the *Carthaginians* were from their mother-country, *Phœnice*, and the people they were incorporated with, is not to be wondered at. 'Tis much more wonderful, that they should have retained so much, nay, in a manner the whole, of their original tongue; for that they did so, after what has been advanced by *Scaliger*, *Petit*, *Bochart*, and others, will scarce admit of a dispute.

Punic *tongue at first the same with the* Phœnician.

Our great *Selden*, next to *Scaliger* [g], seems to have been the first who endeavoured in earnest to settle this point; which, from the authority of St. *Jerom*, St. *Austin*, and many other writers, he likewise seems to have done effectually. He has moreover given us a specimen of an interpretation of the remains of the *Punic* language to be found in *Plautus* [h]. *Petit* and *Bochart* have been much more copious on this head [i]; but what they have advanced has not met with universal applause, which the last of these seems to have been beforehand apprehensive of [k]; in short, there is room enough left for any learned man to exercise his wit and talents on this subject.

This fully proved by Scaliger, Selden, Petit, *and* Bochart.

Bochart has produced a vast collection [l] of *Punic* words from different authors, and traced them all up to the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician:* all which will serve as so many proofs, that the *Carthaginian* language agreed in the main with these; that, notwithstanding the small variations from them discernable in it, it ever continued to be the same in substance with them.

Agreed in substance with the Hebrew.

From what has been offered in the first section of the history we are now upon, it appears [m], that the word *Carthago* or *Cartaco* itself was of *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* extraction. As therefore an affinity of proper names implies an affinity of the languages to which they belong, the following short catalogue of *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* and *Punic* proper names, by demonstrating the harmony betwixt these languages, will not a little contribute to confirm the sentiment which we, in common with so many others, have espoused.

Hebrew, Phœnician, *and* Punic *proper names nearly the same.*

Hebrew or Phoenician.	Punic.
Zachæus.	*Sichæus.*
Michæus.	*Machæus.*
Amalec.	*Amilco*, or *Himilco.*
Melchior.	*Amilcar.*
Jesche, or *Jesse.*	*Gisgo*, or *Gesco.*

[b] Selden. de diis Syr. syntag. ii. c. 6. [c] Val. Max. l. ii. Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 918. [d] Procop. Vict. Uticens. Athanas. &c. apud Seld. ubi sup. Vid. & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 5. [e] Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 129——717. Vid. & Seld. de diis Syr. prolegom. c. 2. [f] Scalig. ad Ubert. p. 362. [g] Seld. ubi sup. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Sam. Petit. & Bochart. in Chan. l. ii. c. 6. [k] Bochart. ubi sup. [l] Bochart. in Phal. & Chan. passim. [m] See before, sect. 1.

Hebrew or Phoenician.	Punic.	
Hinnon, or *Hanun*, or *Hanon.*	*Hanno.*	a
Hanabaal, or *Baal-Hanan.*	*Hanibal.*	
Ezra, or *Ezdras-Baal.*	*Asdrubal.*	
Barac.	*Barca.*	
Elizabeth.	*Elisa.*	
Milca.	*Imilce,*	b
Magog.	*Mago,*	
Messiah.	*Messe.*	
Adoni.	*Doni.*	

Some of these names we have been supplied with by *Reineccius* [n]; but the following we remember not to have seen compared by any author whatsoever.

Hebrew or Phoenician.	Punic.	
Anna, or *Hannah.*	*Anna.*	c
Jachin, or *Jecon-Jah.*	*Jachon.*	
Adar, or *Ader-Baal.*	*Adherbal.*	
Baal.	*Bal.*	
Mathan, or *Matham-Baal.*	*Muthumbal.*	
Mehir, or *Mehir-Baal.*	*Maherbal.*	
Saph, *Saphai*, *Sapham*, *Saphan*, or *Saphon.*	*Sappho.*	d

We have chosen to compare the *Punic* proper names in this place with the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*, to which they undoubtedly answer, rather than produce their etymons, as *Bochart* does; since in our opinion this more clearly exhibits the very great agreement betwixt them, and renders the near relation they bore to one another obvious to all capacities. e

Punic tongue tinged with the Chaldee *or* Syriac.

The *Punic* tongue had likewise a tincture of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, as we learn from *Priscian* and St. *Austin* [o]. But as this is chiefly to be understood of it in the latter ages, when it was in its decline, particularly those that immediately preceded St. *Austin*, or even that in which he lived; and as the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* languages themselves were, in all probability, nearly allied to the *Hebrew*, nay, almost the same with it, in early times, we shall infer nothing from this observation, but leave it to our readers to make what use of it they please.

The same with the old Egyptian, *according to* Salmasius.

According to *Salmasius* [p] there have been some persons who have believed, that the *Punic* language and the old *Egyptian* were the same; but as neither arguments nor sufficient authorities are produced to support this hypothesis; we shall make no scruple to reject it. f

Some remains of it to be found in the present Maltese *language.*

M. *Maius*, professor of the *Greek* and *Oriental* languages in the *Ludovician* university of *Giessen* [q], published a small piece in the year 1718. wherein he proves, that the present language of the *Maltese* contains a great deal of the old *Punic* in it. The materials of which this tract consists, he was supplied with by one father *James Stanislaus John Baptist Ribier de Gattis*, a missionary *Jesuit*, and native of *Malta*, who

[n] Reinecch hist. Jul. in rep. Carth. vol. ii. p. 464. ed. Helm. 1505. [o] Priscian. l. v. p. 123. August. super. Joan. tract 15. tom. ix. [p] Salmasius in Tertul. de Pal. [q] Joannes Henricus Maius. in specim. ling. Punic. in hodiern. Melitens. superst. Marpurg 1718.

a who very well understood the language (C) of the *Malteſe*, having reſided many years amongſt them. This piece is very curious, containing proofs that this iſland was, for a conſiderable period of time, ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; and that the *Punic* tongue was planted and continued in it, as likewiſe a large collection of *Malteſe* words more remote from the *Arabic* than from the *Phœnician*, *Chaldee*, or *Syriac*. We cannot pretend to tranſcribe the whole treatiſe, though it is but a ſhort one; but as the *Malteſe* names of the cardinal numbers differ pretty much from thoſe of other living languages, except the *Arabic*; as they come nearer the terms expreſſing thoſe numbers in the *Phœnician* or *Chaldee*, than any other tongue; and conſequently furniſh us with a ſtrong argument, that the *Malteſe* tongue has much of the old *Punic* b in it; and at the ſame time improve our idea of this laſt; we think we cannot do our curious readers a greater pleaſure than by inſerting them.

Maltese	Chaldee.		English.	
Huebet.	חד	Heb. אחת	*One.*	1.
Tnei.	תרין תרי	Heb. שני	*Two.*	2.
Tlieta.	תלתא		*Three.*	3.
Herbha.	ארבעא		*Four.*	4.
Chamſa.	חמשא		*Five.*	5.
Sitta.	שתא		*Six.*	6.
c *Seba.*	שבעא		*Seven,*	7.
Tmiena.	תמניא		*Eight.*	8.
Diſha.	תשעא		*Nine.*	9.
Haſhra.	עסרא		*Ten.*	10.
Chaddas.	חד עסר		*Eleven.*	11.
Tnàs.	תרי עסר		*Twelve.*	12.
Tlittàs.	תלתא עסר		*Thirteen.*	13.
Herbahtàs, or *Erbatàs.*	ארבעא עסר		*Fourteen.*	14.
Chmiſtàs.	חמשא עסר		*Fifteen.*	15.
d *Sittàs.*	שתא עסר		*Sixteen.*	16.
Sebatàs.	שבעא עסר		*Seventeen.*	17.
Tmientàs.	תמני עסר		*Eighteen.*	18.
Dſchiatàs.	תשעא עסר		*Ninteen.*	19.
Haſhrin.	עסרין		*Twenty,*	20.
Tlietin.	תלתין		*Thirty.*	30.
Erbhin.	ארבעין		*Forty.*	40.
Chamſin.	חמשין		*Fifty.*	50.
Sittin.	שתין		*Sixty,*	60.
Sebihin.	שבעין		*Seventy.*	70.
e *Tmienin.*	תמנין		*Eighty.*	80.
Diſchin.	תשעין		*Ninety.*	90.
Mia.	מאה		*An hundred.*	100.
Elf.	אלפא	Heb. אלף	*A thouſand.*	1000.
Elfein.	תרין אלפין		*Two thouſand.*	2000.
Tlietelef.	תלתא אלפין		*Three thouſand.*	3000.
Erbatelef.	ארבעא אלפין		*Four thouſand.*	4000.

1. Our readers will at firſt ſight diſcover, that the *Malteſe* words in general here are almoſt the ſame with the *Chaldee*; which ſeems to be a confirmation of what f *Priſcian* and St. *Auſtin* aſſert[t], *viz.* that about their time the *Punic* language, notwithſtanding it agreed in the main with the *Hebrew*, was tinged with the *Chaldee*.

2. It

[t] Priscian. & D. August. ubi ſup.

(C) One of the authors of this hiſtory was very well acquainted with this Father *Ribier*, or, as he called himſelf, *Riviere*, at *Oxford*, where he died in the year 1736. He confirmed to this perſon by word of mouth every particular he had communicated to M. *Maius*, and added ſome others; *viz.* that he had carefully examined moſt of the *Oriental* words in the *Malteſe* tongue, and found they approached much nearer the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* than the *Arabic*; that the natives had a ſort of tradition, that they were deſcended from the *Carthaginians*, &c. He was a very good *Orientaliſt*, and had his education, as he related, in the *Jeſuits* college at *Ingoldſtat* in *Bavaria*. Some ſmall MSS. pieces he left in the hands of the perſon abovementioned.

2. IT ought to be obſerved, that *tnei two* borrows ת *tau* from the *Chaldee*, and נ *nun* from the *Hebrew*; that *huehet*, *one*, and *elf*, *a thouſand*, are the *Hebrew* אחת and אלף; that the numerals from *ten* to *twènty* end in *as*, like the *Greek* μοναὶς, δυὰς τριὰς τετραὰς &c. and that the reſt are *Punic* or *Phœnician* (D). a

3. FROM the numerals ending in *in* from *twenty* to *an hundred*, and thoſe ending in *a* from *two* to *eleven*, 'tis evident, that the language of *Malta* even ſtill follows the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* form; and that the *Punic* did ſo in St. *Auſtin*'s time, and much higher, is plain from ſeveral *Punic* words that might be produced, though 'tis probable, that in very early times it nearly reſembled the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician*.

4. IN ſupport of what has been advanced by *Maius*, it may be further conſidered, that *Joannes Quintinus Heduus*, an author who lived in *Malta* about the middle of the ſixteenth century, was of the ſame opinion, affirming, that the iſland of *Malta* was formerly ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; that the *African*, i. e. *Punic*, tongue was ſpoken there in his time; that there were then extant ſome pillars in the iſland, that had *Punic* inſcriptions upon them; and that the *Punic* words to be found in *Plautus*, *Avicenna*, &c. were perfectly underſtood by the *Malteſe* [s] (which he urges as an argument, that the old *Punic* tongue was not even then much corrupted. All which is confirmed by *Fazellus* [t] in his curious hiſtory of *Sicily*; and this gives a great ſanction to the other's authority. b

5. ACCORDING to father *Ribier de Gattis* [u], the *Malteſe* have the following proverb amongſt them at this day: *Il ſtus iffitiech peſt*; *tnei attieh*, *li iehdoc inkella*, i. e. *The plague wants a piece of money*; *give it two*, *if it will withdraw itſelf from you*. Now this very proverb was a *Punic* one in St. *Auſtin*'s days, as he himſelf aſſures us. This greatly contributes to evince what M. *Maius* had in view. c

FROM the whole we may conclude, that *Poſtellus*, *Schindler*, and *Druſius*, have not that foundation for maintaining the *Arabic* and *Punic* tongues to have been the ſame, as *Selden*, *Scaliger*, *Bochart*, *Reineuius*, and others, have for ſuppoſing, that the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Phœnician*, and *Punic*, were always moſt nearly related, and even orginally the ſame (E).

Punic *letters originally the ſame with the* Phœnician.

THE *Punic* letters, as well as language, at firſt muſt certainly have been the *Phœnician*, for the reaſon above aſſigned; and though they were conſiderably altered by length of time, yet 'tis certain they always retained a great ſimilitude to their originals, as will appear from a nice inſpection into the characters upon the moſt elegant *Phœnician* and *Punic* coins. The characters, however, upon the *Punic* coins is various, many of thoſe found in *Spain*, as well as *Sicily*, having letters intirely rude and barbarous, whilſt the better ſort exhibit a character reſembling the *Phœnician*, and even d

the

[s] JOANNES QUINTINIUS HEDUUS in epiſt. ad Soph. ſub init. in theſaur. ant. & hiſt. Sic. vol. iv. Lugd. Bat. 1723. RIBIER de GATTIS apud Joan. Henr. Maium, ubi ſup.

[t] THO. FAZEL. de reb. Sic. pri. decad.

[u] P. STANISL. JAC. JOAN. BAPT.

(D) And ſo are thoſe that end in *as*, which is evidently the firſt ſyllable of עשר *aſar*, the *Hebrew* numerals; if ſo, the numbers from *ten* to *twenty* are nearer the *Hebrew* than the *Chaldee*. Perhaps the *Greek* words here mentioned ending in *as*, derive that termination from the ſame original.

(E) In *Arnobius*'s time the *Punic* language (4) was ſtill ſpoken in that part of the country bordering upon the *Garamantes*; but more northerly the *Latin* tongue was uſed; beſides theſe, in the *Mediterranean* parts, no leſs than twenty-two languages, or rather dialects, prevailed. *Bochart* thinks (5), that the ſix laſt verſes of the unknown language in *Plautus* were *Libyan*, becauſe they were intirely different from the other. 'Tis certain the *Carthaginians* ſpoke both *Punic* and *Libyan*; for which reaſon they were called *Migdilybes*, *Bilingues*, and *Biſulcilingues* (6).

Laſtanoſa (7), a curious *Spaniſh* author, affirms many of thoſe coins, that *Aldrete* and others took to be *Carthaginian*, to have been old *Spaniſh* medals. He aſſerts further, that the character on theſe coins is different from the *Carthaginian*. This he in ſome meaſure proves by obſerving, that the characters on the pieces dug up about *Cadiz* and in *Andaluſia*, with which parts the *Carthaginians* had a more immediate communication, were very different from thoſe found on others diſcovered in places not ſo well known to that people. 'Tis certain one of the *Spaniſh* medals given us by *Aldrete* (8), as well as the greateſt part of thoſe collected by this author, has characters upon it bearing little or no reſemblance to the *Punic*. This author's work was printed at *Hueſca* in 1645. and contains a handſome collection of *Spaniſh* medals, which we may poſſibly have occaſion to conſider more fully when we come to the hiſtory of *Spain*. *Aldrete* and others believe many *Punic* pieces had *Libyan* letters upon them; which may poſſibly be true; but that it really is ſo, we muſt not preſume to aſſert.

(4) *Arnob. in Pſal.* civ. (5) *Bochart. l.* ii. *c.* 6. (6) *Plaut. in Pæn. Virg. Æn.* 1. *Sil. Italic. l.* ii. 16. (7) *Don Vincencio Juan de Laſtanoſa en Muſeo de las Medallas deſconocidas Eſpañolas, p.* 15, 16. This piece was dedicated to Don *Bern. Fernandez de Velaſco*, conſtable of *Caſtile*, and is now extremely ſcarce, tho' very curious. (8) *Bern. Aldret. varias antiguedad. de Eſpana, l.* ii. *c.* 1. *en Ambr.* 1614.

a the *Assyrian* or *Hebrew* letters. Two questions here arise, which we shall beg leave to consider.

FIRST, whether the *Samaritan* character, which is by many persons believed, be the same with the ancient *Phœnician?* And

SECONDLY, whether the *Samaritan* or the *Assyrian*, commonly called the *square* letters, were the ancient character of the *Hebrews?*

As to the first, in order to determine the point couched in it, we must diligently compare the letters of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* with those of the legends found upon the *Samaritan* and *Phœnician* coins. This has been done with the utmost accuracy by *Reland* and *Loescher* [w]; from whom it appears, that there is a very considerable dis-
b crepancy betwixt them; almost, if not intirely, as considerable as that betwixt the old *Assyrian*, or *Hebrew* alphabet, and the character found on these coins. This is rendered evident beyond dispute by the two learned men aforesaid, who have obliged the world with an exact and just delineation of all the principal *Samaritan* and *Phœnician* coins. From whence we cannot but infer, that the ancient *Phœnician* character was different from the present *Samaritan*.

Samaritan character different from that on the Phœnician coins.

WITH regard to the second question, it must be owned, that the greatest part of the learned world, for above a century, have held it in the affirmative. But it must likewise be owned, that no number of great names can give a sanction to error, and that this point has not been considered thoroughly till of late. The main argu-
c ment all along insisted upon in defence of this opinion has been taken from the legends found upon some coins, said to have been dug up in *Judæa*; wherein are discovered these words, *Jerusalem the holy*, and *the shekel of Israel*. The letters of these legends are asserted to be the *Samaritan*; and since neither the *Samaritans*, by reason of their known aversion to the *Jews*, nor the ten tribes after their separation from the other two, because from that period they had nothing to do at *Jerusalem*, could possibly have struck these pieces, 'tis from hence inferred, that they must have belonged to the *Jews* before the captivity, or even to the *Israelites*, before the separation of the ten tribes [x]; and consequently, that the *Samaritan* letters, supposed to be the same with those on these coins, were the *Hebrew* character in the most
d early times, and that in which the sacred books of the old testament were originally written.

Most of the learned imagine the Samaritan *letters to have been prior to the* Assyrian.

THIS is the argument which has all along been deemed sufficient to overthrow all the facts, reasonings, and authorities, that can be produced on the other side of the question; and which the learned Dr. *Prideaux* [y] has not scrupled to pronounce unanswerable. But whether or no it really is so, we shall be the better able to judge, when we have maturely weighed the following considerations:

Chief argument in favour of this taken from some coins with Samaritan *letters upon them.*

1. M. *Ottius*, who applied himself closely to the study of these coins, intimates, that those which are genuine [z], if any such there be, bear a small proportion to the number of the counterfeits; and that he found it a difficult matter to meet with any
e of them. How then can we be assured, that those mentioned by bishop *Walton* and Dr. *Prideaux* are genuine? 'Tis not sufficient to say, there were some of them in *Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman*'s days, above five hundred years ago; for how can we be assured, that any of those now extant were then in being? or if we could, what is this to the purpose, since his age is modern, in comparison of the supposed antiquity of those coins? But, (F)

This examined.

2. ADMITTING them all to be genuine, yet the letters on them are most certainly not the same with those of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. This clearly appears from *Reland* and *Loescher* [a] above-mentioned, who have given us an accurate plate of all these pieces, as well as a complete alphabet of the letters they exhibit. Nay, 'tis
f evident from them, that these letters resemble the old *Assyrian* or *Hebrew* almost as much as they do the *Samaritan* [b].

SUP-

[w] ADRIAN RELAND. de vet. Hebræor. num. dissert. pass. & VAL. ERN. LOESCHER. de causis ling. Hebr. p. 201, 224. ed. Francof. & Lipsiæ, 1706. [x] WALTON. in prolegom. 3. PRIDEAUX in connect. l. v. [y] PRIDEAUX ubi sup. [z] Jo. BAPT. OTTII epist. apud Adr. Reland. de vet. Hebr. num. dissert. 3. [a] ADR. RELAND. & VAL. ERN. LOESCHER, ubi sup. [b] Idem ibid.

(F) There is great reason to believe, that not one of the *Samaritan* coins is genuine, at least not one of them is indisputably so. *Reland* and *Ottius* as good as confess it; and from what *Spanheim* has declared on this head, we may find, that he was in a very great doubt about it (9).

(9) *Jo. Bapt. Ottius apud Adr. Reland. de vet. Hebr. num. dissert.* 3. *Adr. Reland. ubi sup. dissert.* 9. *Ez. Spanhem. ubi sup.*

3. Supposing the character on these shekels had been the *Samaritan*, yet nothing could have been from thence collected in favour of so remote an antiquity of this character as they are brought to prove. For 'tis now universally received amongst the learned, and the dates on the pieces themselves clearly evince it, that the oldest of these coins, with legends upon them, do not precede the settlement of the high-priesthood in the *Asmonean* family, which happened not much above an hundred and fifty years before the christian æra, and some of them are much later [c]. This single observation, which is supported by the strongest proofs, seems to render all conclusions, drawn from the supposed high antiquity of these coins, perfectly chimerical. a

The main difficulty being thus removed, the arguments offered in favour of the contrary opinion cannot fail of having great weight with all persons of penetration and impartiality. The principal of them are the following: b

Arguments in favour of the contrary opinion.

1. There cannot be conceived a greater antipathy between any two nations, than that which subsisted between the *Jews* and *Chaldæans* or *Babylonians*, especially after the captivity. The former had the latter, and every thing belonging to them, in the utmost abhorrence and detestation. 'Tis morally impossible therefore, that they should have forsaken their own character, after their return from *Babylon*, to adopt that of the others.

2. The *Phœnicians* received their alphabet from the [d] *Assyrians*; of course, therefore, the *Assyrian* letters must have been prior to the *Phœnician*. If, therefore, the *Assyrian* and *Phœnician* alphabets were different, the *square* or *Chaldee* letters are prior to the *Phœnician*; if the same, as we are inclined to believe, the *square* or *Chaldee* letters are the true old *Hebrew* character, and the original letters of the east. c

3. From a diligent comparison of the *Phœnician*, *Samaritan*, *Syriac*, old *Arabic* or *Cuphic*, &c. with the ancient *Assyrian* or *Hebrew* letters, it will appear, that all the others were derived from the *Assyrian*. The ducts of these letters are plain, easy, and simple, such as 'tis natural to suppose the first letters were; the letters on the *Phœnician* coins are the next to these in plainness, ease, and simplicity, and bear a great analogy to them; and lastly, the *Samaritan* letters are the others, with some additional strokes and lines intermixed, which, at first sight, carry with them the air of novelty in respect of the *Assyrian*. This has been set in so strong a light by two or three eminent hands, that it will be a great pleasure to our learned readers to consult them [e]. d

4. The *Septuagint* version is of higher antiquity than any of those coins, which are supposed to have the *Samaritan* character upon them. Now 'tis certain the authors of this version have frequently differed from the *Hebrew*, by their mistaking one similar *Assyrian* letter for another [f]. This is an undeniable argument, that the individual *Hebrew* copy they translated was written, not in the *Samaritan*, but the *Assyrian* character; and consequently, that the *Hebrew* text of the old testament was written in that character, before any of those shekels brought to prove the antiquity of the *Samaritan* letters were in being. e

5. The *Samaritan Pentateuch* itself differs in several places from the *Hebrew*. Many of these differences arise [g] from a confusion of similar letters, not *Samaritan*, but *Assyrian*; as namely, the ב with the כ, the ד with the ר, the ו with the י, the ה with the ח, the א with the ע, *&c.* This must be owned to be the strongest proof imaginable, that the *Samaritan* was posterior to, and even taken from the *Pentateuch* written in the *Assyrian* character; and of course bids fair to put an end to this famous dispute (G).

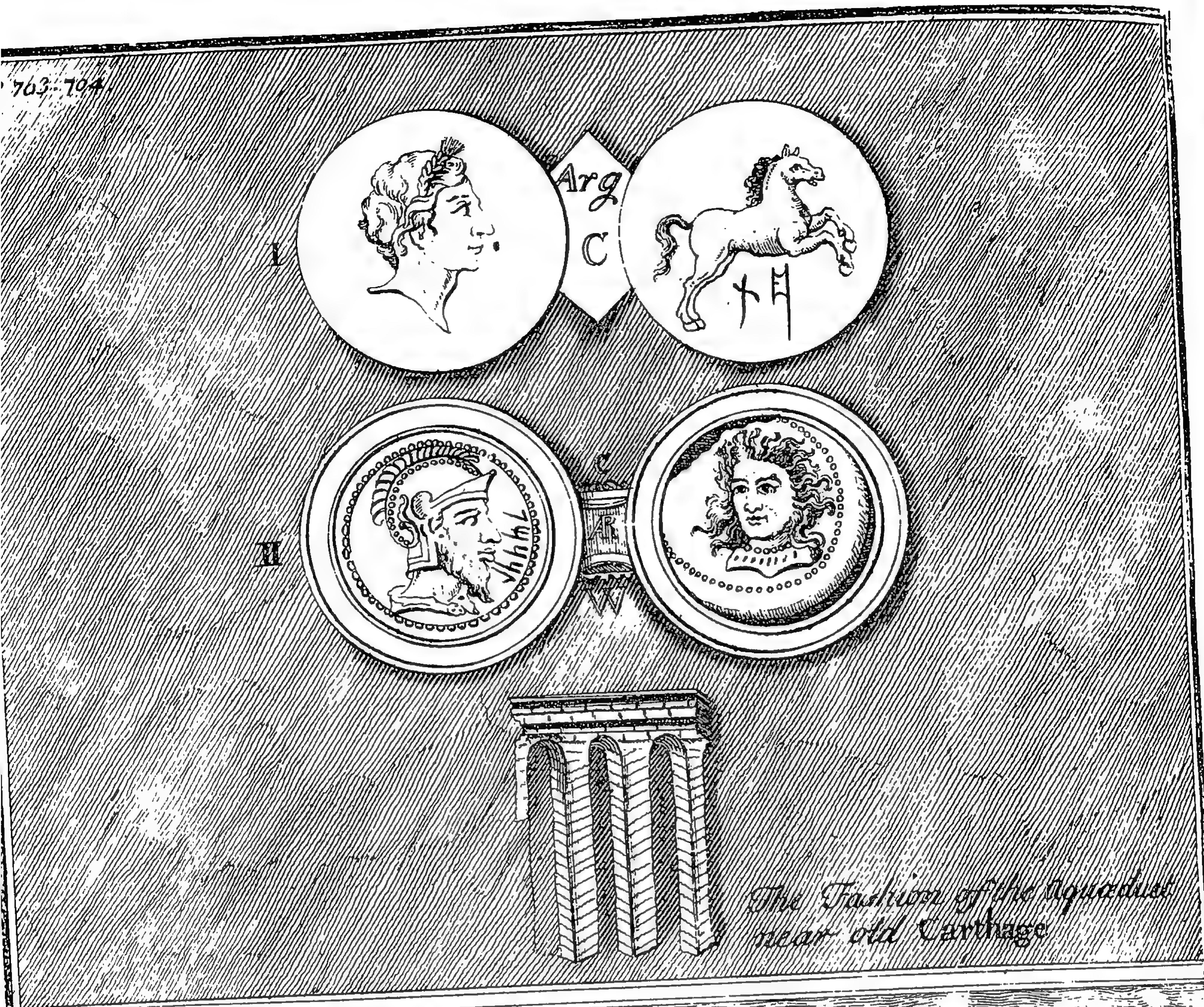
We

[c] Idem ibid. Ez. Spanhem. de us. & præst. num. ant. dissert. 2. & Conringius de num. Hebræor.
[d] Plin. l. vii. c. 56. [e] Spanhem. & Loesch. ubi sup. Schultens. in institut. ad fund. ling. Hebr. p. 20. & alib. [f] Engelbert. Engels. Marcod Juliacems. in præfat. ad Val. Schind. pentaglot, Hanov. 1612. [g] Val. Ern. Loescher, p. 217, 218. Steph. Morin. de ling. prim. exercit. 2. c. 7. p. 199. Sq. Jo. Got. Carpzovius in crit. sacr. vet. test. Lipsiæ, 1728. p. 229, 230, 231.

(G) The learned baron *Spanheim*, Dr. *Allix*. *Conringius*, and others, have intirely overthrown the common opinion of the antiquity of the *Samaritan* letters, from several topics not mentioned by us here. But this is the most effectually done by the famous Dr. *Carpzou* of *Leipsick*, in his defence of the *Hebrew* text of the old testament against Mr. *Whiston*. In relation to the last argument here offered, no further satisfaction can be either given or required by the most curious reader, than what may be met with from him (10).

Father *Sonciet* indeed intimates, that the *Samaritan*

(10) *Allixius apud Spanhem. ubi sup. Conring. de num. Hebræor. pass. Jo. Got. Carpzov. ubi sup. Vid. etiam Hottinge. Villalpand. Cellar. hist. Samarit. aliosq; plurimos.*





P Junius Sculpt

a We cannot recollect, that any perſon has hitherto tried to explain the legends on any of the *Punic* coins, notwithſtanding the letters on many of them ſeem to be nearly related, partly to the *Hebrew*, partly to the *Syriac*, and partly to the *Phœnician*.

However, in order to excite others, who have more leiſure and greater abilities, to ſome attempts of this kind, we ſhall here endeavour at an explication of thoſe upon two *Siculo-Punic* medals; hoping that our readers will conſider the ſubject as it really is, dark and intricate, and therefore make all favourable allowances for whatever miſtakes may be diſcovered in our conjectures. *An attempt to explain the legends on two* Siculo-Punic *coins.*

I. The firſt which is here exhibited is taken from *Paruta*, who ranks it amongſt b the coins belonging to the city of *Panormus*, now known by the name of *Palermo* [h]. Upon the reverſe is a horſe in full ſpeed, with theſe two *Punic* letters 𐤕𐤇, which we think ought to be read *hhet* or *hhit*, and in our opinion, ſtands for *hhittin* or *hhitte*, i. e. *of the Carthaginians*. That the two letters are *hheth* and *tau* [i], appears from *Spanheim*, *Reland*, *Loeſcher*, and others; and that the names of cities, or rather their inhabitants, eſpecially *Greek* cities, are frequently found upon the reverſes of coins belonging to them, is too obvious to need any proof. *Panormus* therefore being the metropolis of the *Carthaginian* part of *Sicily*, and in the neighbourhood of the *Greeks*, if not itſelf filled with them, 'tis no wonder the *Carthaginians* there ſhould in this reſpect imitate the people with whom they lived. What may ſerve to confirm this c is, that we find ſeveral *Greek* coins of the *Panormitans* [k], done in the manner above-mentioned, of as high antiquity as theſe; and there are even inſtances of *Sicilian* coins [l] with both the *Greek* and *Punic* characters upon them. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould be called *Hhittin* or *Hhitte*, i. e. *Hittites*, we are not to think ſtrange; ſince *Anak* [m] and his family, from whom *Carthage* was called *Chaedre-Anach* or *Chaedre-Anak*, were *Hittites*, and conſequently that people were the moſt eminent of the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Carthaginians* deduced their original. As for the name being abbreviated, this is no uncommon thing. The word ΣΥΡΑ for ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ is frequently found on the medals of the *Syracuſans* [n], not to mention many other inſtances which might eaſily be produced. For a farther illuſtration of this point, d ſee the following note (H).

II. The

[h] Parut. apud theſaur. ant. & hiſt. Sic. vol. viii. tab. 14. num. 140. [i] Reland. & Loesch. ubi ſup. Spanhem. de uſ. & præſt. num. diſſ. 2. [k] Vid. Parut. ubi ſup. [l] Parut. apud ſcript. Sic. vol. vii. tab. 13. num. 123, 124. tab. 14. num. 136, 137. [m] Bochart. Phal. l. iv. c. 36. [n] Parut. ubi ſup. vol. viii. Lugd. Bat. 1723. tab. 33. num. 2. tab. 38. num. 12.

ritan character was reſtored by *Simon*. But firſt, this is a direct begging of the queſtion; for it ought to be proved, that it was anciently in uſe as to ſacred matters amongſt the *Hebrews*, before it ſhould be aſſerted, that it was reſtored by *Simon*. And ſecondly, ſuppoſing this fact, which there is great reaſon to preſume it is not, that the old teſtament was ordered to be written in the *Samaritan* character, either by *Simon*, or any other of the *Aſmonean* family, is an aſſertion utterly deſtitute of the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon or authority, either *Jewiſh* or chriſtian, to ſupport it (11).

(H) The *Hittites* (12) were the primary nation of *Canaan*, and ſeem to have been more famous than any of the others. They were not intirely reduced till the time of *Solomon*, being intermixed with the *Iſraelites*, and living in the neighbourhood of the *Sidonians* and *Tyrians*. Hence we may conclude, that not only great numbers of them ſettled in *Africa* after their expulſion by *Joſhua*, but likewiſe, that even ſome of their deſcendants might attend *Dido* into the ſame country. They were ſo formidable to their neighbours, that from them the word חִתָּה *bittah* ſeems to have ſignified *fear*, and a *ſudden conſternation* (13). That this *Punic* word is to be read and interpreted in the manner we propoſe, will farther appear from hence, that the letter 𐤇 is found upon the reverſes of ſeveral other *Panormitan* (14) coins, which evidently allude to the ſtate of *Carthage*, and muſt have been ſtruck when the *Carthaginians* were maſters of that place (15). 'Tis alſo worthy obſervation, that the *Greek* mark or abbreviation on the reverſes of theſe medals, peculiar to the *Panormitans*, conſidered as *Greeks*, was ΠΑΝ, ΠΑΝ or ΠΑΝ, *i. e.* ΠΑΝΡ for (16) ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ. We may therefore reaſonably imagine, that the *Carthaginians* had likewiſe an abbreviation in their own language and character, *viz.* 𐤇 or 𐤕𐤇, *i. e.* *hhit* for *hhittin*, or emphatically *hhitte*. That theſe letters were an abbreviation, is ſo apparent, that *Havercamp* (17) pronounces them the mark of *Panormus*; though he abſurdly confounds them with the *Greek* ΠΑΝ, whereas they are intirely different from it, and indiſputably the *Phœnician hheth* and *tau*. It muſt be owned indeed *Havercamp* will not allow theſe coins to be *Punic* (18); but the *Carthaginian* horſe on ours, as well as the palm-tree and horſe

(11) *E. Souciet recueil de diſſertat. critiq. ſur les endroit. & ſur de matier qui ont rapporta l'ecriture.* (12) *Univ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 322, 323, 329, 335, 337. (13) *Bochart. Phal. l.* iv. *c.* 36. *ſub init.* (14) *Parut. ubi ſup tab.* 14. *num.* 134. *& tab.* 17. *num* 166. *&c.* (15) This appears from the ſymbols upon them, and from their being found near this metropolis of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. (16) *Vide num. Panorm. apud Parut. ubi ſup. paſ.* (17) *Sigebert. Havercamp. comment. in Parut. num. Panormitan. p.* 61, 62. (18) *Idem ibid.*

II. The second coin we are supplied with by *Haym*, who, following other antiquaries, supposes the hero there represented to be *Hannibal*. The *Punic* legend is 𐤇𐤍𐤍𐤁𐤋, every one of which letters we shall endeavour to decipher [o]. a

The first 𐤀 is evidently the same with the old *Oriental aleph* given us by *Loescher*, as well as the *Syriac olaph*. It likewise in figure approaches near the *Phœnician aleph* or *alpha*, (𐤀) as found on coins, wanting only the transverse line at the top, which, by length of time, might easily have grown into disuse amongst the *Carthaginians*. We may therefore esteem it as equivalent to A [p].

The second 𐤍 is apparently the *Phœnician* 𐤍, which letter we see upon several *Phœnician* coins in *Spanheim*. The *Etruscan* ⋀ likewise comes near it. We may therefore assert 𐤍𐤍 to be NN [q]. b

The third letter is the *Phœnician jud* (𐤉) inverted (𐤉). The inversion of letters is a thing that frequently happens; but at present we shall content ourselves with naming one instance only. From the *Phœnician* 𐤔 is formed the *Greek* [r] Ϲ or Σ. The *Punic* 𐤁 is therefore of the same power with I.

The last letter 𐤋 is a more rude and simple kind of *beth*; for it differs only from the *Phœnician* (𐤁) and *Hebrew* (ב) *beth* in this [s], that it is destitute of the transverse line at the bottom, and has the vertical angle more acute than that of the *Hebrew*, and the line parallel to the transverse one at the bottom of the *Phœnician beth* defaced. In fine, as there is no other letter of the *Phœnician* alphabet, to which this approaches so near as it does to *beth*, we may conclude, that they were the same; and therefore we must look upon 𐤋 as B. c

Thus we find, that 𐤇𐤍𐤍𐤁𐤋 expressed in *Latin* letters is ANNIB, in conformity to the sentiments of *Haym* [t] and other antiquaries. And we can assure our readers, that the *Punic* characters here do not differ so much from the *Phœnician*, with which we have compared them, as the various forms of the same *Phœnician* letters found on different medals do from one another [u]. d

Hannibal's effigies on a Carthaginian coin.

It has been observed above, that the *suffetes* of *Carthage* were called kings by the *Greeks*; that one of these, at least, was possessed of a vast degree of power; that *Hannibal* was, some time, the supreme magistrate of *Carthage*; that he acted in that city, in a manner without controul; and, in fine, that he was deified there in his life-time. After this, who can be surprised, that he should have had his name and effigies upon coins? For our part, we think nothing more probable, and, without the additional proof of this medal, should not have scrupled to have affirmed it (I).

Liberal arts and sciences at a low ebb in Carthage.

As to the progress of the liberal arts and sciences amongst the *Carthaginians*, and the degree of perfection they arrived at in them, we have not much to say. If *Carthage* could ever have boasted of any famous productions of this kind, they are all now lost; though for our parts we are inclined to believe, that this people gave themselves up so intirely to commerce, that they paid little or no regard to any branch of literature. Military skill some of their generals were most eminently famous for, though even in this they seem to have been very deficient, till put into a right method by *Xantippus* the *Lacedæmonian*; but philosophy, we have reason to

[o] Haym. in tesor. Britan. [p] Loesch. p. 224. Et Ezech. Spanhem. de us. & præst. numism. dissert. 2. [q] Spanhem. ubi sup. & Phil. Bonarot. in additament. op. Dempst. Florent. 1726, [r] Spanhem. ubi sup. Montfauc. in dissert. de vet. Græc. & Lat. lit. ad fin. Palæogr. Græc. Par. 1708. [s] Loesch. Spanh. & Montfauc. ubi sup. [t] Haym. del tesor. Britan. p. 143. [u] Vid. Adrian, Reland. Val. Loescher, ubi sup. aliosq; plurim.

horse on the others, together with the authority of the learned *Inveges* (19), and the *Punic* characters on them all, not only refute what he has said, but obviate every thing else that can be offered to the contrary.

That this is a *Punic* abbreviation, in imitation of the *Greek* manner, is also probable, because every thing on this medal is either *Greek* workmanship, or an imitation of it. Other *Panormitan* coins have on their reverses ΠΑ (20), which greatly strengthens what has been advanced. If we suppose *hheth* here to be of the same organ with *koph*, as it sometimes is, being by some pronounted *cheth*, then this abbreviation may be *chat* or *chart*, i. e. *of the Carthaginians*. Perhaps this conjecture will please some of our readers better than the other.

(I) *Havercamp* asserts, that the *Carthaginians* struck medals in honour of their generals, with their effigies upon them; this is likewise allowed by that learned *Sicilian* antiquary *Inveges* (2).

(19) *August. Inveg. Carth. Sic. p.* 323. & *alib.*
(21) *Inveg.* & *Havercamp. ubi sup. p.* 84.
(20) *Paruta. ubi sup. tab.* 10. *num.* 99, 100, &c

a to apprehend, was always at a low ebb amongſt them. As they undoubtedly therefore applied themſelves chiefly to trade and navigation, as alſo to the military art, that they might be the better enabled thereby to enjoy in ſecurity their immenſe wealth and poſſeſſions, their arts and learning will not be a very copious topic; and even this we muſt for a moment ſuſpend, in order to give our readers a ſhort ſketch of ſome of their principal cuſtoms.

THEY ſuffered no private injury, offered by any perſon whatſoever to another, to go unpuniſhed. This maxim of equity they received from their firſt anceſtors, and were very ſtrict on all occaſions in the obſervance of it [w]. *Cuſtoms of the* Carthaginians.

No one was permitted to carry the news of any near relation's death to another,
b but ſome perſon convicted of a capital crime, for which he was ſoon to ſuffer. They thought the meſſengers of ſuch tragical events ought ſoon to die, or at leaſt never more to appear before the perſons to whom they brought the melancholy advice [x].

IF any remarkable misfortune happened to the city, the walls were all hung with black. This was done after the deſtruction of their fleet by *Agathocles*; after the loſs of their army under *Himilco*'s conduct in *Sicily* by the plague, and upon other ſuch diſmal occaſions, as we are informed by various authors [y].

THEY uſed dog's fleſh for food till the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*; but upon that prince's conceiving ſome diſguſt at this practice, they left it off, at leaſt for a certain period of time [z].

c THE ſoldiers were prohibited, under the ſevereſt puniſhment, whilſt in the field, to taſte wine; a laudable inſtance this of their temperance and ſobriety [a].

EVERY ſoldier, at leaſt every officer, wore a number of rings anſwering to the number of campaigns he had made. This doubtleſs was intended to excite a noble ſpirit of emulation amongſt them, inſpire them with a thirſt after military glory, and conſequently lead them on to the greateſt atchievements [b].

THEIR generals, though perfectly innocent, upon any diſaſter, were frequently put to death. This probably was deſigned to oblige them to make uſe of all their ſkill, addreſs, and vigilance; tho', after all, it was a moſt barbarous and imprudent cuſtom. This wild maxim prevails amongſt the *Turks*, who are juſtly looked upon
d as barbarians for it, at this day [c].

THE populace and the ſenators had diſtinct baths appointed them. This in general we are told by *Valerius Maximus*; but what gave occaſion to this, he ſays not, nor gives us any further particulars concerning it [d].

IT was uſual with many of them to have ſtatues or buſts of their lovers or intimate friends in their bed-chambers, that they might, in ſome meaſure, ſee and converſe with them when abſent. This appears from *Silius*, in his account of *Dido* after *Æneas*'s departure from her [e].

DIGNITY and power in this ſtate could not ſcreen any great offender from condign puniſhment. Of which *Machæus*, *Hanno*, *Bomilcar*, and others, that we ſhall
e meet with in the courſe of this hiſtory, are pregnant inſtances [f].

THEIR anniverſary feſtivals were obſerved with great ſolemnity, particularly the day on which the *Tyrians*, under the conduct of *Dido*, began to lay the foundations of *Carthage*. This, according to *Silius*, ſeems to have been celebrated yearly, even till the deſtruction of the city, with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence [g].

THERE were no public inns amongſt them. They entertained ſtrangers as friends in their own private houſes. This was likewiſe a cuſtom amongſt other nations, particularly the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Hence it came to paſs, that the ſame word frequently ſignified friendſhip and hoſpitality. The manner of receiving gueſts or
f ſtrangers was thus: A dye or token was divided into two parts; one of theſe was given to the gueſt, and upon his producing it to the maſter of the houſe, he was received by him, and ever afterwards entertained as a friend. This token was tranſmitted down to poſterity, and kept in the family as a mark of friendſhip with the perſon or his family to whom it related [h]. Hence thoſe who violated the laws of hoſpitality were ſaid *teſſeram hoſpitalem frangere*. The deity preſiding over theſe laws was

[w] HENDR. ubi ſupra. in cap. de leg. & conſuetud. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. Vide & DIODOR. SIC. LIV. OROS. l. iv. c. 6. &c. [z] JUST. hiſt. l. xix. [a] PLAT. de legib. & HENDR. ubi ſupra. [b] LIV. HENDR. ubi ſupra. ARISTOT. BARTH. adverſ. l. iv. c. 22. [c] Vide LIV. DIODOR. SIC. SIL. ITALIC. &c. [d] VALER. MAX. l. ix. c. 5. [e] SIL. ITAL. [f] Vide LIV. DIODOR. SIC. JUST. OROS. &c. [g] SIL. ITAL. & HENDR. ubi. ſup. [h] PLAUT. Pœnul. act. v. ſc. 1. BUDÆUS. in Pandect. TAUBMAN. ad Plaut. loc. citat. Scholiaſt. Euripid. in Hippol. JOAN. HARTUNG. in decur. locor. memor. c. 8. l. 39. SIL. ITAL. l. xvii.

was invoked by the name of *Jupiter Xenius*, as the god of friendſhip was called *Jupiter Philius*, and that of ſociety or good-fellowſhip *Jupiter Hetærius*. a

It was a cuſtom with the *Carthaginians* to conſult their augurs and vates upon all emergencies, and before any enterprize of importance was undertaken. Thus *Hamilcar*, at the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, conſulting one of his vates, was told by him, that the next night he ſhould ſup in that city; and, to wave all other inſtances, *Pygmalion*, upon his intention to purſue his ſiſter *Dido*, was aſſured by the inſpired college of vates, that he ſhould feel the reſentment of the gods, if he offered, in any manner, to obſtruct the great deſign ſhe was gone upon; nay, according to St. *Auſtin*, theſe vates were in great repute about thoſe parts long after the deſtruction of *Carthage*, ſince one of them, named *Albicerius*, was very famous there in his time for the b reſponſes he gave [h].

The magiſtrates, during the exerciſe of their power, [i] were obliged to abſtain from wine, though that this inſtitution was obſerved always to the expiration of the commonwealth, we cannot poſitively affirm.

The *Phœnicians* are ſaid to have repreſented their gods as carrying large bags or ſacks full of money; becauſe gold amongſt them was the emblem of power, and ſymbol of dominion. Perhaps the *Carthaginians* repreſented theirs in the ſame manner, which, together with the vaſt quantities of treaſure continually rolling into their coffers, and the great variety of the moſt precious commodities brought from all parts of the world in their ſhips, might occaſion that inſatiable avarice they were ſo fa- c mous for.

Character of the Carthaginians.

Several other cuſtoms might here be mentioned; but as they may be more properly referred to the manners and diſpoſition of the *Carthaginians* in general, we ſhall compriſe them all in the following ſhort character of that people.

Their minds were intirely ſet upon amaſſing wealth, being mean-ſpirited, groveling and ſordid to an incredible degree [k]. In order to this, they ſtuck at no low, not to ſay infamous, arts. This muſt be underſtood of the *Carthaginians* in the later periods, and towards the decline of their ſtate; for it is not to be queſtioned, but that they were of a better turn of mind in the earlieſt ages, and that, even to the laſt, they had many generous and heroic ſouls amongſt them. The ardor and public ſpirit d the women themſelves ſhewed juſt before the laſt ſiege of *Carthage*, as well as during that ſiege [l], ſufficiently prove this. In ſhort, we find ſuch a contraſt of good and bad qualities in this people, that it is almoſt impoſſible to determine which of them were predominant. It muſt only be obſerved, that the nearer we approach the deſtruction of their city, the worſe we find them. However, as the characters we have of the *Carthaginians* come handed down to us chiefly from the *Romans*, their implacable enemies, we muſt not pay too great a regard to them. The *Romans* took care to deſtroy, not only their archives, which, by the way, ſhews, that that nation ought to be reckoned amongſt thoſe where barbariſm prevailed, but almoſt every thing they wrote, that had any appearance of literature or true hiſtory. e

Polybius [m] makes it his complaint, that both *Philinus* and *Fabius Pictor*, the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* hiſtorians, were ſo partial in their relations, that no great credit could be given to either of them, when treating of the *Carthaginian* affairs. Of their perfidiouſneſs and black ingratitude, hiſtory ſupplies us with abundant proof, which will hereafter be produced. According to *Plutarch* [n], they were of a moroſe, ſaturnine, and ſavage diſpoſition (K), utterly averſe to every thing that had but the leaſt appearance

[h] Virg. Æn. 4. Sil. Ital. de bell. Pun. l. i. Diodor. Sic. Just. l. xviii. Augustr. l. i. cont. academ. [i] Alex. ab Alex. [k] Polyb. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. ii. App. in Lybic. Vide etiam Frontin & Veget. [l] Appian. ubi ſup. [m] Polyb. l. i. [n] Plut. in præc. de ger. rep. c. 5.

(K) The great *Hannibal* was an exception to this general character of the *Carthaginians* given by *Plutarch*. Though that renowned general was, for many years, ſo much employed in military labours, he yet found means to cultivate the muſes. Some of his repartees, that have been tranſmitted down to us, plainly ſhew, that he had a great fund of natural wit. This he improved by the moſt polite education that could be beſtowed at that time, and in ſuch a republic as *Carthage*. Tho' ſeveral ſmart turns, that have been attributed to him by the ancients, might be produced, yet we ſhall content ourſelves here with one out of *Macrobius* (22): *Antiochus*, valuing himſelf upon the rich armour and ſplendid accoutrements of his troops, asked *Hannibal* at a review, Whether he thought they were *ſufficient* for the *Romans*, meaning to cope with them? *Hannibal*, far from being dazzled with the pompous appearance they

(22) *Macrob. ſaturn. l.* ii. *c. p.* 225. *Vide etiam Corn. Nep. in vit. Hannib. Liv. l.* xxxv. *Plut. in vit. Flamin. & in Pyrrho, p.* 687.

a appearance of wit or raillery, not being able to bear a joke, in which they were diametrically oppoſite to the genius of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. Some of them were likewiſe acted by an intolerable ſpirit of arrogance, and moſt vitious ambition, by which they were prompted to deſire divine honours. Of this *Hanno* affords us a flagrant inſtance °, who, as we are told by *Ælian*, taught birds to ſay, Hanno *is a god*; though this did not anſwer his end, ſince, after their flight from him, they returned to their former notes again (L).

° ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. xiv. c. 30.

they made, replied, That the *Romans* were indeed very avaricious; but that however, he thought, theſe were abundantly *ſufficient* for them, *i. e.* that the plunder accruing to the *Romans* from them was enough to ſatisfy that rapacious people. This was a proper rebuke to *Antiochus* for his prepoſterous notion of military bravery, and at the ſame time a ſpecimen of brilliant and flowing wit in *Hannibal*.

(L) The *Carthaginians* were extremely addicted to corruption, to which their conſtitution itſelf had a natural tendency, as *Ariſtotle* (23) has rightly obſerved. Their chiefs frequently made uſe of this with good ſucceſs, when all other expedients failed them. The *Barchine* faction ſupported themſelves a long time by the venality of their fellow citizens; and others after them purſued the ſame method of acting, which ended in the total ruin of the commonwealth. In conſequence of this mean diſpoſition, in proſperity they were elevated to a pitch inconſiſtent with the maxims of prudence and moderation, and in adverſity as much depreſſed. Of this we ſhall meet with various examples hereafter (24).

At their weddings they entertained their friends with the tunny fiſh; another remarkable cuſtom that deſerves mentioning.

The *Carthaginians* paid the greateſt deference to their nobility, who held a moſt diſtinguiſhed rank amongſt them. Some perſons were reputed nobles, or at leaſt upon a level with them, on account of their riches; for *Ariſtotle* intimates, that wealth had a vaſt influence at *Carthage*, as well as nobility of birth; and that great regard was had to both in filling the high poſts of the ſtate, when vacant. Others received the title of nobles, as a mark of diſtinction due to them for their ſuperior virtue and merit. And laſtly, others derived their nobility from a long train of noble anceſtors. Theſe were the proper nobility; of whoſe families in order to render this hiſtory the more complete, we ſhall beg leave to preſent our readers with the following genealogical table, though it muſt be owned to be a very imperfect one:

1. The family of MACHÆUS.

Machæus.
|
Carthalo.

2. The family of MAGO I.

Mago.
|
Aſdrubal. — *Hamilcar.*
|
Hannibal. *Aſdrubal.* *Sappho.* — *Hamilco.* *Hanno.* *Giſco.*
|
An anonymous ſon. — *Hamilcar.*
|
Hanno. — *Giſco.*
|
Himilco. — *Hannibal.*
|
Giſco. — *Hanno.*
|
Hamilcar. *Giſco.* — *Hanno.*
|
Hannibal, ſurnamed *the Senior.* — *Hanno.*
|
Hannibal.

3. The family of MAGO II.

Mago II.
|
Mago.

4. The family of BOMILCAR the tyrant.

Brothers
Hamilcar. An anonymous one.
|
Bomilcar.

5. The family of HANNO.

Hanno.
|
Aſdrubal.

6. The family of HAMILCAR.

Hamilcar.
|
Hannibal. *Hanno.*

7. The family of HIMILCO.

Himilco.
|
Maherbal.

8. The family of GISCO.

Giſco.
|
Hamilcar. *Aſdrubal.*
|
Hanno. *Sophonisba*, the wife of king *Syphax.*

9. The family of BOMILCAR, the king or ſufes.

Bomilcar.
|
Hanno.
|
Hanno the Great.

(23) *Ariſtot. de repub. ubi ſupra, aliosque hiſtoric. paſſ.*

(24) *Vide Liv. Polyb. Juſt. Corn. Nep. Plut. Oroſ. plurimoſque*

10. The

Commerce, the army, and the marine, chiefly regarded at Carthage.

Commerce, the army, and the marine, were the principal, if not ſole, objects of publick attention at *Carthage*. Theſe ſo intirely engroſſed the minds of all people there, that they had no inclination to purſue, nor indeed any great taſte for, the liberal arts and ſciences. However, they muſt have known ſomething at leaſt of the rudiments of aſtronomy, ſince, without this, they could not have been tolerably verſed in the art of navigation. Beſides, the *Edomites* and *Phœnicians* were famous for being the greateſt adepts, with the *Egyptians*, in the celeſtial ſciences, of all other nations. The *Carthaginians* therefore, their deſcendants, could not have been void of a competent knowledge herein. That they had ſome notion likewiſe of ſculpture and painting, tho' the degree of perfection they arrived at in them we cannot pretend to aſcertain, is plain from the *Dii Patæci* they carried along with them in their voyages, as likewiſe from the pictures with which their ſhips of war, and other veſſels, were adorned. As a ſea-faring and mercantile people are always ingenious in contriving a variety of commodities to ſupply the neceſſities or luxury of other nations with, it is alſo probably, that they were very well acquainted with the inferior mechanical arts. The *Sidonians* and *Tyrians* were certainly celebrated above other nations for their mechanical ſkill in very early ages, as we learn from ſcripture; conſequently the *Carthaginians*, one branch of their poſterity, muſt have been ſo likewiſe. But the ſuperb temples, magnificent palaces, rich furniture in their houſes, great variety of arms, *&c.* in *Carthage*, put this point beyond diſpute (M).

Few perſons of learning amongſt the Carthaginians.

After what has been ſaid, our readers will not expect to meet with many perſons of erudition amongſt the *Carthaginians*, though, without doubt, they had more than their enemies have informed us of. The *Romans*, as has been juſt obſerved, made great havock both amongſt their public and private writings, and this out of a principle of envy and malice prepenſe. However, the names of ſome of their writers have been tranſmitted down to poſterity, the principal of which are the following:

Hannibal,

10. The Barchine or Barcan family.

Barca, the brother of *Dido* foundreſs of *Carthage*.

Nineteen generations.

Hannibal

Hamilcar, ſurnamed *Barcas*, or *Barca*.

Hannibal the Great. *Imilce*. *Aſdrubal*. *Mago*. *Hanno*. A daughter, the wife of *Naravaſus*. A daughter, the wife of *Aſdrubal*.

Hamilcar.

Sichæus.

11. The family of Hamilcar II.

Hamilcar.

¶ *Himilco*, ſurnamed *Phamæas*.

¶ *Giſco*.

¶ *Aſdrubal*, the laſt king or ſufes of *Carthage*.

For a more particular account of theſe families, our readers may conſult *Reineccius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, and *Chriſtopher Hendreich*, ſo often quoted, at their leiſure (24).

(M) So famous was *Carthage* for its artificers, that any ſingular invention or exquiſite piece of workmanſhip ſeems to have been called, even by the *Romans*, their implacable enemies, *Punic*. Thus the *Punic* beds or couches, the *Punic* windows, the *Punic* wine-preſſes, the *Punic* lanterns, *&c.* were of all others eſteemed the moſt neat and elegant for their workmanſhip by that people. This is an undeniable proof, that the *Carthaginians* had not only good mechanical heads and hands, but likewiſe excelled all other nations, their original anceſtors excepted, in every thing of that kind (25).

(24) *Ariſtot. de rep. ubi ſupr. Chriſt. Hendr. Ubb. Emm. Reinec. in hiſt. Jul. vol.* ii. *Lucius Ampelius lib. memor. p.* 191. *edit. Cantab.* 1680. *Juſtin. l.* xix. *Liv. Diod. Sic. Polyb. &c.* (25) *Valer. Max. Cato de re ruſt. Ovid. el.* vi. *Plaut. Aulul.*

Hannibal, the most renowned general *Carthage* ever produced, was well versed in the *Greek* language. According to *Cornelius Nepos* and *Plutarch*, he wrote several pieces in it, particularly the history of *Manlius Vulso*'s proconsulship in *Asia* [p]. Carthaginian *writers*. Hannibal.

Mago, another celebrated general of the *Carthaginians*, acquired as much glory to his country by his writings, as his military atchievements. He wrote twenty-eight volumes upon husbandry, which the *Roman* senate had in such esteem, that, after the taking of *Carthage*, when they presented the *African* princes with the libraries founded there, they ordered these books to be translated into *Latin*, though *Cato* had before written copiously on that subject. The libraries above-mentioned are a further proof, that learning was not intirely banished *Carthage* [q]. Mago.

b *Philinus*, though a *Sicilian*, being born at *Agrigentum*, is esteemed by *Polybius* as a *Carthaginian* historian. He wrote a history of the wars betwixt the *Romans* and the state of *Carthage*; but disguised facts so palpably in favour of the latter, that, were his performance still extant, it would not be held in any great repute, especially after the stigma *Polybius* has fixed upon it. *Fabius Pictor*, though in the main a good historian, yet, in most points relating to the *Carthaginians*, was guilty of as great partiality on the *Roman* side. This we learn from *Polybius*, who, in order to arrive at truth, has steered the middle course betwixt them both [r]. Philinus.

Himilco, a sea-officer, was sent by the senate of *Carthage* to discover the western shores and ports of *Europe*. This he did, and wrote a journal of his voyage, toge- Himilco.
c ther with an account of his discoveries, which were inserted in the *Punic* annals. *Festus Avienus* [s] has intirely followed this author in his description of the western coasts of the world; and intimates, that he saw the original journal itself in the annals aforesaid. Nay, from *Festus* it appears, that the *Carthaginians* were acquainted with the *Britannic* islands, which he calls *Oestrymnides*.

Hanno, another *Carthaginian* general, by order of the senate, sailed with a con- Hanno.
siderable fleet [t] round *Africa*. He entered the ocean by the straits of *Gibraltar*, made many important discoveries, and had continued his navigation, if provisions had not failed him. He wrote a relation of his voyage, an extract from, or rather a fragment of a *Greek* version of which, is still remaining. He is said to have hung
d up in *Juno*'s temple some skins of several savage women, whom he ordered to be flead. *Isaac Vossius*, in opposition to his father, supposes him to have been older than either *Homer* or *Hesiod*; but the great Mr. *Dodwell* solidly and learnedly refutes this notion. If *Pliny* is to be credited, *Hanno* and *Himilco* above-mentioned were contemporaries. It is certain there were two *Carthaginian* generals of these names in the time of *Agathocles*. Whilst *Himilco* steered towards the west, in order to discover new countries, *Hanno* took his course from *Gades* or *Cadiz* to the fartherst parts of *Arabia*. Mr. *Dodwell* thinks, that the piece going now under the name of *Hanno's periplus*, is not his, but was written by a *Sicilian Greek*. However, it cannot be denied, that he penned a relation of his voyage, since this is often quoted by the antients. This
e most learned gentleman has, with the greatest appearance of truth, fixed his time somewhere betwixt the ninety-second and the hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad [u].

Silenus was an historian, who wrote of the *Carthaginian* affairs in the *Greek* language; Silenus.
from whence it should appear, that he was a *Greek*. Some authors take him to have been the same with *Philinus* above-mentioned; but of this we have no sufficient proof, and therefore we must look upon them as two distinct writers [w].

Clitomachus, called in the *Punic* language *Asdrubal*, was a great philosopher. He Clitomachus.
succeeded the famous *Carneades*, whose disciple he had been, and maintained in *Athens* the honour of the academic sect. *Cicero* says, that he was a more sensible man, and fonder of study, than the *Carthaginians* generally were. He composed several books,
f in one of which he drew a piece to console the unhappy citizens of *Carthage*, who, by the ruin of their city, were reduced to slavery. By this it is manifest, that he lived after the destruction of that city by *Scipio* [x].

Now we are upon the arts and learning of the *Carthaginians*, it will not be foreign Hanno, *the*
to our subject to mention what *Pliny* tells us of *Hanno*, *viz.* that he was the first man *first who*
who *tamed a lion*.

[p] Corn. Nep. in Hannib. Plut. in Scip. [q] Cic. l. i. de orat. n. 249. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.
[r] Polyb. l. i. [s] Festus Avienus in or. marit. p. 290. Vide & Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 35, 39, &c.
[t] Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. v. c. 1. Athen. deipnosoph. l. iii. p. 83. Pomp. Mel. l. iii. c. 9. p. 63. edit. Isaaci Vossii. Voss. de histor. Græc. p. 514. [u] Dodwel. dissert. de peripl. Hannon. ætat. in lim. geogr. vet. script. Græc. min. tom. i. edit. Oxon. 1698. Aristot. in lib. de admirand. audit. Justin. l. xxii. &c. [w] Cic. de divinat. l. i. [x] Plut. de fort. Alex. p. 328. Diog. Laert. in Clitom. Cic. in academ. quæst. l. iv. n 98. Tusc. quæst. l. iii. n. 54.

who dared to touch, and could tame, a lion. The ſame author adds, that he was a condemned, which muſt either imply in it death or baniſhment, upon account of this art; ſince his countrymen could not be perſuaded, but that he who had the power of ſoftening the fierceſt of beaſts, muſt likewiſe be capable of influencing the minds of his fellow-citizens in ſuch a manner, as to become maſter of their freedom[y]. This is related to us by *Pliny*, and it is either an argument of their extreme weakneſs, or his extreme credulity. Some believe this perſon to have been the writer *Hanno* above-mentioned (N).

The Carthaginians *inventors of the* quadriremes.

Amongst other inventions this nation was famous for, we muſt not forget that of the *quadriremes*, or four-oared galleys, which the ancients attributed to the *Carthaginians*. It is moreover probable, that they were the firſt who made cable-ropes for b large veſſels of the ſhrub *ſpartum*, which was a ſort of broom; at leaſt, that they were the firſt who communicated this invention to the *Romans*. But this perhaps more properly belongs to the navigation and trade of the *Carthaginians*, which we ſhall now endeavour to give our readers a ſuccinct idea of [z].

The trade and navigation of the Carthaginians.

With regard to trade and navigation, (for we ſhall conſider them jointly) no nation was ever more famous for theſe, nor enjoyed them in a larger extent, than they did. The *Mediterranean*, and all the ports in it, they were perfectly acquainted with. In the eaſtern parts they puſhed their diſcoveries and commerce as far as any nation whatſoever, and to the weſtward, in all probability, farther. *Britain* and the *Canaries* were known to them; nay, according to ſome, *America* itſelf; but this ſeems to c be a conjecture without ſufficient foundation. The formidable fleets they fitted out on many occaſions, the vaſt quantity of ſhipping they kept in continual employ, the honour they had for a long period of time of being almoſt univerſally acknowledged as maſters of the ſea, to omit many others, are moſt glaring proofs of the flouriſhing condition of their trade and navigation. Neither is this without the beſt authority to ſupport it; for, to wave many other authors of unqueſtionable reputation that occur, it

[y] Plin. ubi ſup. P. Harduin. apud Bayl. voc. Hanno, vol. iii p. 1579. not. (D). Lond. 1710.
[z] Arist. Liv. l. xxi. Polyb. l. i. Cæl. Calcagninus de re nautic. comment. c. 1. Xenoph. de re venator.

(N) In one reſpect we may rank the celebrated *Terence* amongſt the writers of this country, ſince, according to *Donatus*, he was born at *Carthage* (26). Being taken captive when very young, either by *Scipio* at the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, as ſome will have it, or, as others ſay, by the *Numidians*, in one of their incurſions into the *Carthaginian* territories ſome time after that war, he became the property of *Terentius Lucanus*, a *Roman* ſenator. *Terentius*, being much taken with the fine diſpoſition of his ſlave, not only gave him an excellent education, but liſtewiſe enfranchiſed him, and called him after his own name, as was the prevailing cuſtom of thoſe times. In the conſulſhip of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, this famous dramatic poet was in his higheſt reputation (27). Tho' an *African* born, yet his diction is moſt pure, elegant, and polite; inſomuch, that ſome have not ſcrupled to affirm, that he received conſiderable aſſiſtance in the comedies aſcribed to him from *Scipio* and his friend *Lælius*. It is certain, that either to pleaſe theſe great men, who were not unwilling to be thought concerned with him in thoſe performances, or becauſe it was true, he himſelf countenanced this notion (28) Six of thoſe comedies only are now extant, all of which were highly eſteemed at *Rome*, and met with prodigious applauſe when acted there. *Feneſtella* makes him to have been older than (29) *Scipio* and *Lælius*; but *Cornelius Nepos* is more to be credited, who aſſerts them all to have been cotemporaries. *Suetonius* ſays (30), that, in his return from *Greece*, he loſt an hundred and eight comedies tranſlated from *Menander*, of whom he was a great admirer, and could not ſurvive an accident which afflicted him in a moſt ſenſible manner. However this be, he died in the conſulſhip of *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and *M. Fulvius*, aged thirty-five years. He is ſaid to have been of a middle ſtature, ſlender, and of a ſwarthy complection. He had a daughter who ſurvived him, and was married to a *Roman* knight.

Under this note we ſhall likewiſe beg leave to obſerve, that it is intimated by *Plutarch* (31), that this *Hanno* made uſe of lions as beaſts of burden; which is confirmed by *Ovid* and *Silius* (32). If we will believe *Ælian* (33), there were lions in the temple of *Adonis* ſo tame, that they fawned upon perſons at their entering in, came to the table there when called, and, after taking what was given them, modeſtly retired. The ſame author tells us, that the *Indians* (34) had ſo tamed their lions, that with them they hunted bulls, wild aſſes, and all other ſavage animals. *John* II. king of *Portugal* is reported to have had a lion always following him like a dog (35); and, according to *Paulus Jovius*, the king of *France* gave ſuch a one as this to the cardinal de *Medicis*. What has been ſaid of the *Indians*, *Paulus Venetus* likewiſe relates of the *Tartars* (36).

Silenus was an hiſtorian mentioned by *Cicero*, and, as is probable, by *Nepos* (37). The former of theſe aſſures us, that he wrote a hiſtory in *Greek*, with great care and accuracy, of *Hannibal*'s expeditions; and that *Cælius* in ſome points followed him.

(26) *Æl. Donat. P. Terent. vit.* (27) *Idem ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* iv. *p.* 748, 765, 775. (28) *Æl. Donat. ubi ſup.* (29) *Feneſtella apud Æl. Donat. ubi ſup.* (30) *Sueton in vit. Terent.* (31) *Plut. de præcep. ger. rep.* (32) *Ovid triſt.* iv. *el.* 6. *Sil. Ital. l.* i. (33) *Ælian. de animal. l.* xii. (34) *Idem ibid. l.* xvii. (35) *Petr. Meſſias, l.* ii. *c.* 3. (36) *Paulus Venet. l.* vii. *c.* 17. (37) *Cic. de divinat. l.* i. *Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. l.* iii. *p.* 413. *Vide Boſium, & not. in Corn. Nep. de Hannibl. p.* 604. *Lugd. Bat.* 1734.

it appears from *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, that ſcarce any people made ſo great a figure by ſea as the *Carthaginians*, which was the natural effect not only of their genius for naval affairs, but alſo of the flouriſhing and extenſive commerce they were in poſſeſſion of. The baſis of this felicity was owing to the *Tyrians*, from whom they brought the diſpoſition they were ſo eminent for into *Africa*. But in proceſs of time they eclipſed the glory of even their anceſtors themſelves; inſomuch, that *Pliny* derives the origin of trade, not from the *Phœnicians*; but the *Pœni* or *Carthaginians*. The natural fertility of its ſoil, the ſurpriſing ſkill of its artificers, together with its happy ſituation, rendered *Carthage* the center of traffic, the great mart, not only of the *Mediterranean*, but even of the moſt remote nations [a].

Their commodities.

THE commodities they ſupplied other countries with, in great abundance, ſeem to have been corn and fruits of all kinds; divers ſorts of proviſions, and high ſauces; wax, honey, oil, the ſkins of wild beaſts, *&c.* all the natural produce of their own territories. Their ſtaple manufactures were utenſils, toys, cables, all kinds of naval ſtores, and the colour from them called *Punic*, the preparation of which ſeems to have been peculiar to them. From *Egypt* they fetched fine flax, paper, *&c.* From the coaſts of the *Red-Sea*, ſpices, frankincenſe, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious ſtones. From *Tyre* and *Phœnice*, purple, ſcarlet, rich ſtuffs, tapeſtry, coſtly furniture, *&c.* From the weſtern parts of the world, in return for the commodities carried thither, they brought back iron, tin, lead, copper, *&c.* In fine, they purchaſed the ſuperfluities of all nations at an eaſy price; and by knowing the neceſſities of them all, and the particular branch of trade adapted to each of them, they ſold theſe at their own rates; which brought immenſe treaſure daily to *Carthage*, rendered this republic terrible to all her neighbours, and even enabled her to contend ſo long with *Rome* for the empire of the world itſelf [b].

The moſt valuable branch of their commerce was that carried on with the Garamantes, Perſians, *and* Ethiopians.

HAVING thus given our readers a general idea of the extenſive trade this mighty republic was miſtreſs of, which was the great ſource of all her wealth and power; we muſt now beg leave to remark in particular, that no branch of their commerce ſeems to have been more beneficial to the *Carthaginians*, than that they carried on with the *Perſians*, *Garamantes*, and *Ethiopians*. Theſe remote nations, beſides other rich commodities, brought with them *carbuncles*, of almoſt ineſtimable value, to *Carthage*; to which place they yearly reſorted, as is moſt likely, in caravans. Theſe gems, from the plenty of them at *Carthage*, were called by the ancients *Charchedonian* or *Carthaginian*, as *Pliny* relates. From *Polybius* it appears probable, that the *Carthaginian* merchants, at the ſale of their wares, had a crier and ſecretary, or clerk, to attend them. No profeſſion was reckoned more honourable than that of the merchant in the dominions of this ſtate; which is not to be wondered at, conſidering the vaſt advantage accruing from thence to all orders and degrees of men therein. After this, it will be needleſs to obſerve, that the moſt conſiderable perſonages of the city were not aſhamed to apply themſelves to it [c].

WE ſhall cloſe this ſection with taking notice of a remarkable cuſtom obſerved by the *Carthaginians*, and the *Libyans* bordering on the ſea-coaſts, in their trafficking with each other, as *Herodotus* himſelf has related it [d].

"THE *Carthaginians*, ſays this hiſtorian, ſailing beyond the ſtraits, or pillars "of *Hercules*, traded with the *Libyans* of thoſe parts in the following manner: "After they had got into ſome creek, they landed their goods; and leaving them "expoſed on ſome point of land, returned again on board their ſhips. They then "cauſed a great ſmoak to be raiſed, at the ſight of which the *Libyans* immediately came to the place where the wares had been left; and laying down a "certain quantity of gold, retired at a good diſtance from them. Upon this the "*Carthaginians* went on ſhore a ſecond time; and if upon viewing the gold it appeared to them ſufficient, they carried it off, and ſailed without delay; if not, "they

[a] FEST. AVIEN. ubi ſup. POSID. & ARIST. de mem. CLAUD. l. 3. STRAB. APOLLON. PHILOST. l. ii. c. 14. l. 5. PINDAR. &c. CHRIST. HENDR. Carth. l. ii. ſ. 1. c. 8. p. 262, 263, &c. HERODOT. l. i. THUCYDID. l. i. ſub init. PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. vii. c. 56. LIV. POLYB. DIODOR. SIC. JUSTIN. OROS. aliiq; paſſ. [b] CHRIST. HENDR. ubi. ſup. PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 8. ATHEN. deipſonoph. l. ii. JUL. POLLUX, l. vi. ISIDOR. orig. l. xx. c. 3. A. SCHOTTI obſerv. l. iii. c. 7. HIERON. MAGIUS in miſcel. l. ii. c. 9. HADR. JUN. animadv. l. vi c. 17. TURNEB. adverſ. l. x. c. 12. CATELLIANUS COTTA in memorab. VARRO, l. iv. c. 23. de LL. TIBUL. l. ii. eleg. & ad eum PASSERATIUS, l. iii. iv. JOH. BRODÆUS in miſcel. l. iv. c. 24, & l. i. c. 8. ALEX. VANEGAS, l. ii. c. 2. & MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL. en eſper. de Iſr. p. 18, 19, &c. En Amſterdam en la Impreſſion de Semuel Ben Iſrael Soeiro, A. M. 5410. [c] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxxviii. c. 7. & DALECAMP. in loc. PETRON. in ſatiric. POLYB. l. iii. [d] HERODOT. l. iv.

" they left it, and continued quiet on board for some time. The *Libyans* finding this, a
" made an addition to what they had before deposited; and if this proved insuffi-
" cient, they continued improving the original quantity of gold till the *Carthaginians*
" were satisfied, and the bargain made. Neither of these nations offered the least
" injustice to the other. The *Carthaginians* did not so much as touch the *Libyan*
" gold till it was of equal value with their wares, nor the *Libyans* the *Carthaginian*
" merchandize, till the gold they offered as an equivalent was accepted and taken
" away."

SECT. III.

The chronology of the Carthaginians.

Carthaginian *chronology the same with the* Phœnician.

THE *Carthaginian* chronology was at first the *Phœnician*, already by us con- b
sidered, and, in all probability, ever afterwards, as to its form and manner, agreed with it. That the *Carthaginians* kept records in the same manner as their ancestors the *Tyrians* did, cannot well be doubted; especially, if we consider, how closely they adhered to the customs and maxims of those ancestors. Sir *Isaac Newton* seems to imagine, that the artificial chronology of *Eratosthenes* did not absolutely prevail amongst the *Romans* even in the *Augustan* age, but thinks that *Virgil* might have taken some of his historical facts from the records of *Carthage*; which evidently supposes, that these records might then have existed. *Servius* seems to insinuate, that they, or at least some part of them, were in being when he wrote; for he tells us, that, according to the *Carthaginians* themselves, *Dido* came from a town called c
Charta. But, however this may be, 'tis certain, from *Solinus* and others, that annals, and an epoch, at the destruction of their city, the *Carthaginians* must have had; otherwise the *Romans* could never have known how many years had elapsed from the foundation to the destruction of that metropolis, as we find they did. But this is so apparent, that we shall insist no further upon it [e].

THE method of computing time from the building of cities was in use throughout a good part of the east in very early ages, though it was of a later date at *Rome*, particularly among the *Lydians*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*, as it was likewise amongst their descendants the old *Etruscans* and *Carthaginians*. This is evident beyond con- d
tradiction from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Censorinus*, *Scaliger*, and a famous inscription, whose epoch is the foundation of *Interamna* in *Umbria*, which *Gruter* and *Justus Fontaninus*, in his *antiquities of Horta*, have given us [f].

Their year luni-solar,

THE ancient year of the *Phœnicians*, as well as that of the other eastern nations, was most certainly luni-solar, *i. e.* it consisted of twelve lunar months, containing thirty days each, with intercalary months to make up what the twelve lunar months wanted of the solar year. At length the *Egyptians* of *Thebes*, according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*, introduced the solar year, *i. e.* they added five days annually to the twelve lunar months, in order to make them agree with the course of the sun. Now as the computation by solar years did not take place even in *Egypt* till the time of *Amenophis*, (tho' the difference betwixt the solar and calendar years was discovered e
in the reign of *Ammon* the father of *Sesac*) *i. e.* about an hundred and thirty-seven years before the æra of *Nabonassar*; nor amongst the *Chaldæans* or *Babylonians* till the commencement of that æra; and as *Dido*'s departure from *Tyre* was at least coeval with, if it did not precede, the former of these events, the luni-solar year was, without dispute, observed then by the *Phœnicians*, and consequently afterwards by the *Carthaginians* [g].

As was that of the Arabians *and* Damascenes.

IN confirmation of which we must not omit remarking, that *Simplicius*, in his commentary on the first of *Aristotle*'s *physical acroasis*, affirms the *Damascenes* and *Arabians*, who were either neighbours to the posterity of the old *Phœnicians*, or intermixed with them, to have had the luni-solar year in use amongst them so late as his time; from whence 'tis not a little probable, that this was always the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian* year [h].

WE

[e] NEWTON's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. SERV. in Æn. i. & Æn. iv. SOLIN. c. 29. [f] DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 1. CENSORIN. de die natal. c. 17 SCALIG. de emend. temp. l. v. p. 385. GRUTER. CXIII. 2. JUST. FONTANIN. de antiquit. Hort. l. i. c. 7. p. 135, 136. ed. Rom. 1723. [g] CENSORIN. de die natal. c. 19. & 20. CIC in Ver. GEMINUS, c. 6. Gen. i. 14. viii. 22. NEWTON's chronol. p. 71—82. DIODOR. SIC. l. i. STRAB. l. xvii. PLUT. de Isid. & Osir. HECATÆUS apud Diod. l. i. [h] SIMPLIC. apud Theodor. Gazam de mensibus.

a We have nothing very material to offer farther on this head, the *Carthaginian* annals having for a long series of ages been destroyed. As therefore we cannot pretend to give any tolerable particular account, much less a methodical system, of the *Carthaginian* chronology, all that can be done, in order to satisfy our readers, is, to exhibit to their view a chronological table of some few of the principal transactions in which that famous republic was concerned, including a list of several of its great men, in order of time, as they lived.

The Monarchy *of* Carthage.

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
b *Dido*, the daughter of *Mettinus*, king of *Tyre*, founded *Carthage*. How long she reigned there, history informs us not.		890 or 892

The Republic *of* Carthage.

After *Dido*'s death, there is a chasm in the history of *Carthage* for above three hundred years. Only from		
c *Justin* we learn, that this state was much agitated by intestine commotions during part of that period.		
The *Carthaginians* plant a colony in the island *Ebusus* or *Eresus*, on the coast of *Spain*, according to *Diodorus*.	160	730
The *Tyrrhenian* and *Carthaginian* united fleets are, according to *Herodotus*, after a bloody engagement, put to flight by the *Phocæans*, in the sea of *Sardinia*.	347	543
Which action is likewise mentioned by *Thucydides*, who relates, that the city of *Massilia*, at present *Marseilles*, built by the said *Phocæans*, was then in its infancy (A).	347	
d *Machæus*, a famous general, gains some very considerable advantages over the *Africans*, with whom the *Carthaginians* are now ingaged in a war. This happened, as appears probable from comparing *Justin* with *Orosius*, towards the conclusion of *Cyrus*'s reign, or that of his uncle *Cyaxares* II. and therefore we may place it about the year.	353	537
He reduces part of *Sicily* to the obedience of the *Carthaginians*.	354	536
A plague makes great havock at *Carthage* about this time, when the *Carthaginians* endeavour to appease the gods by		
e sacrificing children.	355	535
After a long and successful war in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginian* army, under the command of *Machæus*, thinks proper to retire from that island.	360	530
The same army afterwards invading *Sardinia*, is intirely defeated by the *Sardi*, and the greatest part of it cut off.	360	530

(A) That this most antient naval engagement happened not far from the year, in which our most learned archbishop *Usher* has placed it, is, in some measure, evident from a circumstance taken notice of by *Thucydides* in his first book, where he mentions it. That author informs us, that this event happened not long after the foundation of *Massilia*, or *Marseilles*, which was built by the *Phocæans*. Now 'tis asserted by *Timæus Siculus*, that *Massilia* was founded by the *Phocæans* an hundred and twenty years before the battle of *Salamis*, which falls in with the first year of the forty-fifth olympiad, and consequently the foundation of *Massilia* preceded the action under consideration fifty-seven years. It might then therefore very justly be said, as *Thucydides* relates, to have been in its infancy. That *Massilia* was built by the *Phocæans* about the time mentioned by *Timæus*, is confirmed by *Aristotle*, *Harpocration*, *Scymnus Chius*, *Justin*, *Athenæus*, and other authors. Both *Thucydides* and *Herodotus* likewise seem to relate some events after this, as happening in the time of *Cambyses*; which may be looked upon as an additional argument in defence of our learned primate's notion, which he has taken from *Eusebius* (1).

(1) *Ush. ad an. per Jul.* 4171. *Herodot. l.* i. *Timæus Sic. apud. Marcian. in perieg. Solin. Euseb. in chron. ad olymp.* 45, 1. 59, 2. *&c. Aristot. apud Harpocration. in voc.* Μασσαλία, *Athen. deipnosoph. l.* xiii. *Just. l.* xliii. *Strab. l.* iv. *Scymnus Chius*, *Ammian. Marcellin.* 15, 23 *Gell. noct. At.* 10, 16, *&c.*

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.	
The remaining part, upon their return home, are baniſhed by their countrymen, together with *Machæus* the general. Incenſed at this barbarous treatment, they attack *Carthage*, carry the city, and, after putting ten ſenators to death, ſettle the republic upon its former footing.	360	530	
Machæus crucifies his ſon about the ſame time.	360	530	
Some time after this the ſame general, being accuſed of a deſign to make himſelf abſolute, is puniſhed with death, and ſucceeded by *Mago* in the command of the army.	367	523	b
An alliance formed between the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans* the year after the regifuge, in the conſulſhip of *Brutus* and *Valerius*.	382	508	
Mago, after the introduction of military diſcipline amongſt the *Carthaginians*, dies, leaving their forces in an excellent condition. If *Juſtin* is to be credited, this ſeems to have happened ſome years before *Darius Hyſtaſpis* died; and therefore we may look upon it to fall in juſtly enough with the year.	401	489	
Soon after *Mago*'s death, his two ſons *Aſdrubal* and *Hamilcar* attempt the conqueſt of *Sardinia*, as likewiſe to free their country from the annual tribute impoſed upon them by the *Africans*.	401	489	c
Darius ſends embaſſadors to *Carthage* to demand a body of auxiliaries againſt their common enemy the *Greeks*, for a war with whom he was then making very great preparations.	402	488	
At firſt *Aſdrubal* and *Hamilcar* ſeem to have had great ſucceſs in *Sardinia*, by the number of triumphs *Juſtin* aſſigns *Aſdrubal*; but, towards the concluſion of this war, *Aſdrubal* is mortally wounded, and the intire command of the army thereby devolves upon his brother *Hamilcar*.	404	486	d
A treaty of peace is concluded between the *Africans* and *Carthaginians* about this period, by which the annual tribute of the latter is continued.	405	485	
The *Sicilians* implore the aſſiſtance of *Leonidas*, to enable them to ſhake off the *Carthaginian* yoke.	405	485	
Not long after this *Hamilcar* is killed in *Sicily*, leaving behind him three ſons, *Hamilco* or *Himilco*, *Hanno*, and *Giſco*.	410	480,	
After the death of *Hamilcar*, and the total defeat of the *Carthaginian* army by *Gelon*, a peace is made, and *Giſco*, the ſon of *Hamilcar*, baniſhed.	410	480	e
The *Carthaginians* engage at once in a war with the *Moors*, *Numidians*, and other *Africans*; the reſult of which is, that they are excuſed the annual tribute before exacted of them.	430	460	
Some time after this period the two brothers *Philæni* ſacrificed themſelves for the honour, as they apprehended, of their country.			f
The *centumvirate* inſtituted, ſomewhere in this interval, to reduce the exorbitant power of *Mago*'s family within proper bounds, and be a curb upon their generals, according to *Juſtin*.			
Hannibal, the ſon of *Giſco*, makes an expedition into *Sicily*, takes and razes *Selinus* and *Himera*.	482	408	
The ſame general, in conjunction with *Imilcar*, makes another campaign in *Sicily*; but dies of the plague in his camp before *Agrigentum*, of which diſtemper a great part of his army likewiſe periſhes.	486	404	
Imilcar, *Hannibal*'s collegue, takes *Agrigentum*.	486	404	
He likewiſe reduces *Gela*.	486	404	g

He

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
a He puts an end to this war by a treaty concluded with *Dionyſius*.	486	404
Dionyſius takes *Motya* from the *Carthaginians*.	494	396
Himilco retakes *Motya* by ſtorm, reduces *Meſſana*, and razes it. *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, likewiſe defeats the *Sicilian* fleet under *Leptines*. *Himilco* advances with his army, drawn up in order of battle, to the very walls of *Syracuſe*, and plunders the temples of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* in the ſuburb of *Acradina*; but the plague carrying off a b great part of his troops, he is obliged to withdraw.	495	395
The *Africans*, to the number of two hundred thouſand, ſeize upon *Tunis*, and threaten *Carthage* itſelf. But famine and diviſions oblige them at laſt to diſperſe. *Himilco*, not being able to ſurvive his misfortunes, puts an end to them by a voluntary death.	495	395
Mago, the *Carthaginian* general, is routed by *Dionyſius* at *Abacænum*.	498	492
A ſecond peace concluded between *Dionyſius* and the *Carthaginians*.	499	391
c *Dionyſius* routs the *Carthaginians* at *Cabala* in *Sicily*, but is beaten by them at *Cronion*, upon which a peace enſues.	508	382
A plague breaks out in *Carthage*, which ſweeps away an infinite number of people. The *Africans* and *Sardi* riſe up in arms, and endeavour to render themſelves independent of the *Carthaginian* ſtate. A particular ſpecies of madneſs ſeizes many of the inhabitants of *Carthage*, and produces diſmal effects there.	512	378
d *Dionyſius* advances, with an army of thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, into the *Carthaginian* territories. With this force he ſoon takes *Selinus* and *Entella*, and plunders all the adjacent country. The *Carthaginians*, on the other hand, enter the port of *Eryx* with two hundred ſail, and carry off moſt of the beſt *Syracuſan* galleys laid up in that harbour.	522	368
Dionyſius II. ſucceeding his father, comes to an accommodation with the *Carthaginians*.	523	367
Paralus, the *Carthaginian* governor of *Minoa*, permits *Dion* to land five thouſand arms there, and ſupplies him with carriages to convey them to *Syracuſe*; by which means that e prince is enabled to proceed in his expedition againſt *Dionyſius* II.	534	356
Timoleon brings ſuccours from *Corinth* to the *Syracuſans*, and lands his forces in *Sicily* by a ſtratagem.	546	344
He defeats *Icetas* at *Adranum*, and poſſeſſes himſelf of *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*, according to *Diodorus*.	547	343
A ſecond treaty concluded between the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans*, in which the inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Utica* are comprehended.	547	343
f *Timoleon* gives a total overthrow to the *Carthaginian* forces under *Mago*, upon the banks of the river *Crimeſus*.	551	339
And concludes a peace with that nation.	552	338
About this time, in all probability, *Hanno* forms a deſign at *Carthage* to aſſume the ſovereignty to himſelf, by deſtroying the whole body of the ſenate. He receives but a ſlight puniſhment for the firſt attempt; but upon his having recourſe afterwards to arms, and endeavouring to ſupport himſelf in his rebellion by an alliance with the *African* princes, he is made an example of the utmoſt rigor and g ſeverity.	553	337
	554	336

Alexander

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.	
Alexander forms the ſiege of *Tyre*, upon which the *Tyrians* ſend their wives and children to *Carthage*, where they are kindly received.	559	331	
The *Carthaginians* ſend *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Rhodanus*, as their miniſter to *Alexander* at his camp before *Tyre*; and put him to death on his return home.	559	331	
The *Cyreneans* apply to the *Carthaginians* for ſuccours againſt a body of *Greek* mercenaries, that invaded them, but in vain.	568	322	b
The *Carthaginians* ſend ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of *Soſiſtratus*, and the *Syracuſan* exiles, againſt *Agathocles*.	574	316	
They oblige *Agathocles* to reſtore the caſtle of *Mylæ* to the *Meſſanians*.	576	314	
Hamilcar routs *Agathocles* at *Himera*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*.	580	310	
Agathocles invades *Africa*, and gives a memorable defeat there to *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, the *Carthaginian* generals, according to *Diodorus*.	581	309	
Hamilcar is taken by the *Syracuſans*, and has his head ſtruck off, which is ſent to *Agathocles* in *Africa*.	582	308	c
Agathocles prevails upon *Ophellas*, prince of the *Cyreneans*, to march to his aſſiſtance, and then cuts him off by treachery.	583	307	
Bomilcar crucified for forming a deſign to make himſelf tyrant of *Carthage*.	583	307	
Agathocles receives a great defeat from the *Carthaginians*, and is forced to abandon *Africa*, which produces a peace between the two powers.	584	306	
The articles of the peace ſigned.	585	305	
A third treaty concluded between the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* about the time of *Pyrrhus*'s arrival in *Italy*.	610	280	d
The *Carthaginians* offer the *Romans* aſſiſtance in their war with *Pyrrhus*, and for that purpoſe ſend a fleet of an hundred and twenty ſail under the command of *Mago*; tho' the *Romans* decline accepting it.	610	280	
The *Carthaginians* beſiege *Syracuſe*, with an army of fifty thouſand men and a fleet of an hundred ſail.	611	278	
Pyrrhus makes a deſcent in *Sicily*, reduces all the *Carthaginian* towns in that iſland, except *Lilybæum*, almoſt as ſoon as he appears before them; and loſes them again with the ſame rapidity to the *Carthaginians*.	613 614	277 276	e
Hannibal, the *Carthaginian* general, ſends a detachment to reinforce the *Mamertine* garriſon of *Meſſana*, and thereby prevents *Hiero* from poſſeſſing himſelf of that place, which occaſions the firſt *Punic* war.	625	265	
The firſt *Punic* war begins.	626	264	
The *Romans*, after a ſiege of ſeven months, take *Agrigentum*, and gain a victory over the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Hanno*, ſent to its relief.	628	262	
The conſul *C. Duilius* gains a complete victory over the *Carthaginians* by ſea, their admiral *Hannibal* eſcaping with much difficulty. The other conſul *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, being ſurpriſed, ſurrenders himſelf to the enemy under *Boodes*.	630	260	f
A drawn naval engagement between the *Carthaginians* and the *Romans*.	633	257	
The *Carthaginians* receive a great blow by ſea from the *Romans*; above thirty of their ſhips being ſunk, and ſixty-three taken. *Hanno*, who had behaved ſo ill at *Agrigentum*, and *Hamilcar* are their admirals at the time of this diſaſter. *Regulus* alſo lands this year in *Africa*, reduces			g

Adis,

		Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.
a	*Adis* a ſtrong fortreſs, and many other places. He gives the *Carthaginian* army, commanded by *Hanno*, *Boſtar*, and *Hamilcar*, a moſt memorable defeat.	634	256
	The *Roman* army under *Regulus* overthrown by *Xantippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who, at the deſire of the *Carthaginian* ſenate, takes upon him the command of their forces. *Regulus* himſelf is taken priſoner in this action.	635	255
	The *Carthaginians* become once more maſters of the ſea.	638	252
b	*Lilybæum*, a *Punic* town in *Sicily*, beſieged by the *Romans*.	640	250
	The great *Hannibal* born.	642	248
	Hamilcar behaves himſelf with great bravery for three years together in *Sicily*.	645	245
	The *Carthaginians* under *Hanno* are routed by the *Romans* near the iſland *Æguſa* or *Ægates*.	648	242
	Hamilcar, having received full powers from the *Carthaginian* ſenate for that purpoſe, concludes a peace with the *Romans*. This puts a period to the firſt *Punic* war, after it had laſted four-and-twenty years.	649	241
c	After various turns of fortune, the *African* or *Libyan* war is brought to a happy concluſion by *Hamilcar*, though the *Carthaginians* were reduced to the laſt extremity through the incapacity of *Hanno*, and *Hannibal*, by his indolence, had given a great advantage to the enemy.	652	238
	Hamilcar, being ſent by the *Carthaginians* as their general into *Spain*, partly by force, and partly by perſuaſion, ſubdues nine different nations; but expoſing himſelf too much in a battle with ſome of the moſt warlike *Spaniards* as yet unconquered, he is ſlain, and ſucceeded in his poſt by *Aſdrubal*.	661	229
d	*Aſdrubal* dies, and is ſucceeded by *Hannibal*. That general takes *Althæa*, the capital of the *Olcades*; conquers that nation, the *Vaccæi*, *Carpetani*, &c. The *Saguntines* appriſe the *Romans* of theſe proceedings.	670	220
	The *Romans*, by their embaſſadors, demand *Hannibal* for taking of *Saguntum*. That general, having ſettled matters in *Spain*, makes preparations for a war with the *Romans*.	671	219
e	This year the ſecond *Punic* war commences, according to *Polybius*. *Hannibal* paſſes the *Alps*, and defeats *Scipio* near the *Ticinus*, now called the *Teſino*, after taking *Turin*, and routing the *Gauls*, who diſputed the paſſage of the *Rhone*.	672	218
	The ſame general overthrows *Sempronius* on the banks of the *Trebia*.	672	218
	Hanno is defeated in *Spain* by *Scipio*, who extends his conqueſts as far as the *Iberus*.	672	218
	C. *Flaminius* is overthrown by *Hannibal* at the lake of *Thraſymene*, now the *Lago di Perugia*, with the ſlaughter of fifteen thouſand men. He likewiſe gives a terrible repulſe to *Minucius*; but is checked in his progreſs by *Fabius*. *Cn. Scipio* defeats *Hanno* at the town of *Ciſſa* in *Spain*.	673	217
	The *Roman* army commanded by *Terentius Varro* and *Æmilius Paulus*, is totally defeated at *Cannæ* upon the *Aufidus* in *Apulia*. This was the greateſt blow the *Romans* ever received. The *Carthaginians* in *Spain* under *Aſdrubal*, are overcome by the *Romans*.	674	216
	Philip king of *Macedon*, by his miniſter *Xenophanes*, concludes a treaty with *Hannibal*.	675	215
	Hannibal takes *Tarentum*.	678	212
g	*Capua* beſieged by the *Romans*. The two *Scipios*, with their armies,		

	Year of Carthage.	Year before Christ.	
armies, deſtroyed in *Spain* by the *Carthaginians* and their allies.	678	212	
Hannibal, in order to raiſe the ſiege of *Capua*, bends his march towards *Rome*, and advances within five miles of that capital.	679	211	
Tarentum retaken by *Fabius*.	681	209	
Hannibal, by a ſtratagem circumventing *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *T. Quintius Criſpinus*, cuts off *Marcellus*, and other *Romans* of diſtinction.	682	208	b
Edeco, *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, &c. petty kings or *reguli* of *Spain*, join *Scipio*. By the acceſſion of their forces he is enabled to vanquiſh *Aſdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, at *Bætula*, and to drive him out of *Spain*.	682	208	
Aſdrubal, coming with a powerful army into *Italy* to join *Hannibal*, is overthrown, and his army utterly ruined.	683	207	
Scipio in *Spain* vanquiſhes *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco*, *Mago*, and *Indibilis*; draws off *Maſiniſſa* from the *Carthaginian* intereſt; reduces all *Spain*; and is then recalled to *Rome*.	684	206	
Scipio lands in *Africa*; beſieges *Utica*; burns the camps of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*; overthrows the *Carthaginian*, *Numidian*, and *Celtiberian* forces; and takes *Tunis*. *Hannibal* is obliged to quit *Italy*, and return to *Africa*.	687	203	c
An interview between *Scipio* and *Hannibal*. The latter of theſe is intirely defeated at the battle of *Zama*; which produces a peace, and terminates the ſecond *Punic* war.	688 689	202 201	
Hannibal, being obliged to leave his native country, lands at *Tyre*, and afterwards ſeeks an aſylum at the court of *Antiochus*.	695	195	
Hannibal dies, according to *Livy* and *Cornelius Nepos*.	708	182	d
Maſiniſſa, depending on his friendſhip with *Rome*, makes an irruption into the province of *Tyſca*, and invades the *Carthaginian* territories.	730 or 731	160 or 159	
An embaſſy is ſent from *Rome*, at the head of which is *Cato*, to diſpoſe both parties to an accommodation, and determine all differences between them upon the ſpot. But the *Carthaginians* reject the mediation of the *Romans*, tho' they had before admitted it; which occaſions the third *Punic* war.	732	158	
A bloody war breaks out between *Carthage* and *Maſiniſſa*.	740	150	
The *Carthaginians*, after the *Romans* had moſt perfidiouſly and inhumanly deprived them of all means of defence, are commanded to abandon their city; which they not complying with, it is totally deſtroyed by *Æmilianus*, and levelled with the ground.	744 Or, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton* and *Salmaſius*, in conjunction with *Solinus*, 746	146 146	e

Menander Epheſius, Solinus, Salmaſius, Petavius, *and Sir* Iſaac Newton, *agree very well in ſettling the æra of* Carthage.

Appian tells us in round numbers, that *Carthage* ſtood ſeven hundred years; but *Solinus*, with greater accuracy, determines its duration to have been ſeven hundred and thirty-ſeven years, *i. e.* either ſo many complete years preciſely, or ſo many complete years, with part of another elapſed, which was not reckoned in the computation. Now, if, with Sir *Iſaac Newton* and *Salmaſius*, we ſuppoſe this term to have commenced at the *encænia* or dedication of the city, which, they have proved, fell upon the ſixteenth year of *Pygmalion*'s reign at *Tyre*, the beginning of the foundation of *Carthage* muſt be placed nine years higher, ſince *Dido* came to *Africa* in the ſeventh year of that prince's reign; and conſequently this happened ſeven hundred and forty-ſix years before the final deſtruction of that city by *Æmilianus*. Since therefore *Joſephus*, from *Menander Epheſus*, or, according to *Tatian*, *Menander* of *Pergamus*, as he is corrected by *Petavius*, intimates, that *Carthage* preceded *Rome* an hundred and forty years, which almoſt exactly correſponds with Sir *Iſaac Newton* and *Salmaſius*; and ſince the æra of *Petavius*, which we have followed, does not differ from that of *Solinus* as ſtated by the two great men above-mentioned, above two years, a trifle f g

a trifle in a point of ſo remote antiquity, we may look upon theſe æras as the ſame. This is a ſtrong preſumption, that both of them approach very near the truth; and therefore we may venture to aſſure our readers, that they cannot greatly err, chuſe which of them they pleaſe [i].

End of this chronological ſynopſis.

THE chronological ſynopſis here inſerted, gives our readers the whole plan of the affairs of *Carthage* at one view, and, by enabling them to form a general idea of all the principal events that happened to this republic at once, prepares them for the peruſal of the following hiſtory with double advantage (B).

Authorities upon which it is founded.

IT may not be improper to inform our readers, that the firſt part of this ſynopſis depends chiefly upon the authority of *Juſtin* and *Oroſius*, compared with *Diodorus* b *Siculus*, as the latter does upon that of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, in conjunction with archbiſhop *Uſher*. The times of the firſt tranſactions of this ſtate it is impoſſible to determine to any tolerable degree of exactneſs, yet, we hope, our determination of them is not very remote from the truth. In aſcertaining the years of thoſe of a later date, we have paid no regard to the ſentiments of thoſe writers who differ from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, as being in point of authority vaſtly inferior to them [k].

[i] APPIAN. in Lybic. SOLIN. c. 30. SALMAS. in SOLIN. ibid. NEWTON's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. 5. l. ix. c. 14. & cont. Apion. l. i. DION. PETAV. de doct. temp. l. ix. c. 69. SOLIN. c. 27. TATIAN. adv. Græc. [k] JUSTIN. OROS. DIODOR. SIC. & POLYB. paſſim. USS. annal. vet. teſt. paſſ. Vide etiam GLAREANI chronol. in Liv. per Badium Aſcenſium, Pariſ. ex officin. Mich. Vaſcoſani, 1543.

(B) We doubt not but the whole learned world will intirely concur with us in our notion of the incomparable archbiſhop *Uſher*; and, to ſhew our regard to the memory of ſo profound a chronologer, we ſhall endeavour to clear up a point, which he has left a little confuſed. That moſt learned prelate fixes the foundation of *Rome*, with *Fabius Pictor*, towards the cloſe of the ſeventh, or beginning of the eighth olympiad; and yet he will have the year of *Rome* ſix hundred and ſeven (in which *Carthage* was finally deſtroyed) to have preceded the chriſtian æra an hundred and forty-ſix years This ſeems to render him a little inconſiſtent with himſelf; for an hundred forty-ſix years, added to ſix hundred and ſeven, makes ſeven hundred and fifty-three years, which, he appears to intimate, was the age of *Rome* at the birth of Chriſt. But this ſeeming inconſiſtency will vaniſh, when we conſider, that he all along follows *Fabius Pictor*, who places the foundation of *Rome* five years lower than *Varro*, whom *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and moſt of the *Roman* authors, follow. This obſervation will obviate all difficulties that might otherwiſe occur in ſome material points, from comparing archbiſhop *Uſher* with the generality of the *Roman* chronologers, and thereby prevent confuſion. The year of *Rome*, in which the deſtruction of *Carthage* happened, according to *Fabius Pictor*, muſt have been the ſix hundred and ſecond, to which add an hundred and forty-ſix, and it correſponds, as well as the other, with the chriſtian æra. This is a demonſtration of the truth of archbiſhop *Uſher*'s computation in this particular; and therefore nothing further can be added to it. We think it proper to inform our readers here, that, from the commencement of the olympiads, our numbers perfectly agree with them, and conſequently are not repugnant either to the *Varronian* or *Fabian* accounts, tho', with archbiſhop *Uſher*, we are of opinion, that the latter points out the true epoch of *Rome*. It muſt not be forgot, that we were miſtaken in the *Roman* hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 425. l. 8, 9, 10. when we made archbiſhop *Uſher* to prefer *Varro*'s opinion to that of *Fabius*; and yet at the ſame time obſerved, that the archbiſhop places the birth of Chriſt ſeven hundred and forty-eight years diſtant from the foundation of *Rome*, in direct agreement with *Fabius*. What led us to that miſtake, was a paſſage in him, wherein he ſeems to follow *Varro*; but, upon a ſecond peruſal of that paſſage, we are fully convinced, that he there only gives us what, he conceived, was *Pliny*'s opinion. We muſt likewiſe beg our readers to correct the word *eighty-nine* in the beginning of l. 19. p. 659. vol. vi. which ought to be *ninety-two* (2).

(2) *Jac. Uſſ. annal. par. poſt. ad ann. Jul. period.* 4568. *p.* 87. *& annal. vet. teſt. ad ann. Jul. period.* 3966 *p.* 87. *edit. Lond.* 1650, & 1654.

SECT. V.

The hiſtory of the Carthaginians, *from the foundation of their city, to the firſt* Punic *war.*

Cauſe of Eliſa's *departure from* Tyre.

ELISA, known alſo by the name of *Dido*, fled from *Tyre* in the ſeventh year of the reign of *Pygmalion* king of that city. Her flight is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the cruel and inſatiable avarice of *Pygmalion*, who was her brother. This prince, in order to ſecure to himſelf the immenſe treaſures of his uncle *Sichæus*, who had married his ſiſter *Dido*, was the prieſt of *Hercules*, and, by virtue of that poſt, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, found means to deſtroy him. The manner in which this was effected, is differently related: *Virgil* will have it, that *Pygmalion* barbarouſly murdered his uncle at the altar; but *Euſtathius* and *Cedrenus* intimate, that he diſpatched him

him at a hunting-match, and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occaſion of his death. However, as *Sichæus* was well acquainted with the ſordid and avaricious temper of his nephew, he had, by way of precaution, buried his riches under ground; which, with the prudent and artful conduct of *Eliſa*, rendered abortive the tyrant's deſign. *Sichæus*, appearing to his diſconſolate widow in a dream, apprised her of his tragical exit, and adviſed her to fly immediately, in order to avoid the ſame fate. Upon this ſhe determined to make her eſcape, and carry off thoſe treaſures, which had prompted her brother to ſo inhuman an action; but, in order to this, ſhe judged it proper for ſome time to amuſe him, which ſhe did, by diſſembling her reſentment, and keeping up the appearance of an affection for him, till an opportunity offered of aſſembling her friends, and concerting with them the proper meaſures for ſpeedily abandoning *Tyre*. The principal of theſe were her brother *Barca*, and ſeveral ſenators, who, hating *Pygmalion*, and apprehending themſelves every moment in danger of being ſacrificed by a prince, who had broken through all the ties of nature and humanity, engaged to follow her at all adventures. To execute the deſign ſhe had formed the more effectually, ſhe applied to the king for veſſels to carry her, *Barca*, and their effects, to *Chartica* or *Chartaca*, a maritime town in his dominions, under the pretext of reſiding there. To this *Pygmalion* readily agreed, as imagining, that by ſuch a ſtep he ſhould become maſter of what had ſo long been the object of his moſt ardent deſires. *Eliſa*, being thus ſupplied with men and ſhips, weighed anchor; and being got into the ocean at a proper diſtance from *Tyre*, commanded her men to throw into the ſea ſome bags filled with ſand, which, ſhe told them, contained the wealth of her huſband *Sichæus*, and, in a doleful tone, intreated his manes to accept of thoſe riches as an oblation, which had been the cauſe of his deſtruction. Then, addreſſing herſelf to her companions, ſhe gave them to underſtand, that there was nothing terrible they might not fear from the tyrant's reſentment, for being inſtrumental in defeating his avaricious purpoſes, if ever they fell into his hands; by which means having fixed them more firmly in her intereſt, ſhe purſued her voyage, and got out of her brother's reach, before he was appriſed of her reſolution [a].

Pygmalion *prevented from purſuing* Eliſa.

Pygmalion, finding all his hopes thus defeated by his ſiſter's ſubtlety, and being grieved, that thoſe treaſures ſhould be ſnatched from him in a moment, which he thought himſelf to be ſure of, and which he had ſo long enjoyed in imagination, gave orders to fit out a fleet with all poſſible expedition, in order to purſue the fugitives; but he was diverted from this deſign by the intreaties of his mother, and the menaces of the inſpired college of vates, who threatened him with the indignation of the gods, if he offered to obſtruct in any manner the grand project *Eliſa* was gone upon [b].

Eliſa *touched firſt at* Cyprus.

The firſt place our heroine touched at was ſome port in the iſland of *Cyprus*, poſſibly *Salamis*, which was then in its infancy; ſince, according to *Virgil* and *Servius*, in conjunction with the *Arundelian* marbles, *Teucer* and *Mettinus*, *Eliſa*'s father, ſeized upon *Cyprus*, or at leaſt a part of it, not very long before, when the former of theſe built *Salamis*. Here ſhe met with a prieſt of *Jupiter*, who offered to attend her with his whole family, and partake of her future fortune; which ſhe readily accepted of. As this motion of the prieſt proceeded from an impulſe, or rather command, of the deity himſelf, ſhe looked upon it as a good omen, and ſettled the prieſthood of *Jupiter* in that family [c].

Cyprian *women proſtitute themſelves for dowries.*

It was a prevailing cuſtom in this iſland at the time of *Eliſa*'s arrival, for the maids to go on certain ſtated days, before marriage, to the ſea-ſide, there to look for ſtrangers that might poſſibly arrive on their coaſts, in order to proſtitute themſelves for gain, and thereby acquire a dowry. Out of theſe the *Tyrians* ſelected a certain number, *Juſtin* ſays eighty; and carrying them on board, found them very ſubſervient to their deſign of planting a new colony [d].

From

[a] Justin. l xviii. Tacit. annal: xvi. Tertul. in Pal. Sil. Ital l i. Appian. in Lib ſub init. Eustath. in Dionyſ. Afr. ut & ipſe Dionys. Herodian. l. v. Liv. xxxiv. Vel. Paterc. l i. Virgil. Æn i. & iv. Serv. in Virg. Æn. i. & iv. Georg. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 140. edit. Par. 1647. Joseph. antiq. l. viii. c. 13. cont. Apion. l. i. Solin. c. 30. & 27. edit. Salm. Vide & Salian. & Torniel. in annal. Petav. de doct. temp. l ix. c. 63. & rationar. temp. par. ii. l. ii. c. 13. Tatian. cont. Græc. Theophil. Antiochen apud Autolyc. l. iii. Tertul. apol. Clem. Alex. ſtrom. Straro, l. xvii. Plin. l. v. Ammian. Marcel. Plutarch. Eutrop. Flor. Oros. Zonar. Reinecc. hiſt. Jul. vol. i. & ii. Hendr. de rep. Carth. l. i. ſect. i. c. 1. [b] Justin. l. xviii. [c] Idem ibid. Virg. Æn. i. Serv. in loc. Apollodor. Newton's chronol. p. 65. [d] Justin. ubi ſupra.

a FROM hence they ſteered their courſe for the coaſts of *Africa*, and at laſt happily landed in the province called afterwards *Africa Propria*, not far from *Utica*, a *Tyrian* colony, and city of great antiquity; which we have already deſcribed. The inhabitants received their countrymen with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and giving them a moſt kind reception, adviſed them to build a city upon that ſpot, to which the fates had conducted them [e]. *She lands in* Africa.

IT was *Eliſa*'s firſt care, upon her arrival, to cultivate a good underſtanding with the natives, to which they were by no means, for any conſiderable time, averſe, on account of the advantages they perceived would naturally flow to them from an eſtabliſhed commerce and harmony betwixt the two nations. She then purchaſed a tract b of land of them, for her and her wearied *Tyrians* to ſettle upon. *Juſtin*, *Appian*, *Virgil*, *Euſtathius*, *Themiſtius*, &c. intimate, that the *Phœnicians* impoſed upon the *Africans*, when a bargain was made betwixt them, in the following manner: They deſired for their intended ſettlement only ſo much ground as an ox's hide would encompaſs. This requeſt the *Africans* at firſt laughed at; but were ſurpriſed, when, upon their granting it, they found *Eliſa* cut the hide into the ſmalleſt ſhreds, and with them ſurrounded a large extent of territory, on which ſhe built a citadel, from this incident called *Byrſa*. The learned, however, unanimouſly agree in exploding this fable, which ſeems to owe its origin either to the envy and malice of the *Romans*, or the vanity of the *Greeks*, who ridiculouſly affected to deduce every thing that favoured c of high antiquity from their own nation or language, though never ſo remote from them. *Appian* ſeems to inſinuate, that at firſt *Eliſa* met with ſome oppoſition from the natives; which may poſſibly be true, ſince it is certain an annual tribute for the ground the *Tyrians* poſſeſſed was, by their firſt agreement with the *Africans*, exacted from them, which they were obliged to pay for many years after [f]. *Cultivates a good underſtanding with the natives.*

THE neighbouring people, at firſt invited by the proſpect of lucre, and with this view repairing to the *Phœnician* ſettlement to ſell theſe foreigners the neceſſaries of life, in a ſhort time incorporated themſelves with them. Theſe inhabitants ſoon growing very numerous, *Eliſa* followed the advice of the *Utican* embaſſadors, who were ſent to congratulate her upon her happy arrival in the name of their ſtate; and d built a new city, or at leaſt much inlarged the old one, which could make no very conſiderable figure before. As the natives of the country, or *Aborigines*, were of the ſame ſentiments with the *Uticans* in this particular, and, as may reaſonably be preſumed, gave the *Tyrians* all neceſſary aſſiſtance, both in the building of their city, and peopling it afterwards, *Carthage* ſoon became a place of great fame, and demanded the reſpect of all its neighbours [g]. *Either builds a new city there, or inlarges an old one.*

WE are told by *Juſtin*, that, in digging for the foundations of the city, the workmen firſt found an ox's head, which was indeed a ſymbol of fertility of ſoil, but at the ſame time preſaged continual toil and perpetual ſervitude to the city. Upon this they removed to another ſpot, where, in digging, they diſcovered a e horſe's head, which they interpreted as a happier omen, portending the future martial genius of the inhabitants. *Euſtathius* adds, that the horſe's head had a palm-tree, or at leaſt a branch of palm, diſcovered with it; which they conſidered, without doubt, as an emblem of victory. This determined *Eliſa* to fix upon that ſpot for the ſituation of her city; and in alluſion to this it was, that the *Carthaginians* had, in after-ages, a horſe's head, or a horſe and a palm-tree, ſo frequently upon the reverſes of their coins [h] (C). *A horſe's head found whilſt the* Tyrians *were digging for the foundations of* Carthage.

THE principal names of *Carthage* have already been given in the firſt ſection of the hiſtory we are now upon. However, it may not be improper to remark, that the *Carthaginians* are ſometimes called *Sidonians*, and their city *Tyre*, by ancient authors. *Euſebius* ſeems to affirm, that its moſt ancient name was *Origo*; but as *Carthage* and its *Different names of* Carthage.

[e] Idem ibid. [f] JUSTIN. l. xviii. VIRG. Æn. i. EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. Afr. APPIAN. in Lib. ſub. init. THEMIST. orat. xxi. p. 260, 261. SERV. in Æn. i. LIV. l. xxxiv. DIONYS. in perieg. JUSTIN. l. xix. SIL. ITAL. l. i. Vide VOSS. th. gent. l. i. c. 32. BOCHART. Chan. &c. [g] VIRG. SERV. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. [h] VIRG. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. ISIDOR. l xv. c. 2. & l. ix. c. 2. EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. Afr. STEPH. BYZANT. de urb. ANTON. AUGUSTIN. dial. ant. 6. SUID. CÆL. RHODIGIN. ant. lect. l. xviii. c. 38. & BOCH. Chan. l. i.

(C) Some of theſe coins, particularly of the ſilver and gold ones, are of exquiſite workmanſhip nothing at all inferior to any of the *Greek* or *Roman*. They are found in the kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Algiers*, in thoſe parts of *Spain* the *Carthaginians* firſt poſſeſſed, and in *Sicily*. Numbers of them may be ſeen in *Aldrete*, *Paruta*, *Hoym*, and the cabinets of the curious.

its foundreſs are both mentioned in that paſſage; and as her name, *Eliſa* (D) or *Eliſſa*, imports the ſame thing in *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* as *Virago* in *Latin*, *Bochart* takes the word Ὀριγὼ or *Origo* to be a corruption of Ὀυιραγὼ or *Virago*; and conſequently ſuppoſes it to refer not to *Carthage*, but to *Eliſa* or *Dido*. As *Servius* aſſerts, though falſly, *Dido* in *Punic* to have anſwered to *Virago* in *Latin*, and it is very poſſible *Euſebius* might have been impoſed upon by this miſtake, we cannot help declaring ourſelves intirely of *Bochart*'s opinion. It is likewiſe denominated by *Stephanus Oenuſa*, or *Oenuſſa*; by *Euſtathius*, *Cadmea*; and by *Suidas*, *Aphrice*. According to ſome, the name *Tarſhiſh* in ſcripture ſometimes denotes *Carthage*; in one paſſage particularly this word ſeems ſo plainly to point at that city, that it is rendered by the *vulgate* verſion *Carthago*. *Theodoret* and others countenance this notion[i]. a b

Dido *ſought in marriage by* Iarbas, *a neighbouring prince.*

Every thing thus conſpiring with *Eliſa*'s views, and ſucceeding according to her deſire, by the coalition of different nations, the new city, in a ſhort time, grew wealthy and flouriſhing; which agreeable ſituation tempted *Iarbas*, a neighbouring prince, to endeavour at making himſelf maſter of it without any effuſion of blood. In order to which he deſired, that an embaſſy of ten of the moſt noble *Carthaginians* might be ſent him; which having obtained, he propoſed to them a marriage with *Eliſa* or *Dido*, for that, in all probability, was the name ſhe went by after her departure from her native country, threatening them with a war, in caſe of a refuſal. The embaſſadors, being afraid to deliver the meſſage, told their ſovereign with *Punic* ſubtlety, that *Iarbas* deſired ſome perſon might be ſent him, who was capable of civilizing and poliſhing himſelf and his *Africans*; but that there was no poſſibility of finding any of her ſubjects, who would leave his relations for the converſation of barbarians, who were as ſavage as the wildeſt beaſts. Here being reprimanded by the queen, ſhe aſked them, if they were not aſhamed to refuſe living in any manner, which might be beneficial to their country, to which they owed their very lives? They then opened to her the king's commands, adding, that, according to her own deciſion of the point, and to ſet her ſubjects a good example, ſhe ought to ſacrifice herſelf to her country's welfare. Being thus enſnared, ſhe called upon her huſband *Sichæus* with tears and lamentations, and at laſt anſwered, that ſhe would go where her own fate and that of her city called her. In the mean time, ſhe cauſed a pile to be erected in the fartheſt part of the city; and at the expiration of three months, which time ſhe required for the execution of her deſign, killing many victims, as tho' ſhe intended to ſacrifice to, and appeaſe the manes of her firſt huſband before her ſecond marriage, ſhe aſcended it. Then looking all around her upon the ſpectators, ſhe told them, ſhe was going to her huſband, as they had ordered her: and immediately, with a dagger ſhe had taken with her for that purpoſe, put a period to her days[k]. c d

Juſtin *and* Virgil *differ in their opinion of* Dido's *death.*

This is *Juſtin*'s account of the death of that princeſs, which, we need not tell our readers, is different from *Virgil*'s. *Cedrenus* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* favour *Virgil*'s notion, though they do not in all points agree with him. The former of theſe relates, that *Æneas* the *Phrygian*, after the deſtruction of *Troy*, came to *Africa*, and reſided ſome time with *Dido* there; but perceiving *Iarbas*, king of the *Numidians*, the *Mauritanians*, the *Maſſyli* or the *Gætulians*, to taken umbrage at this, he thought proper to retire, as dreading the effects of his power and reſentment. This paſſage of *Cedrenus*, whom we take to have been a very good compiler and collector of ancient hiſtory, ſeems greatly to ſupport Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s opinion, in relation to *Æneas* and *Dido*'s being cotemporaries, and likewiſe to evince a moſt material point, *viz.* e that

[i] Virg. & Sil. Ital. paſſ. Sal. de bell. Jugurth. Tibul. l. iv. ver. 137. Ovid. ep. her. D. Auguſt. de unit eccleſ. Ezek. xxvii. 12. Theodoret. Hieronym. Euseb. in chron. Boch. in præfat. Phal. & Chan l. i. [k] Justin. ubi ſup.

(D) According to the author of the *etymologicon magnum*, *Eliſa* or *Eliſſa* was the firſt name of this princeſs, which, as *Bochart* ſhews, may either be interpreted *divina virgo*, or, with the *Arabic* article prefixed, *virago*, καθ' ἐξοχήν. *Phavorinus*, in conjunction with the author of the *etymologicon* aforeſaid, will have the name *Dido* to have been given her after her arrival in *Africa*, as importing the *traveller*, or *wanderer*, to which *Bochart* agrees. *Euſtathius* abſurdly ſays, *Dido* ſignifies a *murderer of a huſband*; whereas *Eliſa* or *Eliſſa* will admit of ſuch an interpretation: and *Servius*, with as much impropriety, tranſlates *Dido virago*, the undoubted ſignification of *Eliſa* or *Eliſſa*. Many more conjectures about theſe words may be ſeen in *Bochart* and *Voſſius*, which it is not worth while to recite (3).

(3) *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24. & *l.* ii. *c.* 24. *Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Afr. Voſſ. idol. gent. l.* i. *c.* 32. *Serv. in Æn. Reinec. in hiſt. Jul. t.* 1, 2.

a that *Virgil* and *Trogus*, whom *Juſtin* epitomized, agree in their chronology. What Sir *Iſaac Newton* advances concerning *Dido*'s father *Mettinus* and *Teucer*'s ſeizing upon *Cyprus*, about the time of the *Trojan* war, renders *Virgil*'s chronology likewiſe more probable, than the generality of learned men are willing to allow. But this we ſhall juſt touch upon immediately [l].

Dido's character.

How long *Dido* reigned at *Carthage*, or when ſhe came to the violent death above-mentioned, we cannot take upon us to determine. What ſeems to be the beſt ſupported by ancient hiſtory is, that her brother *Barca* and ſiſter *Anna* attended her from *Tyre* to *Africa*; and that, by their committing every thing to her management and direction, it ſhould ſeem ſhe was a woman of an uncommon genius. This likewiſe
b appears from the artful manner in which ſhe impoſed upon her brother *Pygmalion* before her departure from *Tyre*, when, under the pretence of diverting her melancholy on account of her huſband's death, which, ſhe inſinuated, *Carthage* could not fail of perpetuating, ſhe had the addreſs to perſuade him, that her intention really was to retire to, and reſide at, *Chartaca*. The ſecrecy and prudence with which her grand enterprize was conducted, as well as the cunning device by which ſhe fixed even *Pygmalion*'s men in her intereſt, above-recited, indiſputably evince the ſame thing. That ſhe was a lady of moſt attractive charms, as well as a rare pattern of chaſtity, is atteſted by the beſt authors [m].

Macrobius *inconſiſtent with himſelf in relation to* Dido's *character.*

c *Macrobius* tells us, that *Virgil*'s relation of *Dido*'s amours with *Æneas*, and of her laying violent hands on herſelf at his departure from *Africa*, after he had debauched her, was univerſally eſteemed as fabulous in his age. This indeed we diſbelieve, but not upon *Macrobius*'s authority; for that author is inconſiſtent with himſelf in reſpect to *Dido*'s character. In one place he celebrates her temperance and chaſtity, which is exactly agreeable to the faith of hiſtory; whereas in another he makes her guilty of the greateſt intemperance, luxury, and profuſion at her entertainments; which, in our opinion, deſerves no credit at all, as being not only contrary to the general character of our princeſs, but likewiſe to the *Carthaginian* genius, as has been above
d obſerved. *Virgil*, as a *Roman*, we believe, in this particular did not pay the greateſt regard to truth, the antipathy betwixt his nation and the *Carthaginians* not permitting it; but notwithſtanding this, we cannot help imagining his chronology to be ſomething nearer the truth than is generally ſuppoſed, and that for the reaſons hinted above, as well as for the following one, which to us ſeems ſomething cogent, and which therefore we beg leave to tranſcribe from the excellent Sir *Iſaac Newton*: "The *Phœ-*
"*nicians*, after the death of *Melcartus*, ſays this incomparable author, built a temple
"to him in the iſland *Gades*, and adorned it with the ſculptures of the labours of
"*Hercules*, and of his *hydra*, and the horſes, to whom he threw *Diomedes*, king of
"the *Biſtones* in *Thrace*, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of
"*Teucer*, and the golden olive of *Pygmalion*, bearing *ſmaragdine* fruit; and by theſe
"conſecrated gifts of *Teucer* and *Pygmalion* you may know, that it was built in their
e "days." If theſe facts, and the reaſoning built upon them, be admitted, it will follow, that *Teucer* and *Pygmalion* were cotemporaries, and conſequently that *Æneas* and *Dido* might be ſo. Now, though we cannot pretend to aſſert, that this argument is demonſtrative, becauſe there is no abſolute neceſſity to ſuppoſe, that all theſe ornaments were brought into the temple at once, yet, conſidering what we have before offered from Sir *Iſaac Newton*, *Apollodorus*, *Servius*, and the marbles, in proof of *Teucer* and *Mettinus*'s being jointly concerned in the conqueſt of *Cyprus*, we cannot look upon it as void of a tolerable degree of probability [n].

A chaſm in the hiſtory of Carthage *for above three hundred years.*

How long monarchical government prevailed at *Carthage*, or what accidents befel this ſtate in its infancy, or even what tranſactions it was concerned in for ſeveral ages
f at firſt, we cannot inform our readers, ſince there is a chaſm in the *Carthaginian* hiſtory for above three hundred years after the tragical end of *Dido*. In general *Juſtin*, and he alone, gives us to underſtand, that *Carthage* was much agitated by civil diſſentions, and haraſſed with the plague during part of this period. It likewiſe appears from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, that this republic had got a ſtrong footing in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and made conſiderable acquiſitions elſewhere, before the date of any of thoſe tranſactions it bore a part in, the knowledge of which has reached us. *Thucydides* and *Herodotus* moreover put it beyond diſpute, that it was very formidable

by

[l] Cedren. ubi ſupra. Newton's chronol. p. 65, 66, &c. [m] Reinec. hiſt. Jul. t. 1. Sil. Italic. Just. ubi ſupra. Tertullian. Macrob. Auson. &c. [n] Macrob. ſaturn. l. v. c. 17. & l. vii. c. 1. Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. l. v. c. 1. apud Phot. Newton's chronol. p. 112, 113, &c.

Carthage very formidable by sea in the time of Cyrus *and* Cambyſes.

by ſea even in the time of *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*, and that it muſt have performed many brave exploits upon that element even before the reigns of thoſe puiſſant monarchs. But this is not to be wondered at, it not being poſſible for any nation endued with ſuch a genius, and poſſeſſed of ſo much power as the *Carthaginians* muſt have been famous for in very early ages, to have long remained in a ſtate of inaction, either by land or ſea. A flouriſhing ſtate of commerce naturally begets riches, and riches power; and, conſidering that ambition is a darling paſſion in the minds of great men, and almoſt inſeparable from power, and that war, for the moſt part, is the effect of ambition, it cannot well be doubted, but that our republic made many expeditions againſt, and incurſions into, the territories of its neighbours, long before the beginning of, what may be termed with reſpect to us, the *Carthaginian* hiſtorical period of time. Had the writings of *Philiſtus Syracuſanus*, *Ephorus*, *Timæus Siculus*, *Aratus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, the ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books of *Diodorus Siculus*, or any of the *Punic* hiſtorians, been now extant, we might have received ſufficient light from them in many material points relating to the firſt ages of *Carthage*; but all theſe have, for a long ſeries of generations, been no more. The *Punic* archives would alſo moſt certainly have ſet us right in all particulars of moment relating to the hiſtory we are now upon, had they been in being; but theſe the Roman *virtue, generoſity, greatneſs of ſoul, and love of truth, thought proper to deny poſterity, leſt they ſhould have given their minds a wrong bias, and been prejudicial to the cauſe of truth.* We are therefore obliged, tho' with great regret, to paſs over the tranſactions of the *Carthaginian* ſtate during the chaſm aforeſaid, as buried in oblivion, and proceed to continue this work in the beſt manner we can from thoſe pieces and fragments of antiquity that, through the injuries of time, have been handed down to us.

The Carthaginians, *in conjunction with the* Etruſcans, *defeated in a ſea-fight by the* Phocæans.

We have juſt hinted, that the *Carthaginians* were very powerful by ſea in the time of *Cyrus* and his ſon *Cambyſes*, not to ſay much earlier. This appears from ſeveral conſiderations, particularly from a naval engagement that happened between the united fleets of the *Carthaginians* and *Etruſcans* and that of the *Phocæans*, one of the moſt formidable nations in the world by ſea in *Cyrus*'s reign, wherein tho' the *Phocæans* got the victory, yet their whole fleet was either ſunk or diſabled; inſomuch, that they durſt not venture a ſecond engagement, but abandoned the iſland of *Cyrnus*, now *Corſica*, to the *Carthaginians* and *Etruſcans*. The *Phocæans* retired to *Rhegium*, and ſoon after to *Œnotria*, now *Ponza*, a ſmall iſland in the *Tyrrhenian* or *Etruſcan* ſea, over-againſt *Velia* in *Lucania*, which their anceſtors had firſt peopled; and the *Carthaginians*, with the *Etruſcans*, took quiet poſſeſſion of *Cyrnus*. *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* both take notice of this ſea-fight, as one of the moſt ancient to be met with in hiſtory. The *Carthaginian* and *Etruſcan* united fleets conſiſted of an hundred and twenty ſail, the moſt active part of which, we may ſuppoſe, was the *Carthaginian*, ſince the *Etruſcans* at that time did not make ſo great a figure by ſea; and the *Phocæan* of ſixty. *Herodotus* ſeems to ſneer the *Phocæans* upon their victory, as being in a manner ruined by it. According to *Thucydides*, the *Phocæans* built *Maſſilia*, now *Marſeilles*, ſome time near this period[o].

They reduce a good part of the iſland of Sicily.

Towards the concluſion of *Cyrus*'s reign, or that of his uncle *Cyaxares* the ſecond, as we have ſtated it, the *Carthaginians* carried on a war with the neighbouring *African* princes, wherein they obtained great advantages, which, according to *Juſtin*, were chiefly owing to the conduct and bravery of their general *Machæus* (E). Soon after the concluſion of this war, they ſent a great body of forces, with a powerful fleet, to *Sicily*, under the command of the ſame general, who reduced a good part of that iſland to their obedience. But notwithſtanding the happy ſituation of their affairs abroad, the author above-mentioned inſinuates, that they were much agitated by civil diſſentions at home, and afflicted with other evils, of which the peſtilence, that then made dreadful havock at *Carthage*, ſeems to have been the moſt terrible. This they attributed to the anger of the gods, and endeavoured to appeaſe them with human ſacrifices; nay, in order to render them more propitious to their city, they ſcrupled

[o] Herodot. l. i. Thucyd l. i. ſub init.

(E) This general's name, in ſome manuſcripts of *Juſtin*, is *Maleus*; in others *Machæus* or *Machœus*. *Oroſius* calls him *Mazeus*; and *Gravius*, *Malchus*. *Voſſius* likewiſe ſeems to prefer the laſt to the others; but offers no ſolid argument for this preference. We beg leave therefore to follow *Reineccius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, and *Hendreich*, who chuſe *Machæus*, notwithſtanding many of our late editions of *Juſtin* have *Maleus*.

a ſcrupled not to offer up their children themſelves on this melancholy occaſion. This deteſtable practice, ſo contrary to the dictates of humanity, and all the tender impulſes of nature, inſtead of producing the deſired effect, incenſed the gods ſtill more againſt them. In conſequence of which, according to *Juſtin*'s obſervation, their arms were attended afterwards with ill ſucceſs, though they had before been ſo fortunate in *Sicily*, (which, by the way, proves their ſettlement in that iſland to have been coeval with, if not prior to, the beginning of the *Perſian* empire) for, immediately after the concluſion of the *Sicilian* war, tranſporting their forces into the iſland of *Sardinia*, they intended nothing leſs than making an abſolute conqueſt of it; but the diſpleaſure of the gods now purſuing them, they received a notable defeat here from b the *Sardi*, in which above half of their army was cut off. Enraged at ſo many diſaſters, inſtead of endeavouring to diſcover the true cauſe of them, they baniſhed their general *Machæus*, with the remainder of the army under his command. That commander, covered with glory and victory before the laſt unhappy expedition to *Sardinia*, could not but highly reſent ſuch ungrateful, as well as inhuman, treatment, eſpecially as, by his conduct and bravery, he had reduced a great part of the iſland of *Sicily* to the obedience of the *Carthaginians*, and greatly extended their frontiers in *Africa*. Firſt therefore he ſends to *Carthage* in an amicable manner, begging the ſenate not to impute to him and the troops the misfortunes that had befallen them, but to permit them to return home quietly; adding withal, that, in caſe of a refuſal, they c would do themſelves juſtice by force of arms. But neither this friendly remonſtrance, nor the menace annexed to it, making any impreſſion on the ſenate, after waiting in vain ſome days for an anſwer, they went on board their ſhips, and advanced with great expedition towards the city. As ſoon as they had inveſted it, they appealed to the gods above for the purity of their intentions, and declared in the preſence of gods and men, that their deſign was not to hurt their fellow-citizens, but only to demonſtrate to them what wrong ſentiments they had entertained of their valour, when they attributed the loſs above-mentioned to a want of bravery in the troops; whereas it ought to be aſcribed to the caprice of fortune. This not availing, after they had cut off all communication betwixt the city and the continent, they beſieged it in form, d and ſoon reduced it to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. The *Carthaginians*, involved in theſe deplorable circumſtances, began now to reflect upon their paſt folly and ingratitude; but how to extricate themſelves out of their preſent difficulties, was the grand queſtion. In the mean time, *Cartalo*, the general's ſon, arrived in the city from *Tyre*, and, had matters taken a right turn, might have had a conference with his father, and poſſibly have diſpoſed him to an accommodation. This *Cartalo* had been ſent by his countrymen to *Tyre*, with the tenths of an immenſe quantity of plunder taken by his father in *Sicily*, intended as a donation or offering to the *Tyrian Hercules*; and paſſing by the camp in his return home, was ordered by his father to come to him immediately; but this command, for the preſent, he refuſed complying with, e under pretence, that he muſt perform the public offices of religion, before he could give an inſtance of filial duty. *Machæus* was far from being pleaſed with this anſwer; however, for the preſent he took care to conceal his reſentment, as not daring to do any thing that might look like the leaſt violence offered to religion. Soon after this incident, having obtained leave for that purpoſe, he came out of the city to the camp, dreſſed in his pontifical robes; for he was, as it ſhould ſeem, the prieſt of *Hercules*. His father, far from being ſtruck with ſuch a pompous appearance, taking him in private, addreſſed himſelf to him in the following terms: "Haſt thou the aſſurance, "moſt abandoned wretch, to appear in this rich and ſplendid habit before ſo many "miſerable citizens, and a camp overwhelmed with woe? What mean theſe enſigns f "of peace and felicity at this juncture, but to inſult all of us? Was there no other "place for thee to diſplay thy pride and haughtineſs in, but this ſpot of ground, "which is the ſcene of thy father's miſery and diſgrace? How came you ſo lately "to deſpiſe, with ſuch an inſolent air, the command, I will not ſay of your father, "but of your general? And what are theſe gorgeous robes but the fruit of my "victories? Since therefore you have conſidered me not as a father, but an exile, "I, in return, will behave to you not as a father, but a general." And he was as good as his word; for immediately ordering a high croſs to be erected, he had him crucified thereon in his ſacred veſtments, in the ſight of all the citizens. Some days after, the city ſurrendered; when convening the ſenate and people, he complained of g the injury and indignity offered him, and excuſed the hoſtile manner in which he had behaved

Incenſe the gods by ſacrificing children to them.

Baniſh their general Machæus,

Who beſieges Carthage,

And crucifies his ſon Cartalo.

The city ſurrenders.

behaved towards them, as not being the effect of choice, but neceſſity. He, for the preſent, made no alterations in the eſtabliſhed form of government; but contented himſelf with putting to death ten of the ſenators, by whoſe advice the late violent reſolutions againſt him and the army had been taken ° (F).

° JUSTIN. & OROS. ubi ſupra.

ALL

(F) In this note we ſhall endeavour to give ſome account of crucifixion, which was a capital puniſhment uſed amongſt the *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, *Jews*, *Africans*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*. According to *Fagius*, it was not at firſt in uſe amongſt the *Jews*; and indeed this appears from the law of *Moſes* itſelf. The learned *Caſaubon* concurs with him herein, though *Baronius* and *Lipſius* maintain the contrary opinion. *Sigonius* confounds this with hanging or ſuſpenſion, as does father *Calmet* in many inſtances, particularly thoſe of the worſhippers of *Baal-peor*, and the king of *Ai*, who were hung up alive. The *Talmudiſts* refer it to ſtoning or lapidation. There were three different ſorts of croſſes erected for the execution of malefactors. The firſt was the *crux decuſſata*, in the form of the letter X, as St. *Andrew*'s croſs is pictured. The ſecond the *crux commiſſa*, like the letter T. The third the *crux immiſſa*, when one piece of wood was tranſverſely faſtened to another in ſuch a manner, as to cut it at right angles at ſome diſtance from the top, ſo †. Such, according to ancient medals, and the tradition of the chriſtian church in all ages, was our bleſſed Saviour's croſs. Crucifixion was the puniſhment appointed for ſlaves and the ſcum of the people, when guilty of the moſt enormous crimes, and was therefore called *ſervile ſupplicium*; the freemen, or perſons of diſtinction, in ſuch caſes, falling by the ax or ſword. The criminals, before execution, were taken either from home or the prætorium amongſt the *Romans*, and ſcourged in a moſt cruel manner. Sometimes they were tied to the croſs, as we find our bleſſed Saviour was, and always obliged to carry it, or part of it. When they arrived at the place of execution, they were ſtripped naked, and nailed to the croſs, either lying on the ground, or erect. Their hands and feet were firſt tied to it with cords, and afterwards nailed with three or four nails, as the executioner pleaſed, beginning with the right hand or foot, and proceeding from thence to the left. Upon the piece of wood riſing above the arms of the croſs, an inſcription was poſted, ſpecifying the crime for which the malefactors ſuffered, though ſometimes, inſtead of this, the crier proclaimed it to the ſpectators attending the execution. In *Judæa*, the thighs of the malefactors were broken, in caſe they were not dead by ſun-ſet; becauſe the *Jews*, by their law, were obliged to take them from the croſs at that time, which the *Romans*, their governors, permitted them to do. By the *Roman* laws, the bodies remained on the croſs, till they were intirely conſumed, as our notorious offenders do now upon gibbets; nevertheleſs the Judge, or ſupreme magiſtrate, had the power of giving the bodies to friends or relations, in order to be interred. On the emperor's birth-day, or ſuch-like feſtivals, they were frequently taken down from the croſs, and buried, without the interceſſion of friends. The *Jews* conſtantly buried the bodies of crucified malefactors, in conformity to their law, though the pagans left them expoſed on the croſs as aforeſaid. According to ſome authors, the *patibulum*, or gallows, and the ancient croſs, were the ſame, though *Iſidorus* makes them different. He calls the tranſverſe piece of wood *patibulum*, and the erect one *ſtipes* and *crux*. Afterwards *patibulum* and *furca*, the gallows, were the ſame, and the puniſhment on them was looked upon as much milder and leſs ignominious, than that on the croſs; for on the gallows the criminals ſoon expired, whereas on the croſs they continued a long time in torture. Sometimes offenders ſuffered death on the croſs with their heads downwards, as St. *Peter*; and ſometimes with their thighs as well as arms expanded, in like manner as St. *Andrew* is ſuppoſed to have been crucified. The croſſes were made of the hardeſt wood, frequently of oak, as ſome believe our Saviour's was. The places of execution were either near the public roads and high-ways, or on the top of ſome mountain or eminence, that the bodies might be ſeen by all people, and thereby a terror ſtruck into them. If the *crux* and *patibulum* were originally the ſame, crucifixion prevailed at *Rome* in the time of the kings. The perſons condemned to be crucified, or deſerving it, were called by the *Romans cruciarii*. To be crucified was a mark of great infamy to ſoldiers, officers, and men of quality. This puniſhment was ſo common amongſt the *Romans* in the times of the republic, and afterwards, that pains, afflictions, troubles, and unproſperous affairs, were called *croſſes*, and the verb *cruciare* frequently denoted the infliction of all ſorts of chaſtiſements, and pains of body and mind.

Friends and relations generally attended the execution, in order to beg the bodies of the ſupreme magiſtrate or commanding officer, at leaſt in *Judæa*. When this did not happen, parties of ſoldiers were poſted near them, to prevent their being carried off. *Conſtantine* aboliſhed crucifixion, thinking enormous villains, and perſons guilty of the moſt flagrant crimes, unworthy of ſuffering death in the ſame manner our bleſſed Saviour did, and introduced hanging in its ſtead. The *Jews* did not permit the relations of the perſons executed to place their kinſmen in the tombs belonging to their families, till their fleſh had been firſt conſumed in the public ſepulchres; then they were allowed to remove their bones into private ſepulchres. It was perhaps for this reaſon that *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* deſired leave from *Pilate* to lodge the body of *Jeſus* in his own tomb, that he might not be thrown into the public burying-place appointed for criminals (6).

The *Carthaginians*, contrary to the practice of other nations, crucified their nobility, ſuffetes, and even the generals of their armies themſelves, however abſolute they might be in the field, if their enterprizes were not attended with ſucceſs. The croſſes of malefactors amongſt them ſeem to have been higher or lower, in proportion to the quality of the perſon ſuffering, and the heinouſneſs of the crime for which they ſuffered. If any notorious offender of diſtinction eſcaped juſtice in his life-time, his body, after death, was expoſed on a croſs, in order to deter others from committing the ſame crime, eſpecially when it merited the moſt ſevere and ignominious

(6) *Paulus Fagius ad Deut.* xxi. xxii. *Caſaub. exerc.* xvi. *num.* 77. *Baron. in annal. Juſt. Lipſ. de cruc. Sigon. de rep. Hebræor. l.* vi. *c.* 8. *Liv. & Senec. paſſ. Lucian. Plut. Plaut. Petron. in ſatyric. paſſ. Apul. de aſin. aur. l.* iii. *Joſeph. l.* v. *c.* 32. *B. Gerhardi harmon. evang. hiſt. paſſ. Chriſt. c* 19. *Philo in Flac. Cic.* 5. *in Ver. & Tuſc. quæſt. Joſeph And. Quenſtedius de ſepult. vet. c.* 3. *Durand. variar. l.* ii. *c.* 15. *Cerda in adverſar. Iſidor. l.* i. *Gretſer. & Joſeph. Laurent. de torment. c.* 7. *Aur. Vict. in Conſtant. Sozom. in hiſt. eccleſ. Vide & alios quamplurimos apud Calmet. in dict. bibl. ſub voc.* croix.

He endeavours to introduce arbitrary power; but his design being discovered, he receives condign punishment.

a ALL things in *Carthage* being thus set upon the ancient foot, the republic enjoyed some repose. But this was not of long continuance; for *Machæus*, puffed up with the late advantages he had gained, endeavoured to subvert the constitution, and introduce arbitrary power. But his pernicious views being happily discovered, his scheme was defeated, and he received the punishment due to so great a crime; upon which event *Justin* makes this reflection: "He was justly rewarded for the cruelty "he had been guilty of both to his son and his country [p]."

The Phœnicians *refuse to assist* Cambyses *against the* Carthaginians.

WE are told by *Herodotus*, that *Cambyses*, in the sixth year of his reign, resolved upon an expedition against the *Carthaginians*; but that he was forced to drop his pro-
b ject, by reason the *Phœnicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him therein, because the *Carthaginians* were their descendants. This is a plain proof, that the whole naval power of the *Persian* empire at that time, without the assistance of the *Tyrians*, was not able to cope with the *Carthaginians* [q].

The Carthaginians *conclude their first treaty with the* Romans.

IN the year after the regifuge, the *Carthaginians* sent embassadors to *Rome*, and concluded a treaty with the *Romans*. They were the first nation the *Romans* were acquainted with out of *Italy*, and with whom they entered into an alliance. This treaty chiefly related to navigation and commerce, and was to be seen, in *Polybius*'s time, on the base of a column, in the ancient *Roman* language, which, as that writer tells us, was so different from what was spoken in his time, that those who were most conversant in the *Latin* tongue, could not, without much study and labour,
c understand it. As in the preceding volume we have inserted this treaty as transmitted to us by the *Greek* historian, it will be intirely unnecessary to repeat it here. However, we shall beg leave to make four or five short observations upon it [r].

Some observations upon it.

FIRST, This treaty was signed twenty-eight years before *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, and gives us to understand, that the whole island of *Sardinia*, and part of that of *Sicily*, were then subject to the *Carthaginians*.

SECONDLY, It appears, that the *Carthaginians* were very well acquainted with the coasts of *Italy*, had visited several of the petty nations seated there, and even made some attempts upon them, before this period.

THIRDLY, It is evident, that this nation was tolerably versed in the art of forti-
d fication, and made it a common practice to build forts or castles upon their making a descent in any country; since they are prohibited by one article of this treaty to erect any forts whatsoever in the country of *Latium*, even in case they at any time invaded it in a hostile manner.

FOURTHLY, This treaty makes it manifest, that the *Carthaginians* were particularly careful to exclude the *Romans* from all the territories subject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though, even at that time, they took umbrage at the growing power of the *Romans*. They seemed, even in these early times, to harbour in their bosoms the secret seeds of the jealousy and diffidence, which were one day to burst out in long and cruel wars, and which nothing could
e extinguish, but the ruin of one of these two most potent republics.

FIFTHLY, The *Carthaginians*, according to *Polybius*, would not allow the *Romans* to sail beyond the promontory called the *Fair promontory*, lying to the north of *Carthage*, lest they should discover the fruitfulness of the land, and the happy situation of the cities, and consequently should be tempted to make a settlement there. This, it must be owned, was a wise precaution, and shewed, that the *Carthaginians* were not only a people of foresight, but likewise acquainted with the enterprising genius of the *Romans*, long before they came to blows with them.

Mago succeeds Machæus in all his high posts;

THE republic being delivered from the imminent danger that threatened it in the manner above related, chose *Mago* to succeed *Machæus* in all the high posts he filled.
f If we may judge of *Mago*'s capacity from the good effects of his administration, he was a person of most consummate merit and abilities. *Justin* tells us, that he was the first

[p] JUST. ubi supra. [q] HERODOT. l. iii. [r] POLYB. l. iii. p. 245, 246, 247. edit. Gronov.

nominious punishment. Of this *Hanno*, in *Justin*, not to mention others, is a pregnant instance (7). We must not omit observing, that the *Greek* word σαυρὶς, which signifies a *cross*, is put often for a piece of wood only fixed in the ground, by the *Latins* called *palus* or *vallum*. Our readers will find a fuller account of this punishment in the authors referred to in this note.

(7) *Hendr. in repub. Carthag. l.* ii. *sect.* 1. *c.* 5. *& Justin. l.* xxi. *c.* 24..

first who introduced military discipline amongst the *Carthaginian* soldiery; that in his time the dominions of *Carthage* were much inlarged, its commerce rendered more extensive, its riches increased, its military glory raised to a high pitch, virtue alone countenanced both in the army and state; in short, that he left his country in a most flourishing condition. His two sons, *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, succeeded him in all his high employments [a].

And is succeeded by his two sons, Asdrubal *and* Hamilcar; *Who command the army appointed to act against* Sardinia.

Asdrubal and *Hamilcar* being adorned with the same virtues that rendered their father so conspicuous, the people of *Carthage* thought they could not do better than confer upon them the command of the army that was to act against *Sardinia*; which island, it seems, had then revolted from them. Accordingly they landed their forces here, and for some time caried on a war against the *Sardi*; but with what success, is not said: only we are told, that towards the close of it *Asdrubal* was mortally wounded, by which melancholy accident the intire command of the forces devolved upon his brother. The *Carthaginians* made great lamentation for this general, as indeed they had good reason; for he had been eleven times one of the suffetes, and discharged the duties of that high function with great applause, and in his military capacity had triumphed no less than four times; nay, the enemy themselves looked upon his death as a blow given the *Carthaginians* equivalent to the cutting off of their whole army [b].

The Carthaginians *attempt to shake off the* African *yoke; but do not meet with success.*

Somewhere near this period, the *Carthaginians* had a mind to shake off the *African* yoke, that is, to discontinue the tribute, which, by their original contract with that people, they were obliged to pay; in order to which they declared war against them [c]. The *Africans* having justice on their side, success attended their arms; and, notwithstanding the power of their enemies, a peace was concluded to their advantage, the principle article of the treaty being, that the tribute at first imposed upon them, for the ground on which their city stood, should be continued [d].

Darius Hystaspis *sends an embassy to* Carthage, *inviteing the people of that city to enter into an alliance with him against the* Greeks.

About this time, *Darius Hystaspis*, king of *Persia*, sent an embassy to *Carthage*, requiring the people of that city to abstain from human sacrifices, and eating dogs flesh; to burn their dead, and not bury them, as had always been the practice in their territories; and lastly, to furnish him with a body of auxiliary forces to serve in the war he was going to declare against *Greece*, for which he was then making vast preparations. Every thing was complied with, at least in appearance, for some time, till all apprehensions of feeling his resentment were vanished, except the last article, which the *Carthaginians* desired to be excused from paying regard to, because all their troops were then otherwise employed. *Justin* insinuates, that this monarch laid his commands upon the *Carthaginians* on this occasion; but this we can scarce believe, since it does not appear from history, that *Carthage* was ever subject, or even tributary, to the *Persians*; besides, this author, from whom the particulars here mentioned are drawn, affirms *Darius* to have sent embassadors to *Carthage*; which is a plain intimation, that the people of that city were not his subjects. That the *Carthaginians*, and consequently the *Phœnicians*, buried their dead anciently, may be collected from hence; but this is so clear from scripture, that it stands in no need of any other testimony to support it. *Justin* likewise here observes, that the *Carthaginians* at this juncture were much embroiled with their neighbours; which seems to suggest, that either the war with the *Sardi* and *Africans* above-mentioned, or some other, was then carried on. It is no wonder *Darius* should apply to the people of *Carthage* for assistance against the *Greeks*, since both the *Persians* and *Carthaginians* looked upon that nation as their common enemy.

Some few years afterwards, the *Greeks* of *Sicily*, being extremely harassed by the *Carthaginians*, solicited *Leonidas* to send some *Lacedæmonian* forces to their relief [u]. From *Herodotus* it appears, that they could not obtain their request; but that, however, *Gelon*, the tyrant of *Syracuse*, was so happy as to preserve his own dominions, and even to inlarge them. From the prodigious forces with which the *Carthaginians* invaded *Sicily* almost immediately after, it is probable they did not sustain any very considerable loss in that war. It cannot be inferred from *Herodotus*, as we formerly imagined, that the *Carthaginians* were driven out of *Sicily* by *Gelon* at this time; but only that the tyrant gained some advantages over them, extended his frontiers, and supported himself without the assistance of the *Greeks*, as the passage referred to implies. It is rather probable from thence, that both parties in the main kept what they were in possession of before the beginning of the war, though the *Carthaginians* might lose some particular

Gelon *gains some advantages over the* Carthaginians *in* Sicily.

[a] Justin. l. xix. sub init. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. [u] Herodot. l. vii.

a particular districts, especially since, according to *Justin*, there was no considerable, much less decisive, action in it. The excellent character *Herodotus* has given us of *Hamilcar*, and the high encomium he has passed upon that general's conduct, seem likewise to determine in favour of our present opinion [z].

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Carthaginians*, by reason of the various wars they were then engaged in, could not supply *Darius* with any succours against the *Greeks*, as has been just observed; yet it appears extremely probable from history [a], that an offensive and defensive league was made betwixt these two powers towards the close of that prince's reign. At least it is most certain, that an alliance was formed between *Darius*'s successor *Xerxes* and the state of *Carthage*, not many years after the *Persian*
b embassy above-mentioned was sent to that city. By the treaty concluded with *Xerxes*, the *Carthaginians* were to invade *Sicily* with all their forces, and endeavour to drive the *Greeks* from thence, as well as the continent of *Italy*, whilst that prince should march in person with the whole strength of the *Persian* empire against *Greece* itself. But of this more hereafter [b].

BEFORE we enter directly upon the transactions of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, we shall beg leave to give a short account of the first footing this nation got in *Spain*. We are no-where told in history precisely when this happened; nevertheless there is good reason to believe, from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Justin*, that it was very early, and before the times we are now speaking of. The former of these authors asserts, that
c that the great nerve of the *Carthaginian* power were the mines of *Spain*; that by them they were enabled to equip such powerful fleets, and bring such formidable armies into the field; nay, that by their assistance they made such great conquests in *Sicily* and *Africa*. Hence 'tis apparent, that the first *Carthaginian* settlement in *Spain* must have long preceded, not only the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Darius*, but even that of *Cyrus* himself. But this is still rendered more evident by *Justin*, who intimates, that this happened when the city of *Gades*, now *Cadiz*, was but of late standing, or even in its infancy. The neighbouring *Spaniards*, finding this new city beginning to flourish, attacked it with all their forces; insomuch, that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the *Carthaginians* to their aid. Both of them being originally colonies from
d *Tyre*, the *Carthaginians* readily granted their request; and furnishing them with powerful succours, not only repulsed the *Spaniards*, but likewise made themselves masters of almost the whole province in which the new city stood [c].

THIS happy beginning made that ambitious nation entertain thoughts of subduing the whole country, to which they were also strongly excited by the rich mines above-mentioned. 'Tis probable they could not push their conquests far at first, because they had there to do with very warlike nations, who defended themselves with great courage and resolution. It appears from the accounts of *Livy* and *Polybius*, that the greatest part of *Spain* remained unsubdued till the wars of *Hamilcar*, *Asdrubal*, and *Hannibal*. Nay, 'tis very probable the *Carthaginians* could never have intirely re-
e duced so many provinces there, as *Strabo* observes, had all the *Spaniards* formed but one state, or mutually assisted one another. But as every canton, every people, were intirely detached from their neighbours, and had not the least correspondence with them, they all by degrees fell a prey to the common enemy.

Greatest part of Spain *remained unsubdued till the time of* Hannibal.

WE are told by *Diodorus Siculus*, as has been taken notice of in the chronological table, that the *Carthaginians* planted a colony in the island *Ebusus* or *Eresus*, now *Yvica*, on the coast of *Spain*, an hundred and sixty years after the foundation of their city. The city *Eresus*, the capital of the island, built by this colony, was surrounded with a good wall, and had a commodious harbour for ships. The houses in it were for the most part built in an elegant taste, and inhabited by a variety of
f barbarous nations, as *Diodorus* calls them; but the most numerous of these were the *Phœnicians* or *Carthaginians*. 'Tis highly probable therefore, that about this time the *Balearic* islands, at present known by the names of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, were likewise either planted or reduced by the same people. This can scarce be doubted, if we consider, that the name itself is *Phœnician* or *Punic*; that *Ebusus* is but seven hundred stadia, *i. e.* not an hundred miles, distant from the *Balearic* islands; that the *Carthaginians* possessed these islands from so remote an antiquity, that their first arrival here is prior to every thing thing related of them by any historian now extant, except their peopling the island *Ebusus*; and that, according to *Vitruvius*, *Ebusus* was

The Carthaginians *plant a colony in the island* Ebusus, *or* Eresus, *now* Yvica.

[z] HERODOT. l. vii. JUSTIN. l. xix. [a] JUSTIN. l. xix. [b] DIODOR. SIC. l. xi. c. 1, 2.
[c] DIOD. SIC. l v. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. xliv. sub fin.

was reckoned to belong to the *Balearic* islands, which 'tis very natural to suppose. a
Now as we learn from *Justin*, that the first expedition the *Carthaginians* made to *Spain*
was in order to assist the new city of *Gades* (A) above-mentioned; and as the *Carthagi-*
nian fleet sailing from *Carthage* to *Gades* easily might, nay, almost naturally would,
take *Ebusus* and the other *Balearic* islands, in its way, there is pretty good reason to
believe, that *Gades* was succoured, and *Ebusus*, with the other *Balearic* islands, planted
or reduced much about the same time. The particular periods likewise, in which *Justin*
and *Diodorus* have related these events to have happened, seem nearly to correspond;
which in some measure confirms our opinion. Let this be admitted, and it will follow,
that the *Carthaginians* made their first descent in *Spain* about an hundred and sixty
years after the building of their city, which we apprehend to be one of the most early b
foreign transactions they were concerned in. Farther, since *Carthage* was so potent
when *Gades* was in its infancy, we must suppose the former to have been at least eighty
or an hundred years older than the latter; and if so, *Dido* might have founded her
city not far from the time of the *Trojan* war, since, according to *Velleius*, *Gades* was
built by the *Tyrians* about that number of years after the destruction of *Troy*. This
is an additional argument in favour of what Sir *Isaac Newton* has advanced as to the
time of that destruction, and seems to carry with it an air of probability. As to
Velleius's assertion, that *Gades* was more ancient than *Carthage*, he is plainly refuted
by *Diodorus* and *Justin*, and the reason of the thing; neither had he asserted this, had
it not been in consequence of an hypothesis. The *Romans* in his time generally c
followed the technical chronology of *Eratosthenes*, supposing it to be true: *Velleius*
finding therefore in some good author, that *Gades* was absolutely affirmed to be built
by the *Tyrians* eighty or an hundred years after the *Trojan* war; and by the *Punic*
records, that *Carthage* was betwixt two and three hundred years later than that war,
according to the artificial chronology of *Eratosthenes*, which he took for granted was
true; he thence concluded, that *Gades* was older than *Carthage*. But that *Eratosthe-*
nean chronology is now by some very learned men believed to have placed the de-
struction of *Troy* near three hundred years too high; and if so, no great stress is to
be laid upon it. *Velleius*'s authority therefore, when he asserts the city of *Gades* to
have been built about eighty or an hundred years after the *Trojan* war, depends upon d
some good author, as is plain from *Justin* compared with *Virgil*, *Servius*, *Apollodorus*,
and the marbles; but when he makes it older than *Carthage*, upon the chronology
of *Eratosthenes*, which cannot be intirely relied upon, particularly in the point
before us, as appears from *Justin*, *Diodorus*, and others; in the first case therefore
it is pretty widely different from what it is in the other. *Justin* clearly intimates,
that the inhabitants of the island of *Gades* had a temple there sacred to *Hercules*, be-
fore the city was built; so that nothing can be inferred from that temple's being
erected either about or immediately after the time of the *Trojan* war, in prejudice
of what has been advanced; which yet we are far from positively insisting upon as e
matter of fact, but only propose it to our readers as a point deserving farther consi-
deration. On this occasion it may not be improper to remind our readers, that,
according to the common computation, *Troy* was taken the twenty-fourth day
of the month *Thargelion*, or *April*, 1184 years before Christ; whereas Sir *Isaac New-*
ton places it 904 years only before the commencement of the christian æra [d].

Another

[d] Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. Vitruv. Justin. ubi sup. Vell. Paterc. l. i. sub init. Newton's chronol. p. 3, 66, 112, &c.

(A) It appears from the word *Gadir* or *Gaddir*, the true *Phœnician* or *Punic* name of *Cadiz*, that the city received its name from the island on which it was seated, and therefore that the *Tyrians* were in possession of it some time before they built the city. For *Gadir* properly signifies an inclosure, or spot of ground separated from all other tracts, as this island was by the sea. It likewise denotes a fence or mound, as this island was doubtless considered by the *Phœnicians*, after their long and fatiguing voyages, against the rage and fury of the sea. According to *Strabo*, the *Tyrians* first sailed to this island a considerable time after *Hercules* was deified; and made several fruitless expeditions, at considerable distances of time, before they could settle upon it; which, in conjunction with what has been advanced by *Philostratus*, renders it highly probable, that the city was, at least, of as late a foundation as we have supposed. The author of the *etymologicon* indeed insinuates it to have been built by *Archaleus*, the son of *Phœnix*, which will carry it back to a very remote antiquity; but this favours so much of fable, that but little credit is to be given to it. We shall only at present farther observe, that *Cadiz* and *Tarteſſus* were frequently mistaken for one another. A particular description and history of this city may be expected from us, when we come to the history of *Spain* (1).

(1) *Strab. l.* iii. *Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. l.* v. *c.* 1. *apud Phot. & Newton's chronol. p.* 112, 113. *Sallust. in fragment. ex hist. l.* ii. *Festus Avienus in or. marit. Plin. Arrian. &c. apud Bochart. in Chan. l.* i *c.* 34. *Solin. Isidor. Hesych. apud. eund. &. Liv. l.* xxviii.

a ANOTHER motive to the *Carthaginians* to make themſelves maſters of *Spain*, was the great number of brave recruits found in that country. The *Spaniards* were valiant, eaſily diſciplined, and capable of enduring all kinds of labour and fatigue. With ſuch immenſe treaſure therefore as they annually drew from thence, and ſuch bodies of the beſt ſoldiers as were continually formed there for their ſervice, 'tis no wonder the *Carthaginians* ſhould make ſuch prodigious efforts, as we learn from hiſtory they did, to enſlave all their neighbours [e].

Soldiers from Spain *one great nerve of the* Carthaginian *power.*

As *Diodorus Siculus* has given us a deſcription of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the *Balearic* iſlands, *Corſica*, &c. in the ſame chapter, we think this authorizes us to ſpeak a word or two here concerning the firſt *Carthaginian* ſettlement in the iſland laſt-mentioned. *Sar-*
b *dinia*, as has been intimated above, was in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, and had been ſo for ſome time, when the firſt treaty was concluded between them and the *Romans*. *Corſica* likewiſe, we have reaſon to imagine, was poſſeſſed by them either wholly, or in part, in very ancient times. This iſland was called by the *Greeks Cyrnus*; by the *Romans* and natives *Corſica*, had a beautiful large harbour, according to *Diodorus*, named *Syracuſium*, together with two conſiderable cities, *Calaris*, or *Aleria*, built by the *Phocæans*, and *Nicæa* by the *Etruſcans*. Notwithſtanding the defeat of the *Carthaginian* and *Etruſcan* fleets by the *Phocæans*, in the reign of *Cyrus* above-mentioned, the victory coſt the latter ſo dear, that they were obliged to abandon *Cyrnus* to the former. And we are farther informed by *Herodotus*, that the *Cyrnians*,
c *i. e.* the *Corſicans*, were one of thoſe nations, out of which the *Carthaginians* formed that vaſt army, with which they invaded *Sicily* in the days of *Gelon*. Theſe, to omit many others, that might eaſily be produced, are ſufficient proofs, that the ſtate of *Carthage* had a footing, at leaſt, in *Corſica* in very remote times [f].

First ſettlement of the Carthaginians *in* Corſica.

THE ſmall iſlands of *Melita* and *Gaulos*, now *Malta* and *Gozo* or *Gozzo*, being conveniently ſituated for trade, and having commodious ports, were indiſputably in ſubjection likewiſe to the *Carthaginians*. It appears from *Diodorus*, that theſe iſlands were at firſt peopled either by the *Carthaginians*, or their anceſtors the *Phœnicians* [g].

Malta *and* Gozo *anciently ſubject to* Carthage.

WE have above obſerved, that part of the iſle of *Sicily* was ſubject to the ſtate
d of *Carthage* before the beginning of the *Perſian* empire; but when the *Carthaginians* firſt carried their arms thither, for want of ſufficient light from hiſtory, we cannot take upon us to determine. M. *Rollin* affirms *Xerxes* to have been the firſt who prompted that people to attempt conquering the iſland at preſent under conſideration, which is contrary to the faith of hiſtory; and immediately after, almoſt in the ſame breath, declares the period, in which the *Carthaginians* firſt landed there in an hoſtile manner, not to be exactly known. This is a plain inconſiſtency, but not the only one in his ſyſtem of ancient hiſtory. As we have already given ſo particular a de-
e ſcription of *Sicily*, as well as thoſe heroic atchievements and great tranſactions, of which it was for ſo many ages the theatre, we ſhall have occaſion to refer our readers frequently to ſome of the preceding parts of this work; though after all, in order to preſerve and continue the thread of our hiſtory, we ſhall find repetitions in many places unavoidable [h].

When the Carthaginians *firſt carried their arms into* Sicily *unknown.*

HOWEVER, in order to render theſe the more tolerable, whenever we are obliged to them, we ſhall endeavour to diverſify the narration with ſeveral freſh incidents, not mentioned in any of our former volumes, as not ſo immediately relating to the hiſtories of the countries we were then upon, drawn either from the hiſtorians quoted by us there, or others which at that time had eſcaped us.

AFTER the concluſion of the treaty with *Xerxes*, the *Carthaginians*, in purſuance of their engagements, made vaſt preparations for a war with the *Greeks* of *Sicily*,
f both by ſea and land, The *Carthaginians* at this time were the moſt powerful people of all the weſt; and while the *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, they were to fall upon the *Greek* colonies, both in *Sicily* and *Magna Græcia*, as above, that thereby the *Greeks*, of all countries and denominations, might be diverted from helping one another. The preparations for this war were ſo prodigious, that it was three years before they were completed, notwithſtanding *Xerxes* ſent them vaſt ſums of money from *Perſia* for that purpoſe, With theſe they hired great numbers of mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Liguria*, *Corſica*, &c. and raiſed what forces they could in *Africa*. All things at laſt being

The Carthaginians *make great preparations for an expedition to* Sicily.

[e] DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 2. [f] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 1. HERODOT. l. vii. [g] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.
[h] M. ROLLIN. in hiſt. ancien. des Carthag. p. 2. c. 1. ſub init.

being in readineſs, they ſet ſail from *Carthage* with an army of three hundred thou- a
ſand men, compoſed of different nations, and a fleet of above two thouſand ſhips of war, with three thouſand tranſports, not doubting but to make an intire conqueſt of *Sicily* the firſt campaign [i].

Hamilcar's *horſes and chariots loſt in a ſtorm.*

THE general who commanded in this expedition was *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Hanno*, according to *Herodotus*, or of *Mago*, as *Juſtin* will have it, a perſon of great authority both in the army and the city, who had behaved himſelf with uncommon conduct and bravery on many occaſions in the ſervice of his country. In his paſſage from *Carthage* to *Sicily*, his horſes and chariots, with the veſſels they were on board, periſhed in a ſtorm, which the *Carthaginians* doubtleſs, being extremely addicted to ſuperſtition, looked upon as ominous. However the general himſelf, upon his b
arrival at *Panormus*, now *Palermo*, endeavoured to diſſipate all gloomy apprehenſions, by declaring, that ſince they were happily arrived in *Sicily*, he looked upon the war as concluded, and that all the pain the late ſtorm gave him was a fear of the *Sicilians* eſcaping the danger that threatened them [k].

He inveſts Himera.

AFTER he had landed his troops, he halted three days to refreſh them, and repair the damage his fleet had ſuſtained in the late ſtorm; and then marching to *Himera*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Panormus*, immediately cauſed it to be inveſted. To give ſome idea of the capacity of this general, *Diodorus* tells us, that, upon his ſitting down before *Himera*, he diſpoſed his army in two camps, the one deſtined for the land forces, the other for the ſhips and marines. He took care to ſecure c
his long ſhips or galleys, by drawing them on ſhore, ſurrounding them with an entrenchment, and placing all his marines there for their defence. The land forces were encamped in front, oppoſite to the city, extending themſelves from the lines of the other camp to the hills overlooking the town. The place being thus blocked up on the weſt ſide, he unladed the ſhips of burden of their proviſions, and ſent away what veſſels he had left to *Africa* and *Sardinia* for a further ſupply. After this he advanced with the flower of his army to the very walls of the city, routed a party of the gariſon in a ſally they made upon him, and thereby ſtruck a great terror into the beſieged [l].

Gelon *defeats the* Carthaginian *foragers.*

Theron, tyrant of the *Agrigentines*, at that time commanded in the place, who, d
though his gariſon was very ſtrong, being intimidated by the laſt diſaſter, as well as the numerous forces of the enemy, diſpatched an expreſs to *Gelon* at *Syracuſe*, with all poſſible expedition, for immediate relief. *Gelon* having got his troops in readineſs to march at an hour's warning, upon advice of what had befallen the *Himeræans*, advanced to their city without delay, with an army of fifty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. He firſt encamped near the city, and afterwards fortified his camp in ſuch a manner as to put it out of danger of being inſulted by the enemy. By this means he infuſed new life and vigor into the gariſon, and freed them from all apprehenſions of the *Carthaginian* power. He ſent his horſe in queſt of the enemy, who e
were diſperſed in ſmall parties all over the country, in order to forage. Theſe, meeting with the *Carthaginians* ſtraggling about the country, without any diſcipline or order, fell upon them, took above ten thouſand priſoners, and brought them triumphantly into the town. By this action *Gelon*'s glory was raiſed to a very high pitch, and the *Himeræans* inſpired with a contempt of the enemy.

Gelon *finds an opportunity of ſurpriſing the* Carthaginians.

To demonſtrate to the *Carthaginians* the high contempt he had them in, he cauſed the gates *Theron* had before built, to ſecure him from their approaches, to be pulled down, and built others, more eſſential to the defence of the place, in their room. In fine, *Gelon* being an able warrior, and excelling in ſtratagems, ſet his head to work to find out ſome method of deſtroying the *Carthaginian* forces without any danger to himſelf or his army, which in ſtrength was ſo much inferior to the enemy. f
Fortune favoured the project he was upon by the following accident, which brought on a battle, and occaſioned the death of *Hamilcar*, and the total overthrow of his army [m].

The Carthaginians *intirely defeated by* Gelon.

A courier was brought to *Gelon*, having been intercepted by a party of his horſe, carrying letters from the inhabitants of *Selinus*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*; whereby he underſtood, that *Hamilcar* was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Neptune*, and that he had appointed the

[i] DIOD. SIC. l. xi. c. 2. HERODOT. l. vii. EPHOR. apud ſchol. Pind. Pyth. 1. ad ver. ἐλλαδ' ἐξέλκει.
[k] DIOD. SIC. & HERODOT. ubi ſup. [l] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. [m] Idem ibid.

a the *Selinuntine* cavalry to join him the ſame day in the ſaid camp. *Gelon*, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horſe, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the *Selinuntines*. Upon receiving theſe orders, by favour of the night, they conveyed themſelves privately to certain poſts cloſe by the *Carthaginian* camp, of which they took immediate poſſeſſion; and the next morning, approaching the ſaid camp, were admitted into it about ſun-riſing, without the leaſt ſuſpicion. *Hamilcar* was then buſy in ſacrificing, and the greater part of the ſoldiery attending him without arms, according to *Diodorus*. But *Herodotus* intimates, that this general ſtaid in the camp during the whole time of the engagement, which continued from morn-
b ing till the duſk of the evening, without intermiſſion. *Diodorus* adds, that the *Syracuſans*, without the leaſt oppoſition, making up to *Hamilcar*, killed him, purſuant to their general's orders, cut in pieces moſt of his marines, and ſet fire to the ſhips. *Herodotus*, on the contrary, gives us to underſtand, that *Hamilcar* was employed the whole day in throwing heaps of victims upon a flaming pile; but that ſeeing his troops put to the rout, he himſelf ruſhed into the fire, and was intirely conſumed. Upon the firing of the ſhips, *Gelon*, who had notice of the ſucceſs by a ſignal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army, and attacked the other camp. The *Carthaginians* at firſt made a gallant reſiſtance; but when news was brought them of their general's death, and at the ſame time ſeeing all their fleet in
c a blaze, they had no longer courage to ſtand their ground, but betook themſelves to a precipitate flight; and then the ſlaughter was dreadful. As *Gelon*'s orders were, that no quarter ſhould be given during the heat of the engagement, no leſs than an hundred and fifty thouſand men were ſlain in the battle and the purſuit. The reſt retired to an eminence, where they for ſome time defended themſelves; but at laſt, for want of water, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. This was the greateſt blow the *Carthaginians* had ever received before that time; for they did not only loſe their general *Hamilcar*, who was himſelf by his mother's ſide a *Syracuſan*, but had their whole army in ſuch a manner cut off, or taken priſoners, that not a ſingle man of it eſcaped to *Carthage*, to carry thither the news of this unparallelled
d defeat [n].

Polyænus, in his account of the *Carthaginian* general's death, differs ſomething both from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Herodotus*. According to this author, *Gelon*, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to attack the enemy, ſent *Pediarchus*, the captain of his archers, who much reſembled him, dreſſed in royal robes, out of the camp, with orders to offer ſacrifice upon ſome altars near the ſpot of ground on which *Hamilcar* uſed daily to ſacrifice. *Pediarchus* was attended by a party of his archers, cloathed in white garments, with large ſprigs of myrtle in their hands, as an evident ſign of their going to perform ſo ſolemn an act of devotion. Under the myrtle each of them had concealed his bow, with ſeveral arrows, which they were to let
e fly at the general as ſoon as he came within ſome diſtance. *Hamilcar*, ſuſpecting nothing of violence, came as uſual, with his attendants, to addreſs himſelf to the gods, and was immediately ſlain. However this may be, the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans*, both of them ambitious of claiming ſo great a man to themſelves, gave out, that *Hamilcar*, upon the defeat of his troops, vaniſhed, and was never afterwards ſeen. The former, notwithſtanding his misfortune, and their immediate reſentment of it, in after-ages paid him divine honours, both in their capital city, and every other place where their colonies ſeated themſelves [o].

The Carthaginians *deify* Hamilcar.

We muſt not here omit obſerving, that *Terillus*, the ſon of *Crinippus*, invited the *Carthaginians* at this time into *Sicily*, and therefore was, in ſome reſpect, as well
f as *Xerxes*, the occaſion of this fatal war. *Terillus* was tyrant of *Himera*; but being driven from thence by *Theron*, the ſon of *Æneſidemus*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, he meditated revenge. To gratify which, at the inſtigation of *Anaxilaus*, the ſon of *Critineus*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, who married his daughter *Cydippe*, he had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, being well aſſured they would not let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of inlarging their dominions in the iſland of *Sicily*. *Hamilcar*, in order to ſecure his fidelity, obliged him to ſend his ſons to him for hoſtages. This account *Herodotus* tells us he received from the *Sicilian* writers of his time, who made no mention

Terillus *invites the* Carthaginians *into* Sicily.

[n] Herodot. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [o] Polyæn. ſtrat. l. i. c. 27. ex. 2. Herodot. ubi ſup.

mention, as far as we can find, of the alliance between the *Persians* and the *Carthaginians* [p].

Battles of Himera *and* Salamis *fought the same day.*

Herodotus farther informs us, that the battle of *Himera* was fought the same day with that of *Salamis*: but *Diodorus Siculus* will have the *Carthaginians* to have been defeated the same day that *Leonidas*, with his brave body of *Spartans*, perished at *Thermopylæ*. Upon which he makes this reflection: "The gods on purpose seemed "to have destined the *Greeks* at the same time a glorious victory in one place, and a "most honourable death in another."

Gelon *rewards his soldiers for their bravery.*

The first thing after the battle *Gelon* did was, amply to reward all those who had signalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse to whom the victory was chiefly owing. The greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of *Syracuse* and *Himera*. What remained, together with the captives, he distributed amongst his soldiers, in proportion to the degree of bravery and valour they had shewn. Many of the last, to whatever city's share they fell, were employed in public works for the common good; and so many were taken, that all *Africa* seemed to have been transplanted into *Sicily*. Some of the citizens of *Agrigentum* in particular, who had distinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred a-piece. The fugitives, upon the defeat of their army, being in the utmost consternation, fled into the inland provinces of *Sicily*, especially the territory of *Agrigentum*, where, being taken alive, that city was in a manner filled with prisoners. The greatest part of them were put in irons, and set apart for the public service. The work they were chiefly employed in at first was, cutting and hewing of stone; of which afterwards they built the largest of the temples at *Agrigentum*, and made those conduits or aqueducts to convey water from the city, which were so much admired by the ancients, and called *Pheaces*, from one *Pheax*, who was the overseer of the work. The *Agrigentines* likewise, by their labour, sunk a fish-pond at great expence, seven stadia in circumference and twenty cubits deep [r] (B).

Gelon *compared to the most famous* Greek *commanders.*

By the late victory, which was complete both in itself and its consequences, *Gelon* acquired great glory, and was justly celebrated by foreigners as well as his own subjects, as one of the most renowned and experienced generals any age or nation ever produced. The stratagem by which the *Carthaginian* army was overthrown he himself contrived, and conducted throughout, being the life and soul of the army in the execution of it. Some authors have not scrupled to prefer him to *Themistocles*, and the advantage accruing to the *Greek* nation in general from this action to that gained by the battle of *Platæa*. However this may be, it is certain we find no account in history of any engagement, wherein the like carnage was made, and such a number of prisoners taken. Neither did the *Carthaginian* fleet, consisting of that vast number of ships of war and transports above-mentioned, meet with a much better fate than their land-forces had done. Only twenty long ships or galleys, which *Hamilcar* had occasionally drawn out for necessary services, happened to be out at sea, when the camp of the marines was taken, and consequently escaped the general conflagration. These sailed directly for *Carthage*; but meeting with contrary winds and tempests, before they reached that place, they were all cast away, a few men only being saved in a small boat. These arriving at *Carthage* brought the dismal news of the intire defeat of their army, and the loss of their fleet. The *Carthaginians*, little expecting to hear of such a signal disaster, but on the contrary pleasing themselves with the imagination of reducing the whole island of *Sicily* almost without striking a stroke, were most strangely shocked at receiving this melancholy advice. As in all great reverses of fortune the nation we are discoursing of ever lost their courage, and abandoned themselves to despair, so in the present case they gave every thing up for lost. Nothing but outcries and lamentations were to be heard throughout the whole city; the

[p] Idem ibid. [q] Diod. Sic. & Herodot. ubi sup. [r] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

(B) This famous pond, the effect of *Carthaginian* labour, was supplied with water both from fountains and rivers, and excellently well stocked with fish of all kinds, serving both for food and pleasure. Great numbers of swans likewise rested upon it, which afforded a most pleasant prospect to the eye. By the negligence of succeeding ages, it was gradually filled up with mud, and at last became wholly dry ground. The soil was so rich in *Diodorus*'s time, that the *Agrigentines* planted vines and all kinds of trees there, which brought them in a very considerable revenue (1).

(1) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.*

a the enemy was already imagined to be at their gates, and all orders and degrees of people amongſt them were overwhelmed with inexpreſſible grief, deſpondency, and conſternation.

In this deplorable ſituation, the *Carthaginians* thought they could have recourſe to nothing but *Gelon*'s clemency; and therefore immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Sicily*, injoining them to ſtrike up a peace with him upon any terms. *The* Carthaginians *apply to* Gelon *for a peace.*

Upon the arrival of theſe embaſſadors at *Syracuſe*, *Gelon* afforded them an inſtance of great moderation and humanity. Notwithſtanding by the late victory he was become the arbiter of peace and war, and had the *Carthaginians* intirely at his mercy, he received theſe miniſters in a moſt affable and courteous manner. His proſperity had not in the *His moderation and humanity.*

b leaſt elated him, nor rendered him at all haughty or untractable. On the other hand, tho' this deputation conſiſted of perſons the moſt famed of any in *Carthage* for their merit and abilities, yet they behaved in a moſt mean and abject manner. They threw themſelves at *Gelon*'s feet, with tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he ſhould think proper to preſcribe. This plainly ſhews how void the *Carthaginians* then were of that true reſolution and magnanimity, which ſupported the old *Romans* in all adverſity, and carried them through all dangers; that reſolution and magnanimity, which enabled them to lay the foundations of an almoſt univerſal empire, and even to deſtroy the dangerous rival of theirs we are now writing the hiſtory of; though it muſt be owned this heroic virtue and

c greatneſs of ſoul was much tarniſhed in their poſterity, to ſay no worſe, by ſome actions they were guilty of towards the decline of the *Carthaginian* ſtate.

Gelon, like a good-natured prince, being touched with compaſſion for the miſeries of the *Carthaginians*, granted them a peace upon the following eaſy conditions: Firſt, that they ſhould pay two thouſand talents of ſilver towards defraying the expences of the war. Secondly, that they ſhould build two temples, where this treaty of peace ſhould be depoſited, and at all times be expoſed to public view. Thirdly, that for the future they ſhould abſtain from offering human ſacrifices. This laſt article ſhews the great humanity of *Gelon*'s temper, and is a proof, that the people of *Carthage* were obliged a ſecond time to aboliſh that barbarous practice for a certain *The terms on which he grants them a peace.*

d period, at leaſt in appearance; for it cannot be doubted, but they ratified this treaty, it being ſo advantagious to them, at a juncture when they were upon the very brink of deſtruction.

The *Carthaginians*, having recovered their ſpirits, by the happy turn their affairs had taken, through the conqueror's great clemency and moderation, thought proper now to ſhew their gratitude to *Damareta*, *Gelon*'s wife, who had forwarded an accommodation betwixt the two powers, and been chiefly inſtrumental in bringing it to a happy concluſion. They therefore, immediately after the peace, ſent her a crown of gold, valued at an hundred talents of that metal. This crown *Gelon* turned into money, and coined pieces, called from his wife's name *Damaretia*, each

e of them being worth ten *Attic* drachmas. The *Sicilians* gave them the name of *Pentecontalitra*, from their being fifty pounds in weight[s] (C).

We muſt not omit one circumſtance, which may ſerve as a further inſtance of *Gelon*'s military capacity. Upon his firſt approach to *Himera*, to ſuccour the beſieged, a detachment of his forces defeated many of the *Carthaginian* parties ſent to forage in different parts of the iſland. Beſides what they killed, they took ten thouſand priſoners, as above related. Theſe probably were the worſt troops in the *Carthaginian* army; and therefore a ſtratagem *Frontinus* relates *Gelon* to have been the author of ſeems to bid fair for this particular period of time. This prince, having *An inſtance of* Gelon's *military capacity.*

[s] Idem ibid. & Plut. apopth. 175. & de ſerv. vindic. deor. p. 552. Vide & ſchol. Pind. ad Pyth. od. 2. necnon. Jac. Perizon. comment. in Ælian. var. hiſt. l. vi. c. 11.

(C) Theſe pieces ſeem to have been rather medals ſtruck on occaſion of *Gelon*'s victory over the *Carthaginians*, than common coins. The ſize of them ſupplies us with an argument in favour of this notion. The braſs *litra* of *Sicily* was at firſt a pound weight, as the *libra* or *as* was amongſt the *Romans*; and ſixty ſuch *litræ* made a talent. According to *Pollux*, *Damareta* and the other *Syracuſan* ladies of diſtinction brought all their ſilver utenſils to the mint, and the coin formed from thence was called νόμισμα Δημαρέτιον. But *Diodorus*'s relation is more probable; ſince, if *Gelon* had been in great want of money, he would undoubtedly have ſtamped it in the ſmalleſt ſpecies, and not in pieces of ſuch a magnitude, which ſeemed to allude to the great victory obtained over the *Carthaginians*, as well as the immenſe booty found in their camp (2).

(2) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Jul. Pol. p.* 437, *& alib. Vide & ſcol. Pind. olym.* ii.

having a large number of priſoners, picked out the weakeſt of them, who were auxiliaries, moſtly tawny, and of a very deſpicable appearance; and expoſed them quite naked before his ſoldiers, that they might have the moſt contemptible notion of the enemy[t]. Something like this happened, if we miſtake not, in the late war betwixt the *Turks* and the *Ruſſians*, when the former, to give their people at *Conſtantinople* the meaner opinion of the latter, led the moſt miſerable of the captives they had taken from that nation in triumph through their capital. a

What uſe Gelon *made of the* Carthaginian *ſpoils.*

Besides the public works above-mentioned, the *Carthaginian* ſpoils enabled *Gelon* to build two noble temples, the one to *Ceres*, and the other to *Proſerpina*. A tripod of gold likewiſe, of ſixteen talents, he cauſed to be made out of them, and ſent it as a donation to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, as an acknowledgment of his gratitude to that deity. If an inſcription given us by the ſcholiaſt on *Pindar* may be depended upon as genuine, there were more tripods than one ſent thither on this occaſion in the name of *Gelon* and his brothers, who had all of them a great ſhare in the ſucceſſes they gave thanks for (D). b

Giſco, *the ſon of* Hamilcar, *baniſhed* Carthage.

The *Carthaginians*, incenſed at *Hamilcar*, as imputing the late diſaſter intirely to his conduct, notwithſtanding the great ſervices he had done the ſtate on other occaſions, reſolved, that his family ſhould feel the effects of their reſentment; and therefore baniſhed his ſon *Giſco*, who, being thus obliged to leave his native country, retired to *Selinus*, where he died for want of neceſſaries. The *Sicilian* cities, that ſided with the *Carthaginians*, upon their firſt application to *Gelon*, were received into favour, and had a confirmation of all their ancient privileges granted them, though the conqueror, with a very good grace, might have treated them in a far different manner[u]. c

Little ſaid of the Carthaginians *for ſeventy years.*

From this time for full ſeventy years, that is to ſay, till towards the cloſe of the ninety-ſecond, or the beginning of the ninety-third olympiad, we ſcarce find any mention of the *Carthaginians*, or their affairs, in the *Sicilian* hiſtory. The laſt blow they received in *Sicily* was ſo terrible, that a peace of ſome duration was abſolutely neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of their affairs; and it is natural to ſuppoſe, that, of all places in the world, *Sicily* would be the laſt they would, for a conſiderable period of time, chuſe for the ſcene of action. However, a fair opportunity offering at the time above-mentioned, moved by their ambition, they embarqued in another war there, which, though pretty bloody and expenſive, ended with much better ſucceſs to them than the former. d

The Carthaginians *render themſelves independent in* Africa.

However, in ſome part of this interval, ſeveral remarkable incidents, mentioned by *Juſtin*, *Salluſt*, and *Valerius Maximus*, ſeem to have happened. The *Carthaginians* carried their arms againſt the *Moors*, *Numidians*, and other *African* nations, and greatly extended their frontiers in *Africa*. They likewiſe ſhook off the tribute, which, for a long time, had given them ſo much uneaſineſs, and rendered themſelves abſolutely independent.

Have warm diſputes with the Cyreneans, *on account of a regulation of limits.*

They had warm diſputes with the people of *Cyrene*, a *Mediterranean* city, the capital of *Cyrenaica*, built by the *Theræans* under *Battus*, who were a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, which aroſe from the want of a regulation of limits between the two ſtates. As the *Cyreneans* were very powerful, much blood was ſhed on this occaſion; but at laſt the two nations, after having almoſt exhauſted each other by a long and expenſive war, accommodated their differences in the following manner[x]. e

Being

[t] Frontin. l. i. c. 11, 18. [u] Diod. Sic. l. xiii. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. vi. c. 11. [x] Sal. Jug. c. 79.

(D) We are further aſſured by *Pauſanias*, that *Gelon* ſent ſeveral valuable preſents to the temple of *Jupiter Olympius* at *Olympia*, as a grateful return to that pagan divinity for the good ſucceſs that attended his arms, with which he was furniſhed from the booty found in the *Carthaginian* camp. Among the reſt there were three curious veſtments of fine *Carthaginian* linen, each of them repreſenting a coat of mail, which undoubtedly were looked upon as ſomething particularly rare, ſince *Xenophon* intimates the *Carthaginian* flax to have been of a very fine nature. A ſtatue of *Jupiter* alſo, of a prodigious ſize, was ſent to the ſame place in the name of *Gelon* and the *Syracuſans*, when they were full of the moſt grateful ſentiments for the ſignal victory obtained over the *Carthaginians* both by ſea and land. The cell or apartment, in which theſe donations were depoſited, was of exquiſite workmanſhip, being made by thoſe celebrated artificers *Pothæus*, *Antiphilus*, and *Megacles*, at *Gelon's* order. Beſides the golden tripod above-mentioned, *Gelon* ſent a golden ſtatue of *Victory* to *Delphi*, which ſeems to have been the third offering of that metal ever brought thither. This we learn from *Phanias Ereſius* and *Theopompus*, as cited by *Athenæus*, who inform us, that before the days of *Gyges* and *Cræſus*, kings of *Lydia*, all the votive gifts ſent to *Delphi* conſiſted of braſs, and theſe not ſtatues, but chaldrons and tripods. As this obſervation ſeemed to us curious, we could not prevail upon ourſelves to omit it (4).

(4) *Pauſan. in Eliac. poſter. l.* vi. *p.* 379. *ed. Hanov.* 1613. *Xenoph. de venat. p.* 975. *ed. Leunclavii Francof.* 1594. *Phan. Ereſ. & Theopomp. apud Athen. in deipnoſoph. l.* vi.

Being ſo weakened, that they were both afraid of becoming a prey to ſome foreign invader, they conſented firſt to a ceſſation of arms, in order to a pacification. Afterwards it was agreed, that each city ſhould appoint two commiſſaries, who ſhould ſet out from their reſpective towns upon the ſame day, and that the ſpot they met upon ſhould be the common boundary to both ſtates. Upon this, two brothers, called *Philæni*, were diſpatched from *Carthage*, who advanced with great celerity, whilſt the *Cyreneans* proceeded more ſlowly. Whether this was to be imputed to the lazineſs of the latter, or to ſome accident intervening, is not certain. However, the laſt is not improbable, ſince in thoſe ſandy regions, at certain ſeaſons of the year, there are as violent ſtorms and tempeſts as upon the ſea; which is not to be wondered at, conſidering, that in ſuch countries, which are open and level, and have not ſo much as a ſhrub to break the force of the wind, ſometimes boiſterous weather muſt almoſt neceſſarily happen; and then the ſand, being put into a violent commotion, is blown up into the air in great quantities, fills the eyes, mouths, noſtrils, *&c.* of travellers, and by that means greatly retards at leaſt, if it does not put an intire ſtop to, their journey. *Valerius Maximus* intimates, that the *Philæni* acted perfidiouſly, by ſetting out before the appointed time, and thereby impoſed upon the others. Be this as it will, the *Cyreneans*, finding themſelves too tardy, and fearing to be called to an account for their conduct at their return home, accuſed the *Carthaginians* of breach of faith, by beginning their journey before the ſtipulated time; inſiſted, that the convention agreed upon between their principals was broken; and declared they would ſuffer all extremities, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a baſe and ignominious treatment. On the other hand, the *Philæni*, with much ſeeming calmneſs and moderation, deſired the *Cyreneans* not to talk in ſo lofty a ſtrain, but themſelves to propoſe ſome expedient, whereby their differences might be terminated, promiſing at the ſame time to ſubmit to it, whatever it might be. The latter then propoſed to them, either to retire from the place they had fixed upon for the limit of their dominions, or ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive there, not in the leaſt imagining they would comply with ſo hard a condition. But herein they were diſappointed; for the *Carthaginian* brothers, without heſitation, conſented to it, laid down their lives, and gained a large extent of territory by that means to their country. The *Carthaginians* ever afterwards celebrated this as a moſt brave and heroic action, paid them divine honours, and endeavoured to immortalize their names, by erecting there two altars, with ſuitable inſcriptions upon them. *Strabo* informs us, that no traces of theſe were to be ſeen in his days, though the place ſtill retained the name of *the altars of the* Philæni. However, 'tis not to be doubted, but the ſtate of *Carthage*, as long as it exiſted, kept them up, this being ever their boundary on the ſide of *Cyrenaica*. *Salluſt* relates, that there was a ſandy tract of ground betwixt the territories of *Carthage* and *Cyrene*, without hill, river, or ſpot in it, whereby to aſcertain the borders of the two nations; ſo that they were obliged to have recourſe to the method aforeſaid. The love of one's country is certainly a moſt amiable virtue; but that any civilized nation ſhould carry this ſo far, as to allow the building of it upon fraud, perfidy, and a violation of public faith, is very ſtrange; yet this the *Carthaginians* did, if *Valerius Maximus* may be credited, by paying ſo high a regard to the memory of the *Philæni*. That author, however, runs out into a wild and frantic encomium upon them, and thereby diſcovers much of the *Punic* diſpoſition. In ſhort, this piece of hiſtory gives us a lively idea of the *Carthaginian* notion of bravery and heroiſm, as do ſeveral other incidents to be found in the courſe of this hiſtory[u].

But at laſt come to an accommodation.

The Philæni *ſuffer themſelves to be buried alive, in order to enlarge the dominions of their ſtate.*

The *Egeſtines*, allies of the *Athenians*, after the concluſion of the *Syracuſan* war, of which they had been the principal occaſion, by inviting the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, entertained ſtrong apprehenſions of being called to an account by the *Syracuſans* for all the acts of hoſtility they had committed againſt them. About this time alſo the *Egeſtines* had ſome diſputes with the *Selinuntines* about a regulation of limits, which at laſt broke out into an open rupture betwixt the two ſtates; but the former dreading the reſentment of the *Syracuſans*, and believing they would aſſiſt their enemy with a large body of forces, clapped up a peace with the latter upon their own terms. Though by this peace the *Egeſtines* gave up all the points in diſpute, the *Selinuntines*, not contented herewith, made farther encroachments upon them; which greatly irritating

The Egeſtines *occaſion another war between the* Carthaginians *and* Syracuſans.

[u] Idem ibid. Strab. l. iii. Pomp. Mel. l. i. c. 7. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 6. Vide & Cellar. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 3.

tating the *Egeſtines*, they had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, imploring their protection, both againſt the *Selinuntines*, and their confederates the *Syracuſans*. The affair meeting with great difficulties, it was for ſome time debated at *Carthage* what courſe it would be proper to take. On the one hand, the *Carthaginians* were very deſirous to poſſeſs themſelves of *Egeſta*, a city which lay ſo convenient for them, and which would much facilitate the reduction of the whole iſland of *Sicily*, the favourite project that ſtate always had in view. On the other, they dreaded the power and forces of *Syracuſe*, which had ſo lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the *Athenians*, and was become, by ſo ſhining a victory, more formidable than ever. At laſt their thirſt after empire prevailed, and, through the deſire of getting the city into their hands, they promiſed the *Egeſtines* ſuccours. a b

Hannibal appointed to command in the Sicilian expedition.

THE general appointed to command in this war, if matters came to the laſt extremity, was *Hannibal*, the grandſon of *Hamilcar*, killed at the battle of *Himera*, and ſon of *Giſco*, the exile above-mentioned. He was at this time inveſted with the higheſt dignity of the ſtate, being one of the ſuffetes, and a perſon of very great conſideration. As he bore a natural hatred to all the *Greeks*, and was deſirous to wipe off, by his own valour, the diſgrace of that defeat, which he conſidered as a ſtain upon his family, he ſought, by all means poſſible, to diſtinguiſh himſelf on this occaſion for the ſervice of his country. He was indefatigable, all that ſummer and the enſuing winter, in raiſing forces, not only in *Africa*, but in *Spain* and *Italy*, and making the other neceſſary preparations; inſomuch, that, in the beginning of the ſpring, he had an incredible number of ſoldiers of different nations liſted under his ſtandard. But, before he came to an open rupture with the *Selinuntines*, he had recourſe to *Punic* policy, endeavouring, by a trick of his, to over-reach both them and the *Syracuſans* their allies. Being appriſed, that the *Selinuntines* were not ſatisfied with the tract of land ceded them by the *Egeſtines* in the laſt treaty of peace, but laid farther claim to a great part of their territories, he deſired the *Syracuſans* to act as mediators in this affair, and endeavour to accommodate the differences betwixt the contending parties in an amicable manner. His view in this was, to ſow the ſeeds of diſſention betwixt the *Syracuſans* and the *Selinuntines*, imagining, that if the latter ſhould reject the mediation of the former, the confederacy betwixt them would of courſe be diſſolved, and conſequently that each of them would more eaſily fall a prey to the *Carthaginians*. But his ſcheme proved abortive; for though the *Syracuſans* interpoſed their good offices, in order to bring about an accommodation betwixt the *Selinuntines* and *Egeſtines*, yet finding theſe ineffectual, they did not think proper to make uſe of any compulſive methods, nor to renounce the alliance they had entered into with the former. The *Carthaginians*, finding their artifices thus eluded, upon the return of their embaſſadors, openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Egeſtines*, and ſent a ſupply of five thouſand *Africans*, and eight hundred *Campanians*, to their aſſiſtance. The latter had been hired by the *Chalcidians* to aſſiſt the *Athenians* againſt the *Syracuſans*; but, after their overthrow, ſailing back into *Campania*, ſtaid there, in hopes that ſome ſtate might ſoon ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. Accordingly, the *Carthaginians* took them into their ſervice, bought them horſes, and placed them in gariſon at *Egeſta*; which place, at all events, they were determined to make themſelves maſters of. Notwithſtanding this powerful body of *Carthaginian* auxiliaries, the *Selinuntines*, being both rich and numerous, held the *Egeſtines* in great contempt[w]. c d e

The Carthaginians and Campanians ſurpriſe the Selinuntines, and cut off a thouſand of them.

THE *Selinuntines*, having drawn together a ſtrong body of regular troops, ravaged all the country about *Egeſta*, and deſpiſing the enemy, who were far inferior to them in number, diſperſed themſelves in parties, without order or diſcipline, all over the territory of the *Egeſtines*, for the ſake of plunder. The *Carthaginians* and *Campanians* in gariſon, obſerving this, took the firſt opportunity that offered, in conjunction with the *Egeſtines*, of ſurpriſing them; which they did ſo effectually, that they put them to flight, killed a thouſand on the ſpot, and carried off all their baggage. Immediately after this action, both cities diſpatched embaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from their reſpective confederates, the *Selinuntines* from the *Syracuſans*, and the *Egeſtines* from the *Carthaginians*; which being readily agreed to on both ſides, a moſt dreadful war broke out between the *Egeſtines* and *Carthaginians* on one hand, and the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſans* on the other. f

THE

[w] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

THE *Carthaginians*, before they directly engaged in this war, took care to make an estimate of the prodigious sums necessary to support it, and the numerous body of forces requisite to carry it on with vigor; and having impowered their general *Hannibal* to raise an army equal to the undertaking, as above-mentioned, and to equip a suitable fleet, they appropriated certain funds to the defraying all the expences of the war, intending to attack the island of *Sicily* with their whole power the beginning of the following spring.

The Carthaginians *make great preparations for a war with the* Selinuntines.

Hannibal, at the time appointed, put his army on board sixty long galleys, and fifteen hundred transports, together with an immense quantity of provisions he had amassed for their subsistence, military engines, arms, and all other things necessary for a siege. Setting sail with these, as soon as the season would permit, he crossed the *African* sea, and arrived at *Lilybæum*, a promontory of *Sicily*, opposite to the coast of *Africa*. Before he landed his troops, he was discovered by a party of *Selinuntine* horse, who posted away with great expedition, to give their countrymen intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Upon this the *Selinuntines* dispatched couriers to *Syracuse* for immediate relief. *Hannibal* in the mean time, landing his army, marked out a camp, beginning at a place called *The well of* Lilybæum, where the city of *Lilybæum* was afterwards built. Here he staid a short time to refresh his troops, before he entered upon the operations of the campaign.

Hannibal *lands his forces in* Sicily.

ACCORDING to *Ephorus* the historian (E), the *Carthaginian* army consisted of two hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse, though *Timæus Siculus* (F) will not allow this he makes out very clearly. *Ephorus* is complimented (17) by *Polybius* and *Strabo*; but notwithstanding *Diodorus* seems so fond of him, yet, in another passage, that writer tells us, he related so many falsities (18) of *Egypt*, that we must not expect to meet with any thing of truth in him. *Dionysius Halicarnassens* (19), as well as *Diodorus*, speaks favourably of his style. The two other historians this last author ranks with him, are *Theopompus* (20) and *Callisthenes*. We find a valuable fragment of *Porphyry* preserved by *Eusebius*, from which it appears, that *Ephorus* was accused of being a plagiary; nay, of stealing three thousand lines (21), word for word, from *Daimachus*, *Anaximenes*, and *Callisthenes*. *Lysimachus* is said to have written a piece, containing all his plagiarisms; and *Alcæus*, (22) a satyrical poet, is affirmed by *Porphyry* likewise to have exposed them. He is ridiculed by *Strabo* (23) for the mention he makes of his native country. A son, called *Demophilus*, survived him, who, (24) being a scholar, was thought by some to have put the finishing hand to what his father left imperfect. A fuller account of him may be seen in *Vossius* (25) and M. *Bayle*, to whom we refer our readers.

Ephorus *and* TimæusSiculus *differ in their relations of the strength of the* Carthaginian *army.*

(E) *Ephorus*, an orator and historian, was born in the city (1) of *Cumæ* or *Cyme* in *Æolia*, and one of *Isocrates*'s (2) scholars. His history contained chiefly the transactions of his countrymen the *Greeks* for the space of seven hundred and fifty years; that is, from the return of the *Heraclidæ*, to the twentieth year of *Philip* king of *Macedon* (3), in which year he besieged *Perinthus*. *Plutarch* intimates (4), that he wrote a particular history of *Cumæ*. He was a writer of slow parts, according to *Tully*, and much inferior, in point of genius (5), to his school-fellow *Theopompus*. *Seneca* says (6), he had little regard to veracity; which seems confirmed by most of the passages taken from him by *Diodorus*. His ignorance in geography is very apparent, from his making all the *Iberians* inhabitants of the same city; from whence *Josephus* rightly infers (7), that the knowledge of the western parts of the world came very late to the *Greeks*. Notwithstanding what has been said, *Diodorus* informs us (8), that he wrote with great accuracy, and in an elegant style; tho' in the last article he is contradicted by *Duris Samius* (9) and *Dion Chrysostomus*, whose testimony is of great weight in this particular. His grand history he divided into thirty books (10), to each of which he added a preface. Besides the performances abovementioned, he composed a treatise *de rebus inventis*, of which *Strabo* (11) takes notice; another *de bonis & malis*, divided (12) into twenty-four book; another *de rebus passim admirabilibus* (13), divided into fifteen books; another *de civitatibus Thraciæ*, of which *Harpocration* quotes (14) the fourth book. Father *Harduin* ascribes to him a particular treatise (15) of the origin of cities, and another of the increase of the *Nile*; but, according to M. *Bayle* (16), the authors alleged by him prove no such thing; and indeed

(F) *Timæus Siculus*, a *Greek* historian of good note (26), the son of *Andromachus*, a noble *Sicilian*, who, according to *Diodorus* (27), assembling the fugitives of *Naxus*, settled with them on a hill called *Taurus*, to which settlement the city of *Taurominium* owed its origin. *Timæus* flourished in the time of *Agathocles*, and *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. *Suidas* and *Hesychius* will not allow him to have been a judicious compiler of history; and *Polybius* accuses him of betraying too great credulity, a want of judgment, and a trifling genius, on several occasions (28). He was a person of violent passions, as appeared both from his shameful calumnies, and impious flattery; which

(1) *Strab. l.* xiii. *p.* 428. (2) *Plut. in vit. Isocrat. p.* 837. (3) *Diod. Sic. l.* iv. & *l.* xx. (4) *Plut. de vit. Homer. sub init.* (5) *Cic. in Brut. Quintil. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (6) *Senec. quæst. natural. l.* vii. *c.* 16. *Vide & Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl.* 245, *&c.* (7) *Joseph. cont. Apion. l.* i. (8) *Diod. Sic. l.* v. *sub init.* (9) *Duris Samius in hist. l.* i. *apud Phot. bibl.* 176. *Dion Chrysost. in orat. de dicend. exercit.* (10) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvi. (11) *Strab. ubi supra.* (12) *Suid. in* Ἔφορος. (13) *Idem ibid.* (14) *Harpocrat. voce* Αἴν. (15) *Harduin. in judic. auctor. Plin.* (16) *Bayle, in dict. hist. & crit.* (17) *Polyb. apud Strabon. l.* x. & *alib.* (18) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. (19) *Dionys. Halicar. de col. verb. c* 81. (20) *Diod. Sic. l.* iv. (21) *Porphyr. de trad. audit. apud Euseb. in præp. evang. l.* x. (22) *Idem ibid.* (23) *Strab. ubi supra.* (24) *Conf. Jonsium de script. hist. philos. p.* 43, 44. *cum Athen. in deipnosoph. l.* vi. (25) *Voss. de hist. Græc. & Bayle, ubi supra.* (26) *Athen. deipnosoph. l.* ii. & *alib.* (27) *Diod. Sic. l.* xvi. *c.* 7. (28) *Hesych. & Suid. in* Τίμαι.

allow them to have been much above an hundred thousand. *Hannibal*, after landing his forces, caused all his ships to be drawn ashore, for fear of giving umbrage to the *Syracusans*, and then, being joined by the *Egestines*, marched to *Selinus*, which city he immediately caused to be invested, and began to batter the walls with incredible

Hannibal *lays siege to* Selinus.

which prejudiced many writers, and some of these even too much, against him. Because he was banished by *Agathocles*, he gave that tyrant no quarter after his death, not only describing his crimes and ill qualities in the blackest manner, but loading him with fabulous calumnies. He was acted so much by a spirit of revenge on this occasion, that he contradicted himself in a most flagrant manner; for which (29) reason the five last books of his history, which treated of the actions of *Agathocles*, were undoubtedly very deficient in point of veracity. On the other hand, if we may believe *Suidas*, he exalted his hero *Timoleon* (30) to a superiority above the highest divinities; to which that author adds, that for this he deserved a greater punishment than *Callisthenes*, who suffered death for designing to deify *Alexander*, a prince infinitely more illustrious than *Timoleon*. He composed several pieces; one consisting of three books, *de Syria, & ejus urbibus regibusque*; another divided into sixty-eight books, *de argumentis rhetoricæ*; another intituled *olympionicæ, seu acta chronica*; two more, whose titles were, Ἰταλικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ, consisting of eight books; and Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Σικελικὰ, whose number of books is not known. In the former of these two last works he wrote the history of *Sicily*, as far as it was coincident with the *Roman* history; and in the other he gave an account of the *Sicilian* transactions, as they were intermixed with those of the *Greeks*. His history of *Pyrrhus* was a distinct piece, as we are informed by *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* and *Cicero* (31). *Diogenes Laertius* quoted no book of his history beyond the eighteenth, though *Athenæus* (32) cited the twenty-eighth; which is a proof, that those authors paid no great regard to the division of his *Greek*, *Roman*, and *Sicilian* history, as given us by *Vossius*. Notwithstanding what has been offered by *Suidas* to invalidate the authority of *Timæus* in the five last books of his history, yet this author himself allows (33), that, in all other parts of it, he adhered strictly to truth; and even according to *Polybius*, though he blames our historian in several respects, particularly for trusting too much to the reports of others, he laid it down as a maxim (34), that truth was the life and soul of history. However he might be imposed upon in what related to *Africa*, *Corsica*, and other countries that he was a stranger to, as *Polybius* intimates he was (35), yet we cannot help being of opinion, that he was an excellent and most faithful historian as to the *Sicilian* affairs, except when he discharged all the impetuous torrents of his rage against *Agathocles*, which indeed could never be vindicated. In most of those passages of *Diodorus*, wherein *Timæus* and *Ephorus* are cited as differing in their relations, the former has apparently a much greater degree of probability on his side, of which we shall at present only give one instance, not having time to produce all the rest: *Ephorus* informs us, that the *Carthaginian* army, which reduced *Selinus*, consisted of two hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse; but, according to *Timæus*, it could not well have consisted of above an hundred and ten or an hundred and twenty thousand men. Now, it is evident from *Diodorus*, that upon *Hannibal*'s marching to *Himera*, immediately after the reduction of *Selinus*, his army consisted but of an hundred thousand men; for he was joined by twenty thousand *Sicani* on his march, and, upon his arrival before *Himera*, his army, including both camps, amounted but to an hundred and twenty thousand men. Since therefore we cannot well suppose the *Carthaginians* to have lost above ten or twenty thousand men before *Selinus*, because the siege of that place was a very short one, it will follow, that when *Hannibal* first invested *Selinus*, his army, in all probability, consisted of about an hundred and ten or an hundred and twenty thousand men, nearly as *Timæus* related. It is certain *Diodorus* very well agrees with this historian; for that author tells us, *Hannibal*'s army, upon his laying siege to *Himera*, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand men, as above-mentioned. However therefore in words he may have extolled *Ephorus*, and depreciated *Timæus*, yet, in fact and reality, he, in this place, as well as several others that might be recited, preferred the latter to the former. Both *Diodorus* and *Cicero* (36) celebrated his learning and eloquence, the last of which was of the *Asiatic* kind. *Plutarch* (37) entertained different sentiments of his style; and *Longinus* censures him for his affectation and puerility therein, as well as the eager desire he shews to reprehend the vices of others, while he is blind to his own. However, M. *Bayle* has plainly proved, that the instances (38) produced by *Longinus*, in support of his criticism, do not come up to the point, and that he deserved censure in this particular, rather than *Timæus*. *Longinus* owned, that sometimes he came up to the lofty and sublime style, had a great share of knowledge, and expressed himself very judiciously; but still he seems to us to have been so much prejudiced against our historian, on account of the numerous instances of ill-nature visible in the latter part of his work, that he had rather too strong a disposition to discover blemishes in him; which made him copy after *Cecilius* in finding imaginary faults, and thereby fall into the very same crime he condemned *Timæus* for. He lived to a very old age (39), some say, ninety-six years. According to *Polybius* (40), he lived a sedentary life, which, in the opinion of that historian, must have disqualified him for writing history. *Plutarch* informs us (41), that he fell into the follies of *Xenarchus* in several parts of his works, in drawing good or bad omens from the most minute, and even ridiculous, circumstances. *Cicero* (42) puts him on a level with *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Philistus*, *Theopompus*, *Ephorus*, *Xenophon*, and *Callisthenes*. That he was superior, in point of authority, to *Ephorus*, when he treated of the affairs of *Sicily*, we think pretty evident from what we have just advanced, which we remember not to have seen taken notice of by any other author.

(29) *Suid. ubi supra.* (30) *Idem ibid. & Voss. de hist. Græc. p.* 82. *Vide & Antigon.* ἐν θαυμασ. *hist. i. & Parthen. erot.* xxix. (31) *Dionys. Halicar. l.* i. *c.* 6. *Cic. epist. l.* v. 22. *ad Lucceium.* (32) *Diog. Laert. in Empedocl. l.* viii. *n.* 60. *Athen. in deipnosoph. l* xi. *p.* 471. (33) *Suid. ubi sup.* (34) *Polyb. l.* xii. (35) *Idem ibid. & l.* ii. *p.* 105. (36) *Diod. Sic. l.* v. *sub init. Cic. de orat. l.* ii. *& in Bruto, sub fin.* (37) *Plut. in Nic. Longin.* περὶ ὕψ. *c.* 3. (38) *Bayle, in dict. hist. & crit.* (39) *Lucian. in macrobiis, p.* 642. *tit.* 2. (40) *Polyb. l.* xii. (41) *Plut. ubi supra.* (42) *Cic. de orat. l.* ii. *Vide & Clem. Alexand. strom. l.* i. *Plut. in Dio. Phot. bibl.* 244. *Aul. Gell. l.* xi. *c.* 1. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. *&c.*

a dible fury. In his way he took *Emporium*, a town ſeated on the river *Mazara* (G), by ſtorm; and having cloſely begirt *Selinus* with his army, which he divided into two parts, he formed the ſiege of that city. In order to puſh this on with the greater vigor, he erected ſix high towers, and brought as many battering-rams to the town. His ſlingers and darters likewiſe greatly annoyed the beſieged, by forcing them from many fortified poſts. The *Selinuntines*, little expecting ſuch a viſit from the *Carthaginians*, as having been the only people of *Sicily* who ſided with them againſt *Gelon*, and having long been diſuſed to ſieges, were ſtruck with great terror at the approach of ſo formidable an army, and the reſolution with which they carried on their attacks. However, as they had good reaſon to expect, that the *Syracuſans* and their other
b confederates would ſend them ſpeedy ſuccours, they defended themſelves with great bravery. They all joined together as one man in their efforts to repel ſo barbarous and ungrateful an enemy; even the men worn out with age, women and children, regardleſs of danger, appeared on the ramparts, ready to ſacrifice their lives in the defence of their country [x].

In order to inſpire his troops with courage, *Hannibal* promiſed them the plunder *And takes it.* of the place, by which they were greatly animated. The walls being inceſſantly battered day and night by the rams and other warlike engines, a breach was ſoon made, and the firſt who entered it were the *Campanians*, out of an ambition of diſtinguiſhing themſelves above the reſt; but they were repulſed with great loſs, as
c were the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, whom *Hannibal* ſent to ſupport them. The fight laſted from noon to night, when *Hannibal* ſounded the retreat. In the mean time the *Selinuntines* ſent expreſſes to *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, and *Syracuſe*, acquainting them, that, without ſpeedy aſſiſtance, it would be impoſſible for the gariſon of *Selinus* to defend itſelf againſt ſo numerous an army, provided with ſuch a train of battering engines. The *Agrigentines* and *Geleans* held themſelves in readineſs to march; but, however, thought it proper to wait for the *Syracuſan* auxiliaries, that they might more ſucceſſfully fall upon the enemy with their united forces. The *Syracuſans* alſo, having certain advice, that *Selinus* was beſieged, immediately ſtruck up a peace with the *Chalcideans*, with whom they were then at war, and drew together what forces they could;
d but as they did not think them ſufficient to relieve effectually the beſieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for ſome days, till they had got together a ſtronger force. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* preſſed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigor. *Hannibal*, as ſoon as it was light, renewing the aſſault, poſſeſſed himſelf of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another, which his rams had opened near it; and, after removing the rubbiſh, with the flower of his troops charged the *Selinuntines* with ſuch fury, that he obliged them to give ground; but could not put them in diſorder, nor enter the city, they fighting like men in deſpair. Many fell on both ſides; but the *Carthaginians* were conſtantly ſupplied with freſh men; whereas the *Selinuntines* had none to
e reinforce them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the aſſault was daily renewed for the ſpace of nine days with great courage and reſolution, and with incredible ſlaughter on both ſides. At length the beſieged being quite tired out, the *Iberians*, after a ſharp diſpute, lodged themſelves on the ramparts, and from thence advanced into the body of the town; upon which the women from the tops of the houſes filled all places with cries and lamentations. The *Selinuntines*, now giveing up every thing for loſt, barricaded all the ſtreets and paſſages, being determined to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood; which occaſioned a long and bloody conteſt. The women alſo, notwithſtanding their firſt panic, ſorely galled the *Carthaginians* with ſhowers of tiles and ſtones thrown by them from the tops of the houſes,
f which

[x] Ephorus & Timæus Siculus apud Diod. Sic. l. xiii.

(G) *Rhodomanus*, in his *Latin* verſion of *Diedorus*, calls this river *Mazarus*; but we chuſe rather to follow *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Diodorus* himſelf, who give it a feminine termination. Some believe the word *emporium* here not to be a proper, but a common, name; and we are inclined to come into this opinion. The name of this town, we believe, was *Mazara*; for *Stephanus* tells us, *Mazara* was a caſtle or fortreſs of the *Selinuntines*. Nothing was more common than to give rivers, and the fortreſſes ſeated on them, the ſame names, and that even in *Sicily* itſelf. To wave all other inſtances at preſent, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that *Gela*, a city of great note in this iſland, had a river of the ſame name running cloſe by its walls. On or near this ſpot there is a fine city, called *Mazara*, at this day, but no monuments of antiquity, according to *Fazellus*, are found near it. However, as it retains the old name of the river, and of *Stephanus*'s *Seliuntine* caſtle, it ſeems to point out the true name of the town *Hannibal* took by ſtorm on his march to *Selinus*.

which kept the fate of this city for ſome time in ſuſpenſe; but the *Carthaginians* returning to the charge with inexpreſſible ardor, and continually pouring freſh men into the town, the poor *Selinuntines* were at length forced to give way, and having abandoned the narrow ſtreets, were purſued by the conquerors into the market-place, where making a ſtand, they were all to a man cut in pieces.

An inſtance of the Carthaginian *barbarity.*

Selinus being thus taken by ſtorm, and the plunder of it given up to the ſoldiers, it is impoſſible to expreſs the miſery to which the poor inhabitants were reduced, and the cruelties exerciſed upon them by the *Carthaginians*, who, it muſt be owned, on ſuch melancholy occaſions as theſe, generally ſhewed themſelves to be moſt ſavage barbarians. They raged in all parts of the town without reſtraint, rifled the houſes, and then ſet fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children b they found in them, or dragging them into the ſtreets, put them all, without diſtinction, to the ſword. Neither did their inhumanity reſt here; they carried it ſo far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, ſome of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others, out of oſtentation, bearing the heads of the ſlain on the points of their ſwords and ſpears. The women indeed, who fled with their children to the temples, eſcaped the common deſtruction; but this was owing to the avarice, not compaſſion, of the victors; for believing that theſe poor wretches would, if excluded all hopes of mercy, ſet fire to the temples, and by that means conſume all the treaſure and valuable effects they c expected to find in thoſe places, they did not judge it proper to drive them to a ſtate of deſperation. The ravages in the city continued moſt part of the night, inſomuch, that every place was full of blood, horror, and confuſion. The ſurviving matrons had the mortification to ſee their daughters forced to be ſubſervient to the brutal luſt of the barbarians, which, with a ſenſe of the diſmal ſervitude prepared for them in *Africa*, made them wiſh they had not ſurvived their friends and relations. In fine, after ſixteen thouſand miſerable wretches had been cruelly maſſacred, and two thouſand ſix hundred eſcaped to *Agrigentum*, the city was razed, two hundred and fifty years after its foundation. The women and children, about five thouſand in number, who outlived this fatal day, were carried away captives[y].

A body of Selinuntines *eſcapes to* Agrigentum.

THE body of *Selinuntines* that retired to *Agrigentum*, made their eſcape by the d favour of the night, having found an opportunity of abandoning the city, before the enemy had forced the narrow paſſes. Upon their arrival at *Agrigentum*, they were received with great humanity and tenderneſs; corn was diſtributed to them out of the public ſtores; and every private perſon, out of his own generous diſpoſition, liberally ſupplied them with all kinds of neceſſaries for their ſubſiſtence.

The Carthaginians *plunder the temples at* Selinus.

A few days after the city was taken, three thouſand *Syracuſans* arrived at *Agrigentum*, on their march to *Selinus*; but underſtanding that the city was taken, they ſent embaſſadors to *Hannibal*, to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him, that he would at leaſt ſpare the temples. *Hannibal* returned anſwer, that ſince the *Selinuntines* had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deſerved to e be treated like ſlaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedneſs, had forſaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no ſacrilege to ſtrip them of their ornaments. This anſwer is a clear demonſtration of the *Punic* genius at that time, and exactly correſponds with what *Diodorus* has related of the *Carthaginians* in this particular: "Theſe barbarians, ſays that author, exceed all men in impiety; "for whereas other nations ſpare thoſe who fly into temples, out of a principle of "religion, not daring to be guilty of any act of violence there, leſt they ſhould "offend the deity; the *Carthaginians*, on the contrary, moderate their cruelty to "theſe perſons, that they may have a better opportunity of pillaging the temples f "themſelves." The *Syracuſans* however, not acquieſcing in this anſwer, ſent another embaſſy, and at the head of it one *Empediones*, a *Selinuntine*, who had always been in the intereſt of the *Carthaginians*, and had even adviſed his countrymen to open their gates to *Hannibal* at his firſt appearing before the town. The *Carthaginian* general received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, reſtored him to his eſtate, pardoned all the priſoners related to him, and even permitted the *Selinuntines*, who had fled to *Agrigentum*, to rebuild and repeople their city, and manure their lands, upon paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*[z].

AFTER

[y] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [z] Idem ibid.

a AFTER the reduction of *Selinus*, *Hannibal* marched with his army to attack *Himera*, which above all things he desired, in order to revenge the death of his grandfather *Hamilcar*, who had been slain there by *Gelon*, with above an hundred and fifty thousand *Carthaginians*, and almost as many taken prisoners. Besides, as he had already punished the *Selinuntines* for the insults they had offered his father *Gisco* in his banishment, he now resolved to take vengeance of the *Himereans*, for being the occasion of that banishment. On his march he was joined by twenty thousand *Siculi* and *Sicani*, whom he sent, with the main body of the army, to lay siege to the city, while he, with a body of forty thousand men, encamped on a rising ground at a small distance from it. His troops being flushed with their late success, he
b pushed on the siege with the utmost vigor, battering the wall with his engines in several places at once; but finding this not fully to answer his intention, he undermined it, and by supporting it with large pieces of timber, which were afterwards set on fire, laid great part of it flat on the ground. Upon this a warm dispute ensued, the *Carthaginians* making all possible efforts to enter the town; and the *Himereans*, having the fate of the *Selinuntines* always before their eyes, their parents, children, country, and every thing dear to them, to defend, and being moreover reinforced by four thousand *Syracusan* auxiliaries, with some troops from their other allies under the command of *Diocles*, distinguished themselves on this occasion in a most extraordinary manner; and repulsing the enemy with great bravery, imme-
c diately repaired the wall. In fine, the *Carthaginians*, having been constantly repulsed in their attacks for several days successively, were obliged for the present to desist from all further attempts to storm the town; which mortified them extremely, especially as they had not hitherto been able to gain an inch of ground [a].

Hannibal attacks Himera.

THE *Himereans*, animated by this advantage, resolved not to be any longer cooped up in the city, as the *Selinuntines* had been, but to endeavour, by one strenuous effort, intirely to dislodge the enemy. Having therefore posted detachments of their garison at proper distances on the wall, to repel any assault that might be given, they made a sally on the besiegers with their whole remaining force, consisting of ten
d thousand men. The *Carthaginians*, little dreaming that the besieged were capable of such an attempt, at first imagined, that the confederates of the *Himereans* had drawn together all their forces, to oblige them to raise the siege; which throwing them into a very great panic, the *Himereans* for some time easily bore down all that opposed them; and tho' the *Carthaginians* afterwards not only rallied, but collected their whole force before the town, to make head against them, yet their great number, an impediment to them at the present juncture, throwing them into disorder, they incommoded one another more than the enemy. The besieged, taking advantage of this, and being moreover inspired with fresh courage at the sight of their parents, children, and friends, who, for this purpose, exposed themselves on the ramparts, charged them with such intrepidity, that they put their whole army to flight, pur-
e suing them to the very hill where *Hannibal* was encamped. That general, seeing his army in confusion, hastened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for some hours, victory inclining to neither side. At length the *Himereans*, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thousand of them kept their posts, and covered the retreat of their companions, sustaining the shock of the whole *Carthaginian* army, till they all died upon the spot [b].

The Himereans *make a vigorous sally upon the* Carthaginians.

But are repulsed.

THE *Carthaginian* army, though victorious, was yet rudely handled, the *Himerean* troops being much more active, and better disciplined (H), and, by reason of the cruel treatment they expected from their enemies, if conquered, inspired with a much

The Carthaginians *sustain a great loss in this action.*

[a] Idem ibid. [b] DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

(H) Though the native *Carthaginians* were well armed and good troops, yet the *Africans* and *Numidians* were, for the most part, a disorderly rabble, very little acquainted with military discipline. These last troops always made up a confiderable part of the *Carthaginian* armies, and frequently permitted themselves to be surprised by the enemy; which sometimes produced dismal effects. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Timoleon*, shews us how they were posted, and the order they observed, when the *Carthaginian* forces were in full motion to attack the enemy, and even when they engaged them. It is probable, a great part of the army besieging *Himera*, consisted of these troops, whilst that under the command of *Hannibal*, which covered the siege, was composed of the national forces (20).

(20) *Plut. in Timol. Polyb. l.* xiv. *Liv. l.* xxx. *c.* 3. & *l.* xxv. *c.* 13. & *l.* xxviii. *c.* 1. *Hendr. l.* ii. *sect.* 2. *memb.* 1. *c.* 7.

much greater degree of reſolution. *Ephorus* ſays, the *Carthaginians* loſt twenty thouſand men in the firſt action, before they were purſued to *Hannibal*'s camp; though *Timæus Siculus* reduces this number to ſix thouſand. As there was a very ſharp engagement afterwards betwixt the *Himereans* and *Hannibal*, many more muſt undoubtedly have periſhed, though the preciſe number of them is not given us by any hiſtorian. According to *Diodorus Siculus*, the *Carthaginian* army, that laid ſiege to the town, excluſive of *Hannibal*'s camp, conſiſted of eighty thouſand effective men [a].

After this action, five-and-twenty galleys, which had been ſent by the *Siculi* ſome time before to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now returning home, appeared off of *Himera*; upon which a report was ſpread all over the city, and the enemy's camp, that the *Syracuſans*, with all their forces and allies, were coming to the relief of the city. This was ſo far from diſcouraging the *Carthaginians*, that it put *Hannibal* upon a new enterprize; for imagining that the *Syracuſans* had ſent all their ſtrength to ſupport their confederates, he doubted not but the city muſt be left in a manner defenceleſs; and therefore, immediately imbarquing with the flower of his troops in the galleys which lay at *Motya*, prepared to ſail for *Syracuſe*, in order to ſurpriſe that city. In the mean time, *Diocles*, commander in chief of the *Syracuſan* troops in *Himera*, a man of great foreſight and penetration, adviſed the captains of the *Sicilian* veſſels to ſail with all poſſible expedition to *Syracuſe*, leſt *Hannibal* ſhould make an attempt upon it; and this he was the more ſtrongly induced to, ſince, if in another action the beſiegers ſhould cut off the beſt of his men, he plainly perceived, that their own city muſt of courſe fall a prey to the *Carthaginians*. He therefore thought it adviſeable to leave *Himera* for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to *Syracuſe* on the galleys, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought ſufficient to hold out, till he, after putting his own city in a ſtate of defence, ſhould return. This the beſieged took very ill; but not being able to prevail upon *Diocles* to alter his meaſures, the greateſt part of their wives, children, and other effects, they took care to ſend on board the galleys by night, in order to have them tranſported to *Meſſana* [d].

Diocles embarques part of his troops for the defence of Syracuſe:

As *Diocles* and his men embarqued in a great hurry, they were obliged to leave the bodies of their companions ſlain in the ſiege uninterred. However, they carried off with them many of the *Himereans*, with their wives and children, who could not find room in the other veſſels. Upon his departure, the *Carthaginians* redoubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermiſſion. On the other hand, the beſieged, believing the ſhips would return ſpeedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulſing the enemy. Thus they held out againſt the repeated aſſaults and utmoſt efforts of above an hundred thouſand men, till the very day the fleet appeared, when the *Carthaginians*, ſummoning all their courage and reſolution, gave a general aſſault, and with their numbers bearing down all before them, drove the gariſon from the ramparts, and, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, entered the city ſword in hand. The *Iberians* ſignalized themſelves greatly on this occaſion, being the firſt that forced the beſieged from the walls, and entered with them pell-mell into the town. There is no ſort of cruelty which the barbarous *Carthaginians* and *Iberians* did not practiſe on their carrying the place; all they met, without regard to ſex or age, were inhumanly butchered, till the general himſelf put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. The houſes were plundered, the temples pillaged and burnt, after they had taken out of them thoſe wretches who had fled thither for refuge; and the city itſelf levelled with the ground. *Hannibal* cauſed the women and children, that ſurvived the firſt fury of the ſoldiers, to be preſerved; neither durſt any one offer the leaſt injury to them: but the men, to the number of three thouſand, he commanded to be carried to an eminence near the city, where his grandfather *Hamilcar* had been defeated and killed by *Gelon*'s cavalry, and there firſt expoſed them to the inſults of his barbarians, and then cauſed them to be cruelly maſſacred.

Which occaſions the loſs of Himera.

Thus ended this campaign, one of the moſt proſperous the *Carthaginians* had ever met with in *Sicily*; after which *Hannibal*, diſmiſſing the *Siculi* and confederates, and diſbanding the *Campanians*, embarqued with the reſt of his forces, and ſet ſail for *Africa*. The *Siculi*, upon their diſmiſſion, went home, as did likewiſe the *Campanians*; but the latter complained bitterly of the *Carthaginians*, becauſe they looked upon

The Campanians *think themſelves ill uſed by the* Carthaginians.

[a] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid.

upon themſelves as ſlighted by that nation, tho' they had remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their ſervice at the ſiege of *Selinus*, and indeed through the whole courſe of the campaign. *Himera* had ſtood, at the time it was razed by *Hannibal*, two hundred and forty years [e].

Hannibal, upon his quitting *Sicily*, left a ſmall body of troops with his confederates, that they might not be too much expoſed to the reſentment or ambition of their neighbours. After a ſhort paſſage, he arrived ſafe at *Carthage*, loaden with the plunder he had carried off from *Selinus* and *Himera*. The whole city went out to meet him on his arrival, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things, in ſo ſhort a time, than any ever before him [f]. Hannibal, *at his departure from* Sicily, *leaves ſome troops to protect his confederates there.*

ANIMATED by the late ſucceſs in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* reſolved now in earneſt to purſue the deſign which they had ever entertained of reducing the whole iſland. With this view they began to make new preparations, and raiſe another army, committing the whole management of the war to the ſame *Hannibal*. But as by reaſon of his great age he endeavoured to get himſelf excuſed from taking upon him the command in this new expedition, they joined in commiſſion with him *Imilcar* the ſon of *Hanno*, one of the ſame family. Theſe two generals being plentifully ſupplied with money, and impowered to raiſe what forces they thought neceſſary for ſo great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but ſent officers with large ſums into *Spain*, *Libya*, *Sardinia* (I), and the *Balearic* iſlands, to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. They received likewiſe large ſuccours from the princes and ſtates with whom they were in alliance, *viz.* from the *Mauritanians*, *Numidians*, and even the nations bordering on *Cyrenaica*. Beſides all which, they took a body of *Campanians* out of *Italy* into their pay, which by experience they had found to be good troops, and ſuch as they could intirely depend upon, eſpecially when intermixed with thoſe of other nations. When all their forces were muſtered at *Carthage*, the army was found to conſiſt of three hundred thouſand effective men, as *Ephorus* informs us; but *Timæus Siculus*, with more probability, ſays, that they did not much exceed an hundred and twenty thouſand: a force, however, ſufficient, as it ſhould ſeem, to over-run *Sicily* in one campaign. *The* Carthaginians *make preparations for another campaign in* Sicily.

THE *Carthaginians*, in the interval betwixt the firſt beginning of their preparations and their embarquing for the *Sicilian* expedition, drew together, out of *Carthage* and other cities in *Africa*, all perſons who were willing to tranſplant themſelves, and with them peopled a new city they had built near the hot-baths in *Sicily*, which was from thence called by the *Greeks Therma*. *They people a new city in that iſland, called by the* Greeks, *from its ſituation,* Therma.

BEFORE the grand fleet, which was compoſed of a thouſand tranſports, beſides a numerous ſquadron of galleys, with the forces on board, ſet ſail for *Sicily*, *Hannibal* ſent forty galleys to reconnoitre the coaſts, and get intelligence of the enemy. Theſe fell in with a *Syracuſan* ſquadron of equal force off of *Eryx*, and immediately engaged them. The diſpute was long and obſtinate, but at laſt victory inclined to the *Syracuſans*. Of the *Carthaginian* galleys, fifteen were ſunk, and the reſt, by the favour of the night, made their eſcape. When the news of this unexpected defeat reached *Carthage*, *Hannibal* ſailed immediately with fifty galleys, deſigning both to prevent any ill conſequences from thence to the *Carthaginians*, and to ſecure the paſſage and landing of the army [g]. *The* Syracuſans *defeat the* Carthaginians *by ſea.*

UPON

[e] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. [f] Idem ibid. [g] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. atq; EPHORUS & TIMÆUS SICULUS apud eund. ibid.

(I) *Livy* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* armies were generally made up of a great variety of barbarous nations, of different habits, different laws, different religions, and different languages, inſomuch, that they did not underſtand one another. As the *Carthaginians* applied themſelves wholly to naval affairs, they employed moſt of their own hands on board their ſhips; and the moſt opulent citizens did not care to expoſe their perſons in the wars, but contented themſelves with enabling the ſtate to hire foreigners in their room. They might likewiſe have ſome political views in this conduct; for by it they might imagine their ſtate to be rendered more ſecure, than if their armies conſiſted wholly of *Carthaginian* citizens, ſince theſe could not be ſo intirely truſted, on account of the different powerful factions prevailing at *Carthage*; beſides, ſuch an army as we have mentioned could not eaſily mutiny, or revolt, ſince 'tis impoſſible ſo many different nations ſhould act in concert, or form any dangerous ſcheme againſt their principals. However, *Polybius* condemns this practice, and not without reaſon, ſince it not a little contributed to the decline of the *Carthaginian* ſtate, and once brought it to the very brink of deſtruction (2).

(2) *Liv. l.* xxviii *c.* 12. *Polyb. l.* i *&* *l.* vi. *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *&* *l.* v. *Chriſt. Hendr. l.* ii. *ſect.* 2. *mem.* 1. *c.* 4.

Hannibal lands his troops in Sicily, *and advances to* Agrigentum;

UPON *Hannibal*'s arrival, the whole island was alarmed, and every city of consequence, having been before apprised of the great preparations of the *Carthaginians*, expected to be attacked first. Soon after, the whole fleet arriving safe in *Sicily*, the troops landed on the coast of *Agrigentum*, and marched straight to that city. a

THE *Syracusans*, and their confederates, had sent embassadors to *Carthage* to complain of the late hostilities practised upon them by *Hannibal*, and persuade the senate to forbear sending any more troops into *Sicily*. But the *Carthaginians* returning a doubtful answer to this embassy, the *Syracusans* had put themselves in a posture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. They had sent to the *Greeks* of *Italy* and the *Lacedæmonians* to solicit succours, and dispatched expresses to all the *Sicilian* cities in their interest, desiring them to unite their forces in defence of the common cause. But of all the people of *Sicily*, none were under such apprehensions as the *Agrigentines*; they seemed fully satisfied, that this great storm would first discharge itself upon them, and had therefore carefully provided all things necessary for the sustaining of a long siege, following therein the directions of *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, an officer of great courage and experience. The *Carthaginians*, upon their investing *Agrigentum*, divided their army into two bodies, one of which, consisting of forty thousand *Africans* and *Iberians*, encamped on certain eminences at some distance from the town; the other carried on the siege, and fortified their camp with a wall and an intrenchment, that they might be the better enabled to repulse the sallies of the besieged. When they first sat down before the town, they invited the *Agrigentines* either to join them, or stand neuter, declaring they would be well satisfied with either point of conduct, and forbear all hostilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendship. Both proposals being rejected, they attacked the town in form, expecting to meet with a vigorous resistance. And this indeed was not without reason; for the *Agrigentines* had obliged all who were capable of bearing arms, to assist in the defence of the place, and had moreover received a reinforcement of five hundred men from *Gela*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who was in high esteem at that time on account of his country, according to *Timæus Siculus*. Eight hundred *Campanians* also, who had formerly served under *Imilcar*, were taken into the service of the *Agrigentines*, and defended the hill *Athenæum*, which commanded the city, and was therefore a post of the utmost consequence. But notwithstanding these precautions, *Imilcar* and *Hannibal*, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. The machines chiefly made use of on this occasion were of surprising force; and two towers (K) were brought against the city of a monstrous size. The first day out of these they made an assault; and after having cut off many of the besieged, founded a retreat. However, the next night the *Agrigentines* made a sally, burnt the engines, destroyed the towers raised against them, and, after having made a great slaughter, retired in good order into the town. Hereupon *Hannibal*, intending to storm the place in different parts at once, commanded all the tombs and stately monuments, standing round the city, to be demolished, and mounts to be raised with the rubbish as high as the walls. But whilst they were executing the general's orders, a religious panic seized the army, occasioned by *Theron*'s monument being destroyed by a thunderbolt, which, by the advice of the soothsayers present, put a stop to the design. Soon after, the plague broke out in the army, and in a short time carried off a great number of the soldiers, and the general *Hannibal* himself. The *Carthaginian* soothsayers above-mentioned interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead. Nay, some of the soldiers upon guard affirmed, that they saw in the night-time the ghosts of the deceased. b c d e f

Which city he besieges, but meets with a warm reception.

Theron's monument destroyed by lightning, which occasions a panic in the Carthaginian *army.*

(K) Soon after the *Carthaginians* had invested a town, they raised a mount of equal height with the walls, if not superior to them; and thereon erected moveable towers, which overtopped the highest battlements and towers of stone, either upon the walls or within the town. These moved upon wheels, and with them the besiegers gradually made their approaches towards the body of the place. They were very large, and capable of containing considerable numbers of men, and some of the smaller engines of battery, whereby the besieged were greatly annoyed. From these towers they made their assaults, and frequently stormed towns, or at least opened breaches in the walls, in order to facilitate that operation. *Justus Lipsius* gives us a minute and particular account of them (3).

(3) *Just. Lipsi. polior. l.* ii. *c.* 3, 4, *&c. Vide etiam Died. Sic. l.* xiii. *Sil. Ital. l.* i. *& Chr. Hendr. l.* ii. *sect.* 2. *memb.* 1. *c.* 9.

deceaſed. Wherefore *Imilcar*, in whom the whole power was now veſted, ordered ſupplications to be made, according to the practice of *Carthage*, and the demolition of the tombs to be intirely diſcontinued. A boy was alſo ſacrificed to *Saturn*, in compliance with a cuſtom which had from remote antiquity prevailed amongſt the *Carthaginians:* by his orders *Neptune* likewiſe was appeaſed, and ſeveral prieſts thrown into the ſea, as the moſt pleaſing victims to that deity. *Imilcar* having, as he imagined, by theſe cruelties atoned for the ſacrileges of *Hannibal*, and pacified the gods, renewed the aſſaults with more vigor than ever, filled the river with rubbiſh cloſe to the walls, by which means he brought up his engines nearer the place, and played with them upon the town in ſuch a manner as reduced the beſieged to great
b ſtreights [h].

In the mean time, the *Syracuſans* taking into conſideration the deplorable condition of *Agrigentum*, and fearing it would undergo the ſame fate that *Himera* and *Selinus* had done, began to think in earneſt of marching to its relief. Having therefore drawn together the forces of their confederates from *Italy* and *Meſſana*, and being joined by the *Camarineans*, *Geleans*, and others out of the heart of the country, upon a review of their troops, they found them to amount to above thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. Theſe judging ſufficient for their purpoſe, they gave orders to *Daphneus*, their general, to advance at the head of them immediately into the territory of the *Agrigentines*, a fleet of thirty galleys, which ſailed cloſe by the
c ſhore, at the ſame time keeping pace with him. *Imilcar*, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the *Iberians* and *Campanians*, with forty thouſand *Carthaginians*, injoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river *Himera*. Purſuant to his orders, the *Syracuſans* were attacked a few hours after they had paſſed the river, as they were advancing in good order towards *Agrigentum*. The diſpute was ſharp, and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemy being far ſuperior in number to the *Syracuſans*. But at length the latter carried the day, and purſued the *Carthaginians* to the very walls of *Agrigentum*. *Daphneus* fearing, leſt *Imilcar* ſhould take advantage of the confuſion his troops were thrown into by their eagerneſs in the purſuit, and thereby wreſt the victory out of his hands, as had formerly happened
d to the *Himereans* on the like occaſion, rallied them, and marched after the fugitives in good order to the ſpot they were before encamped upon, which he took immediate poſſeſſion of. The *Carthaginians* loſt ſix thouſand men in this action [i] (L).

The Syracuſans *ſend an army to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege.*

Which is attacked by the Carthaginians, *but defeats them.*

The *Carthaginians* eſcaped a total defeat, either through the fear or corruption, as it ſhould ſeem, of the *Agrigentine* commanders. For the beſieged, ſeeing them fly to that part of their camp that lay next to the town in the utmoſt confuſion, immediately concluded, that they were routed; and therefore preſſed their officers to ſally out upon them without loſs of time, that they might complete their ruin. They were, however, deaf to theſe ſolicitations, and would not permit a man to ſtir out of the town. To what motive ſuch an unaccountable procedure was to be attri-
e buted, is hard to ſay; however, the fugitives were hereby ſaved, and arrived ſafe in their other camp. This fatal ſtep could never afterwards be retrieved, but was followed by the loſs of the city [k].

The Agrigentine *commanders guilty of a falſe ſtep, which occaſions the loſs of the place.*

Upon *Daphneus*'s arrival, a great part of the gariſon, with *Dexippus* at the head of them, waited upon him, and a council of war was immediately held. Every one here ſhewed himſelf highly diſſatisfied, that ſo fair an opportunity had been loſt of taking a full revenge of the enemy, and deſtroying ſo many myriads of them. Hereupon great diſputes aroſe, inſomuch, that four of the *Agrigentine* commanders, at the inſtigation of one *Menes*, a *Camarinean*, were ſtoned by the enraged multitude, and a fifth, called *Argeus*, only by reaſon of his youth, eſcaped. *Dex-*
f *ippus* himſelf was likewiſe highly reflected upon, and loſt much of the reputation he

A mutiny, wherein four of theſe commanders are ſtoned, and a fifth narrowly eſcapes.

[h] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

(L) We are told by *Polyænus*, that *Daphneus* defeated the *Carthaginians* by the following ſtratagem: The armies being engaged, the general heard a great noiſe in the left wing, where the *Italian* forces were poſted; and haſtening thither, he found them almoſt defeated: upon which immediately repairing to the right wing, compoſed of *Syracuſans*, he told them, that the *Italians* had routed the enemy; and therefore, to render the victory complete, intreated them to exert themſelves on the preſent occaſion. Animated by this good news, they immediately cryed out, *Let us fall upon the enemy with the utmoſt fury*. Upon which, charging them with incredible bravery, they ſoon put them to flight (4).

(4) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* v. *c.* 7.

he had before acquired, by concurring with the reſt. After the council broke up, a *Daphneus* formed a deſign to attack *Imilcar*'s camp; but finding it ſtrongly fortified, he altered his reſolution. However, he guarded all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, intending by that means either to oblige the enemy to periſh with famine, or come out of their lines and venture an engagement. Accordingly, all the paſſages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was ſoon brought to ſuch ſtreights, that the *Campanians* and other mercenaries began to mutiny; and going in a body to *Imilcar*'s tent, threatened to join the enemy, if they had not their uſual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their preſent want for a few days, aſſuring them they ſhould be very ſoon plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions, and in the mean b time pawned to them the drinking veſſels of the *Carthaginian* ſoldiers. He had been informed, that the *Syracuſans* were then loading many ſhips with corn, to be ſent to *Agrigentum*, and did not in the leaſt doubt but he ſhould intercept the convoy, the *Syracuſans* not ſuſpecting, that he would attempt any thing by ſea. Accordingly, he diſpatched meſſengers to *Panormus* and *Motya*, where his fleet lay, injoining the commanders to man the galleys with all poſſible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ſhips that were to bring the proviſions. His orders were put in execution; and forty galleys being ſpeedily equipped, the *Syracuſan* fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore tranſports, laden with corn and all ſorts of proviſions, was intercepted. Of their convoy, eight ſhips were ſunk, and the reſt driven on ſhore. c This changed the face of affairs on both ſides; for as ſuch an unexpected relief gave the *Carthaginians* freſh courage, ſo it greatly diſheartened the *Agrigentines*, who, having already held out for the ſpace of eight months, were in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved ſo quickly as their preſent neceſſity required. Beſides, at the beginning of the ſiege, when bad ſucceſs attended the *Carthaginians*, they had ſquandered away their corn and other proviſions in a very profuſe manner, by which means they were now reduced to the greater diſtreſs. The *Campanians* in the ſervice of the *Agrigentines*, obſerving the deſperate condition the city was in, upon receiving fifteen talents from *Imilcar*, went all over in a body to the *Carthaginians*. *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian* alſo, according to *Diodorus*, was ſaid d to have been bribed with the ſame ſum; for he on a ſudden adviſed the *Italian* commanders to withdraw their troops out of the town, inſinuating, that they were likely to be ſtarved there, without the leaſt proſpect of rendering any ſervice to thoſe who had hired them: whereas, by retiring in time, they might carry on the war to greater advantage in ſome other part: with which advice complying, they left the *Agrigentines* to ſhift for themſelves [1] (M).

Imilcar in great ſtreights for want of proviſions.

But ſupplies himſelf plentifully by intercepting a Syracuſan fleet of tranſports, laden with corn, and all ſorts of proviſions.

The mercenaries thus falling off, and the inhabitants deſponding for want of neceſſaries, a council of war was ſummoned, when it was judged abſolutely impoſſible to hold out any longer, there not being proviſions enough in the public ſtores to ſupport the ſoldiery and people two days. It was therefore reſolved, that the e city ſhould be abandoned, and the inhabitants conveyed to ſome place of ſafety; and the following night was fixed upon for their departure. The people, being appriſed of this reſolution, were thereby thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. Lamentable outcries were heard in every houſe; and the grief and dread they were all ſeized with in ſeeing themſelves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and eſtates, or elſe expoſe themſeves to the fury of a mercileſs enemy, were inexpreſſible. However, though their riches were immenſe, yet they eſteemed life ſtill more valuable; and therefore, as they expected no mercy from ſuch cruel barbarians, the greateſt part of them gave way to unavoidable neceſſity. We ſhall not here

Upon which the Agrigentines reſolve to leave their city to the enemy.

[1] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(M) *Polyænus* tells us, that *Imilcar* (whom he calls *Himilco*) gave private orders to his men to fly before the beſieged whenever they made a ſally, in order to draw them into an ambuſcade. There happened to be a wood juſt before the town, in which he poſted a detachment of his troops, with orders to ſet this on fire as ſoon as the enemy were got a conſiderable diſtance from the town. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the *Agrigentines* purſued the *Carthaginians* with great ardor for ſome time; but at laſt looking back towards the city, they perceived the wood all in a blaze? which they imagined was a fire iſſuing out of the city itſelf. Upon this they retired with great precipitation towards the town; but falling into the ambuſcade, and being hotly purſued by the party that drew them out, they were all either killed or taken priſoners (3).

(3) *Polyæn. ſtratagem. l.* v. *c.* 10. *ex.* 4. *Vid. & Frontin. ſtrat. l.* iii. *c.* 10. *ex.* 5.

a here expatiate upon the ſcene of horror now before us, *Diodorus Siculus* having done this in a moſt affecting manner, but only obſerve, that the place appointed for theſe miſerable wretches to retire to was *Gela*, where, when they arrived, they were received with great kindneſs and humanity, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries at the expence of the public. What happened to them afterwards may be ſeen in a former part of this hiſtory [m].

THE garriſon was no ſooner withdrawn, and the *Syracuſan* army retired, but *Imilcar*, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without ſome fear and jealouſy, and put all thoſe he found in it to the ſword, not ſparing even ſuch as had fled to the temples. Among theſe was *Gellias* (M), a citizen famous for his wealth and b integrity, who ſeeing that the *Carthaginians*, without reſpecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered thoſe who had taken ſanctuary in them, ſet fire to the temple of *Minerva*, and conſumed in the flames both himſelf and the immenſe riches of that ſtately edifice. *Gellias*, according to *Diodorus*, was induced to this action in order to prevent three evils: firſt, the impiety of the enemy to the gods; ſecondly, the ſacrilegious carrying off of the vaſt treaſure lodged there; and, thirdly, the abuſe of his own body [n].

Imilcar *enters the city; where he commits great cruelties.*

Imilcar having pillaged every part of the city, both ſacred and profane, found himſelf maſter of an immenſe treaſure. Nothing leſs could be expected from the ſpoils of a city, which was one of the moſt opulent in *Sicily*, containing two hundred c thouſand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even beſieged. An infinite number of pictures, vaſes, and ſtatues, done by the greateſt maſters of thoſe times, fell into the enemy's hands, the *Agrigentines* having an exquiſite taſte for the polite arts. To give our readers ſome idea of *Agrigentum*, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the very ſepulchral monuments ſhewed the luxury and magnificence of this city, they being adorned with ſtatues of birds and horſes, famous for their elegance. *Empedocles*, the philoſopher, born in *Agrigentum*, has a memorable ſaying concerning his fellow-citizens; *That the* Agrigentines *ſquandered away their money ſo exceſſively every day, as if they expected it could never be exhauſted; and built with ſuch ſolidity and magnificence, as if they thought they ſhould live for ever.* The moſt valu- d able part of the plunder *Imilcar* ſent to *Carthage*; every thing elſe he cauſed to be ſold under the ſpear. Among other curioſities, the famous bull of *Phalaris* was ſent to *Carthage* [o].

And pillages every part of it.

Empedocles's *ſaying of the* Agrigentines.

THE people of *Syracuſe*, being prodigiouſly alarmed at the reduction of *Agrigentum*, had a decree paſſed for the raiſing a numerous body of troops to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Carthaginians*, who with a mighty army hovered over the frontiers. *Imilcar* having gained the city, after eight months ſiege, a little before the winter ſolſtice, did not preſently raze it, but there took up his winter-quarters, to give his army the neceſſary refreſhment. The *Sicilians* in general, as well as the inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, were ſtruck with terror at the *Carthaginian* conqueſts, and many of them fled e to *Syracuſe* for protection, whilſt others tranſported themſelves, with all their effects, to the continent of *Italy*. Thoſe who took ſanctuary in *Syracuſe*, were treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Among

Many of the Sicilians, *being ſtruck with terror at the* Carthaginian *conqueſts, fly to* Syracuſe *for protection.*

[m] Idem ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. vol iii. [n] Idem ibid. See alſo univ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 42. not. (X).
[o] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. & CIC. l. iv. in Ver. c. 33.

(M) The munificence of *Gellias* may be learned not only from *Diodorus Siculus*, but *Valerius Maximus* and *Athenæus* (1). He entertained the people with ſpectacles and feaſts, and, during a famine, prevented the citizens of *Agrigentum* from periſhing with hunger He gave portions to poor maidens, and reſcued the unfortunate from want and deſpair. He had built houſes in the city and country, purpoſely for the accommodation of ſtrangers, whom he uſually diſmiſſed with handſome preſents. In ſhort, *Gellias*'s riches, immenſe as they were, were ſurpaſſed by his greatneſs of ſoul, his treaſures being, as it were, to uſe *Valerius Maximus*'s phraſe, the patrimony of the public. No wonder then that the inhabitants of *Agrigentum*, and all the neighbouring provinces, ſhould ſo ardently pray for his health and proſperity. No greater loſs could have happened to that part of *Sicily* than the fatal end of ſo excellent a perſon, but the death and deſtruction of all thoſe poor wretches, who ſhould have regretted him. *Athenæus*, in all the preſent MSS. calls him *Tellias*; but *Nicholaus Sturio* has diſcovered this to be a fault of the tranſcribers, though it muſt have been a very ancient one, ſince *Euſtathius* oftener than once calls him likewiſe *Tellias*. What *Athenæus* has concerning him is taken almoſt word for word out of the eleventh book of *Timæus*'s hiſtory, and poſſibly *Diodorus*'s may have been deduced from the ſame ſource. The great reſemblance betwixt the capital *tau* (T) and *gamma* (T) might poſſibly occaſion the miſtake above-mentioned; for that it is a miſtake, the printed copies and MSS. of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Valerius Maximus* ſufficiently evince.

(1) *Valer. Max. l.* iv. *c. ult. Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* i. *Vid. & Iſ. Caſaub. animadverſ. in Athen. l.* i. *p.* 12.

Among them were many *Agrigentines*, who filled the city with their complaints a againſt the *Syracuſan* commanders, as if they had betrayed *Agrigentum* into the enemy's hands. This raiſed ſuch diſturbances in *Syracuſe* as at laſt gave *Dionyſius* an opportunity of ſeizing upon the ſovereign power. *Imilcar*, after laying it intirely in ruins, towards the beginning of the ſpring, left *Agrigentum* [p].

The Syracuſans *ſend* Dionyſius *to aſſiſt the people of* Gela.

The *Geleans*, receiving intelligence that the *Carthaginians* intended to open the campaign with the ſiege of their city, and in the mean time falling out among themſelves, implored the protection of *Syracuſe*; upon which *Dionyſius* immediately marched to their aſſiſtance with two thouſand foot and four hundred horſe. The *Geleans* were ſo well ſatisfied with his conduct, that they treated him with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, and even ſent embaſſadors to *Syracuſe* to return their thanks b for the important ſervice that city had done them in ſending him thither. Soon after, he was appointed generaliſſimo of the *Syracuſan* forces, and thoſe of their allies, againſt the *Carthaginians*. This enabled him to give many proofs of his great capacity both in civil and military affairs, as has been already ſhewn, and will further appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Imilcar marches with his army againſt Gela.

The *Carthaginian* forces under the command of *Imilcar*, having, on the return of the ſpring, razed the city of *Agrigentum*, made an incurſion into the territories of *Gela* and *Camarina*; and, after having ravaged them in a dreadful manner, carried off ſuch an immenſe quantity of plunder from thence as filled their camp. *Imilcar*, then marching with his whole army againſt *Gela*, took poſt on the banks of the river c *Gela*, and ordering his men to cut down all the trees about the town, fortified his camp with a ditch and a wall (N), not doubting, but *Dionyſius* would come to the relief of the beſieged with a powerful army. The *Geleans*, in the beginning of the ſiege, were determined to ſend away their wives and children to *Syracuſe*, as a place of greater ſafety; but they all, running to the altars in the *forum*, could not be prevailed upon to retire, but proteſted that they would undergo the ſame fate as their huſbands and parents. This reſolution encouraged the *Geleans* to exert themſelves in the defence of perſons ſo dear to them, and to whom they were ſo dear. They made ſeveral ſallies with good ſucceſs, cutting great numbers of the enemy in pieces, and bringing many of them priſoners into the town. No ſooner was a breach d opened in the wall by the *Carthaginian* rams (O), but the citizens repaired it, being

[p] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(N) It will be proper in this note to mention ſome particulars relating to the *Carthaginian* camps, which we have hitherto not had an opportunity of doing. When the *Carthaginians* were apprehenſive, that the enemy would attempt to raiſe the ſiege of any place they had formed, they fortified their camp with a ditch and a wall, as we learn here from *Diodorus*. Their camps ſeem to have been formed in a regular manner, reſembling a town, and had gates to them. The *Numidian* camp was always ſeparated from the *Carthaginian*; the reaſons of which ſeem to have been, that the *Carthaginians* were generally foot, but the *Numidians* horſe, and that the latter could not permit themſelves to be confined to the rules of military diſcipline ſo eaſily as the former. The general's tent was, for the moſt part, fixed on an eminence in the middle of the camp, being much more magnificent and ſuperb than the others. Hither the officers repaired to receive their reſpective orders; and a ſtrong guard, *Polybius* intimates a thouſand horſe and as many foot, were generally poſted before it. Near this ſtood the ſacred tabernacle, and the altar, where the general, and officers of diſtinction, performed their devotions. The *Carthaginian* tents ſeem to have been raiſed in a regular manner of wood, faſcines, *&c.* reſembling ſo many cottages; but the *Numidian* were the reverſe, conſiſting only of reeds, ſtraw, ſtubble, and other ſuch-like ſlight materials (2).

(O) The *ram* was a battering engine uſed in ſieges by the ancients. *Pliny* tells us it was found out by *Epeus*, a *Greek*, at the ſiege of *Troy*; but this is not very probable, becauſe we find no mention made of it in *Homer*, who, if ſuch a wonderful machine had been then known, could not poſſibly have omitted taking notice of it. 'Tis therefore much more likely, that the *Carthaginians* invented it, as *Vitruvius* and *Tertullian* believe, with whom *Lipſius* agrees. The *ram* was a large beam, equal to the maſt of a ſhip, with a head of ſolid iron, reſembling that of a ram, from whence it derived its name. This was faſtened in the middle to another beam, ſupported by a large piece of timber on each ſide, by ropes, in ſuch a manner as to be pendulous like a balance. This being drawn backwards by a great number of hands as far as poſſible, was then puſhed forwards with as great an *impetus* as they could give it, ſo that the iron head beating againſt the walls of a city with inconceivable force, eaſily ſhook them; neither was there any wall or tower but what this, by repeated blows, was capable of battering down. As theſe blows, in ſome reſpect, reſembled the buttings of a ram, this was a further reaſon for giving the machine the name of that animal. *Appian* relates, that the *Romans* battered the walls of *Carthage* with two *rams* of an immenſe ſize, one of which was played by a body of ſix thouſand foot, and the other by a vaſt number of rowers, which may ſerve to give us ſome idea of this terrible engine. 'Tis mentioned by the prophet *Ezekiel*

(2) *Liv. l.* xxvi. *c.* 13. *& l.* xxviii. *c.* 1. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. *Juſt. Lipſ. l.* v. *dial.* 2. *milit. Rom. Polyb. l.* i. *c.* 45. *& l.* iii. *c.* 71. *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *Liv. l.* xxx. *c.* 3. *Polyb. l.* vi. *Plutarch. in Scip. Lipſ. milit. Rom. l.* v. *dial* 5. *& Cariſt. Hendr. Carth. l.* ii. *ſect.* 2, *memb.* 1, *c.* 7.

[a] being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children chearfully ſhared with them the labour and danger. The young men were continually in arms, and engaged with the enemy, and the reſt employed in working and other neceſſary ſervices. In fine, they defended themſelves with ſuch courage and reſolution, that, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, they held out a long time againſt a moſt formidable army, without receiving the leaſt aſſiſtance from their allies[q].

And meets with a vigorous reſiſtance.

In the mean time *Dionyſius*, by the junction of his mercenaries, and ſuccours from *Magna Græcia* with the *Syracuſans*, almoſt every one of whom capable of bearing arms he obliged to liſt under his ſtandard, formed an army of fifty thouſand foot, [b] according to ſome, though *Timæus Siculus* makes them only thirty thouſand, and a thouſand horſe; with which, and fifty ſail of ſhips, he advanced to the relief of *Gela*. Upon his arrival before the city, he encamped near the ſea, that his fleet and army might act in concert. With his light-armed troops he propoſed to prevent the enemy from foraging, whilſt his horſe and ſhipping ſhould intercept all proviſions coming to their camp from any part of the *Carthaginian* dominions; which he doubted not would greatly diſtreſs them. However, for twenty days he effected nothing; which much chagrining him, he reſolved to attack the enemy's camp, and, in order to this, made the following diſpoſition of his forces: The *Sicilian* foot had orders to move towards the left, and attack the enemy's trenches; the [c] troops of the confederates were to file off to the right, and marching to the ſhore, attempt the camp in the weakeſt place; the mercenaries, under his conduct, were to advance through the town, to the ſpot where the *Carthaginian* engines were placed, in order to deſtroy them; the horſe he commanded to paſs the *Gela*, upon a ſignal given by the foot, to join them, if ſuperior to the enemy, or, if repulſed, to ſupport them; and laſtly, the ſea-officers received orders to approach as near the enemy's camp as poſſible with the ſhips, when the *Italian* troops came up. As *Imilcar* had ſent a ſtrong detachment towards the ſhore, to oppoſe the enemy's landing,

Dionyſius *advances to the relief of* Gela.

And attacks the enemy's camp;

[q] Idem ibid.

Ezekiel in two paſſages, and *Nebuchadnezzar* made uſe of it at the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*. Whether the *Carthaginians*, or their anceſtors the *Tyrians*, (for both ſometimes went by the ſame name) firſt diſcovered it, cannot be certainly determined, nor at what time the diſcovery was made; but we take *Ezekiel* to be the earlieſt author in whom any mention of it is to be ſeen. Our learned readers will find a particular and full deſcription of the various kinds of this machine in *Vitruvius* and *Lipſius*, whom at their leiſure they may conſult (2).

Now we are upon this ſubject, we ſhall here once for all give a ſhort account of the *catapulta* and the *baliſta*, two other engines frequently taken notice of by the ancient hiſtorians. The *catapulta* was a machine out of which the *Carthaginians*, and other nations, ſent vollies of darts and large arrows, made on purpoſe, upon the enemy, particularly upon thoſe parties of gariſons poſted on the ramparts, to prevent the enemy entering the breaches made by the *rams*. *Diodorus* intimates, that this engine was but of late invention at the ſiege of *Motya*. Some authors confound this with the *baliſta*, which was an engine out of which ſtones of a vaſt weight were diſcharged; for *Diodorus* writes, that the *Carthaginians* filled *Lilybæum* with *catapults*, out of which they threw ſtones; and *Appian* relates the ſame of the *Roman catapults*. But *Lipſius* (and he has reaſon on his ſide) makes them different machines, though he allows, that the *catapulta* diſcharged both ſtones and arrows. That author ſays, there were two ſorts of *catapults*, the *majores catapultæ*, and the *minores*; the firſt ſent forth ſhowers of darts and arrows of three cubits long, the other thoſe of half that length. At the taking of new *Carthage* in *Spain*, an hundred and twenty large *catapults* were found there, and two hundred and eighty one of the ſmaller ſize. The *Carthaginians* always abounded with theſe engines: when *Pyrrhus* attacked *Lilybæum*, there was ſuch an abundance of them at that place, that the walls would ſcarce contain them; and, a little before the deſtruction of their city, they delivered up to the *Romans* two thouſand of them, according to *Appian*, or, as *Strabo* will have it, three thouſand. The *baliſta*, as juſt hinted, was an engine out of which the ancients threw ſtones of a prodigious magnitude: this was alſo uſed at ſieges, and in many reſpects anſwered to the battering cannon of the moderns, only the *baliſta*, if we may depend upon the relations of the ancients, ſeems to have been a machine of much greater force. According to *Lipſius*, the *baliſta* likewiſe was either *major* or *minor*; the *major* threw ſtones of three hundred and ſixty pound weight, and the *minor* thoſe of an hundred. *Hegeſippus* relates ſeveral ſurpriſing effects of this engine, which we have not time to take notice of. *Livy* tells us, that the *Romans* found at *Carthage* twenty-two of the larger *baliſtæ*, and of the ſmaller fifty-two. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as explained and illuſtrated by *Lipſius*, gives an accurate account of the antiquity, uſe, form, and, in ſhort, of every thing relating to theſe terrible engines, to which authors, for their further ſatisfaction, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers (3).

(2) *Tertul. de Pal. Plin. Joſeph. Vitruv. & Veget. apud Lipſium in poliorc. l.* iii. *dial.* 1. *& alib. Appian. in Libyc. Vitruv. l.* x. *c.* 19. *Ezek.* iv. 1, 2. *&* xxi. 22. *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 56. *Chriſt. Hendr. ubi ſup. p.* 468—475. (3) *Juſt. Lipſ. ubi ſup. dial.* 2. *&* 3. *Vid. etiam. Frid. Taubmannum in Plaut. capt. act* iv. *ſcen.* ii. *v.* 16. *Diod. Sic. in excerpt. l.* xxii. *c.* 14. *Appian. in Libyc. p.* 46. *Liv. l.* xxvi. *c.* 47. *Ammian. Marcellin. l.* xxiii. *Hegeſip. l.* iii. *c.* 12. *Vid. & Joſeph. Laurentium de torment. c.* 7, *&c.*

ing, and defend that part of the camp which lay moſt expoſed, the *Italian* auxilia- a
ries met with a great reſiſtance. However, they behaved with ſuch bravery, that they routed this body of troops, cut a great number of them in pieces, and advanced to the *Carthaginian* camp in good order, which they attacked with incredible fury. Had they been duly ſupported, they muſt have carried it, and thereby totally ruined the enemy. But *Dionyſius*, at the head of the mercenaries, not finding himſelf able to advance with ſufficient expedition through the ſtreets of the city to their relief, the *Siculi* being too remote to afford them timely ſuccour, and the gariſon not daring to make an effectual ſally by way of diverſion, leſt they ſhould leave the walls too naked; the *Carthaginians* reſuming their courage, and being relieved by a

But is repulſed with great loſs.

powerful ſupply of freſh troops, ſoon broke them, killed a thouſand on the ſpot, b
and forced the reſt into a narrow paſs within the lines. Here they muſt all have been inevitably cut off, had not a ſhower of darts, and other miſſive weapons from the fleet, favoured their retreat. The *Sicilian* foot, in the mean time, charged a large body of *Africans* with ſuch reſolution, that they put them to flight, and purſued them to their very trenches with great ſlaughter; but theſe *Africans* being ſoon reinforced by the *Campanians*, *Iberians*, and *Carthaginians*, who had routed the *Italians*, and thereby were at liberty to march this way, returned to the charge with greater fury than ever, and overpowering the *Siculi*, drove them back to the town, with the loſs of ſix hundred men. The horſe finding the foot not able to withſtand the efforts of the enemy, and ſeeing theſe advance on all ſides in order to ſurround c
them, retired likewiſe to the city with precipitation. *Dionyſius*, with his mercenaries, perceiving the greateſt part of his army thus rudely handled, thought proper alſo to retreat, and take ſhelter within the walls. After this unſucceſsful attempt he ſummoned a council of war, conſiſting of his particular friends, the reſult of whoſe deliberations was, that, ſince the enemy was ſo much ſuperior to them in ſtrength, it would be highly imprudent to put all to the iſſue of a battle; and there-

Which obliges the inhabitants to abandon the place.

fore, that the inhabitants ſhould be perſuaded to abandon their country, as the only means to ſave their lives. In conſequence of this, a trumpet was ſent to *Imilcar*, to deſire a ceſſation of arms till the next day, in order, as was pretended, to bury the dead, but in reality to give the people of *Gela* an opportunity of making their d
eſcape. Towards the beginning of the night, the bulk of the citizens left the place, and he himſelf, with the army, followed them about midnight. To amuſe the enemy, he left two thouſand men of his light-armed troops behind him, com-

Dionyſius *ſecures their retreat, and that of his army, by a ſtratagem.*

manding them to make fires all night, and ſet up loud ſhouts, as though the army remained ſtill in the town. At day-break, theſe took the ſame rout as their companions, and purſued their march with great celerity. By theſe ſtratagems, *Dionyſius* preſerved the inhabitants of *Gela* from all inſults, and ſecured the retreat of his army [r].

Imilcar finding the city deſerted by the greateſt part of its citizens, the gariſon, and *Syracuſan* army, immediately entered it, and either put to the ſword or crucified e
all he met with in it. He likewiſe thoroughly plundered it in the ſame manner as *Agrigentum*, and then moved with his forces towards *Camarina*. *Dionyſius* had before drawn off the *Camarineans* with their wives and children to *Syracuſe*, by appriſing them of *Imilcar*'s ſpeedy approach. Their city underwent the ſame fate with that of *Gela*. The manner in which it was abandoned, *Diodorus Siculus* deſcribes in a moſt moving manner, but this, as well as what happened to *Dionyſius* here-

Imilcar *plunders* Gela, *and then moves towards* Camarina, *which undergoes the ſame fate.*

upon, may be ſeen at large in a former part of this hiſtory [s].

Imilcar, in the mean time, finding his army extremely weakened, partly by the caſualties of war, and partly by a plague broken out in it, and not thinking himſelf in a condition to continue the war, ſent a herald to *Syracuſe* to offer terms of peace f
to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to *Dionyſius*, and a treaty of peace was immediately concluded with the *Carthaginians*. The articles of it were; that the *Carthaginians*, beſides their ancient acquiſitions in *Sicily*, ſhould ſtill poſſeſs the countries of the *Sicani*, the *Selinuntines*, the *Himereans*, and *Agrigentines*; that the people of *Gela* and *Camarina* ſhould be permitted to reſide in their reſpective cities, which yet ſhould be diſmantled, upon their paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*; that the *Leontini*, *Meſſanians*, and all the other *Sicilians*, ſhould live according to their own laws, and preſerve their own liberty and inde-

A peace concluded betwixt the Carthaginians *and* Dionyſius.

pendency

[r] Idem ibid. [s] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. Univ. hiſt. vol. iii.

pendency, except the *Syracusans*, who should continue in subjection to *Dionysius*. These articles being ratified by both parties, *Imilcar* returned to *Carthage*, having lost above half of his army. The plague afterwards made dreadful havock in *Africa*, carrying off vast numbers both of the *Carthaginians* and their allies [t].

a

BEFORE the *Carthaginian* army retired from *Sicily*, *Imilcar* separated the *Campanians* from the other troops, and left them to defend his conquests in that island. It happened soon after, that *Dionysius* was reduced to such extremities by his subjects the *Syracusans*, that he was advised by his most intimate friends either to kill himself, or by one desperate effort force his way through the enemy's camp, and escape to those places which were subject to the *Carthaginians*. But *Philistus* (E) the historian, who, for a considerable time, had supported *Dionysius*, opposed this advice, telling him, that he ought to resume his courage, and either maintain himself on the throne, or die in the attempt. The tyrant, falling in with the sentiments of *Philistus*, resolved to part with his life, rather than the power he had acquired. In consequence of this resolution, he dispatched an express privately to the *Campanians*, and by large offers prevailed upon them to march to his relief. By their assistance he soon extricated himself out of the difficulties in which he was before involved, and afterwards became a scourge both to his own subjects and the *Carthaginians* [u].

b

Dionysius *in imminent danger of losing the sovereignty at* Syracuse;

But delivered from thence by the Campanians.

HAVING

[t] Idem ibid. [u] DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. c. 3.

(E) This *Philistus* was, according to *Suidas* (1), the son of *Archonides*, or, as *Pausanias* calls him, *Archomenidas*, and scholar to the elegiac poet *Euenus*. He was particularly intimate with *Dionysius*, and above any other person instrumental in establishing that tyrant's power at *Syracuse*; for which reason he obtained the government of the citadel there. It is suggested by some, that he enjoyed too great a degree of familiarity with *Dionysius*'s mother, tho' with his privity. However this may be, upon his marrying the daughter of *Leptines*, brother to *Dionysius*, without imparting his design to that prince, he was banished by him, and retired to *Adria*. He was not permitted to return as long as the tyrant lived; but in the time of *Dionysius* the younger, those who opposed *Dion* had him recalled; for they were afraid, lest *Plato*, by his eloquence and philosophy, should change the tyrant's mind, which they believed (2) so learned a man as *Philistus* would be able to prevent, especially as he was perfectly well acquainted with the manner of adapting himself to the tyrant's disposition. He answered their expectations; for, as soon as he was in favour, he opposed *Plato*, and persuaded *Dionysius* to expel *Dion*. Soon after, *Dion* made war upon *Dionysius*, and besieged him in the castle of *Syracuse*. *Philistus* hastened to his assistance from *Iapygia*, with a strong squadron of 13 galleys, but had the misfortune to be defeated. *Ephorus* says, he fell by his own hands, and is followed herein by *Diodorus Siculus*. But *Timonides*, who lived with *Dion* from the beginning of these commotions, informs us, that he was taken prisoner, and put to death; with whom *Timæus Siculus* in the main agrees. *Diodorus Siculus* says, he was denied burial. He may justly be esteemed to have been a man of merit, if we consider his wit, his learning, his writings, and even his bravery, which will, in some measure, appear from the account of him in the history of *Syracuse*. *Suidas* (4) ascribes to him a treatise concerning oratory; *Ægyptiaca*, or the history of *Egypt*, in twelve books; *res Siculæ*, or the *Sicilian* history, in eleven books; some orations, and one amongst the rest against *Tricaranus*, concerning the city of *Naucratis*; the history of *Dionysius* the tyrant; three books about the theology of the *Egyptians*; and a treatise concerning *Libya* and *Syria*. *Cicero* (5) highly celebrates his learning and diligence. His *Sicilian* history was the work in greatest esteem, of which, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (6), there were two parts. The first consisted of seven books, including the transactions of eight hundred years, and concluding with the third year of the ninety-third olympiad, when the *Carthaginians* took *Agrigentum*. The other begins where the first left off, that is, at the time when *Dionysius* the elder began his reign over the *Syracusans*, which was the year after the taking of *Agrigentum*. According to *Cicero* (7), he took great pleasure in imitating *Thucydides*; and, if *Quintilian* (8) may be credited, exceeded him in perspicuity. *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* (9) made him too much inferior to *Thucydides*. However, all are agreed, that he much resembled him in the conciseness of his style. He affected this so much, that, if *Theon* (10) may be believed, he avoided digressions to an excess. *Timæus* abused him; but *Ephorus* extolled him up to the skies; for which they are both censured by *Plutarch* (11). His works, as well as those of *Ephorus* and *Timæus Siculus*, are all intirely lost. Had *Philistus*'s *Sicilian* history, and his treatise concerning *Libya*, been extant, we should undoubtedly have met with many curious particulars relating to the building of *Carthage*, the first formation, growth, and decay of the *Carthaginian* state; in short, of all the principal transactions in which it was concerned, from its earliest ages to his time. This is not only probable from the titles of those pieces, but likewise from a hint given us by (12) *Eusebius* and *Appian*. Notwithstanding he wrote a history during his banishment, he did not shew any resentment against *Dionysius* in it, but, on the contrary, flattered him, and concealed his vices. This conduct *Pausanias* (13) endeavours to excuse, or at least to palliate, by saying, that the motive to it was a desire to be recalled to *Syracuse*. Some believe *Philistus* to have been born at *Naucratis*, others at *Syracuse*, and lastly, others believe there were two historians of that name, one of whom was born at *Naucratis*, and the other at *Syracuse*. It is not very material which of these is in the right.

(1) *Suid. in* Φίλιστος & *Pausan. in Eliac. l.* v. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. & xvi. & *Plut. in Dion.* (2) *Plut. ubi sup.* (3) *Idem ibid.* & *Diod. Sic. l.* xvi. (4) *Suid. ubi sup.* (5) *Cic. de divinat. l.* i. (6) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. (7) *Cic. de orat. l.* ii. (8) *Quintil. l.* x. *c.* 1. (9) *Dionys. Halicarn. ep. ad Pomp.* (10) *Theon in progymnasm. c.* 4. (11) *Plut. ubi sup.* (12) *Euseb. in chron. ad num.* DCCCIV. *Vide & animadvers. Scaliger. in loc. Appian. in Libyc. sub init.* (13) *Pausan. in Attic. p.* 25. *Vide & Voss. de hist. Græc. l.* i. *c.* 6.

He makes preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians;

HAVING disarmed the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, and by that step fixed his sovereignty a there, he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war with the *Carthaginians*; for he had struck up the late peace with *Imilcar* so suddenly, with no other view, than to amuse him till he had established his authority, and found himself in a condition to attack the *Carthaginian* conquests in *Sicily* with a powerful army. The motives, that seem immediately to have prompted him to this war, were two: First, to prevent the future desertion of his subjects, many of whom retired every day with all their effects to the *Carthaginian* garisons, as well as to recover those he had lost, since he imagined, that, upon the breaking out of a rupture, the cruel treatment of the *Carthaginians* would drive them from thence. And secondly, the great pro- b spect of success he had at that particular juncture, by reason of the deplorable ravages the plague then made in the *Carthaginian* territories. As he knew the *Carthaginians* to be the most potent nation in the west, and that, if an opportunity offered, they would most certainly besiege *Syracuse*, he thought proper, by way of precaution, to

And fortifies the hill Epipolæ.

fortify the hill *Epipolæ*, which commanded the town. This he did at a vast expence, with the assistance of sixty thousand freemen and six thousand yoke of oxen. *Diodorus* tells us, that on this occasion the tyrant did not only superintend every part of the work, but frequently worked himself, enduring as much hardship and fatigue as the poorest labourer; by which means the workmen were inspired with such a spirit of emulation and alacrity, that they laboured all day and part of the night, and, which is almost incredible, in twenty days finished a wall thirty furlongs in length, c and of a proportionable height, which being flanked with high towers, placed at proper distances, and built of hewn stone, rendered the place almost impregnable[w].

HAVING thus put his own city in a state of defence, he made preparations suitable to the undertaking he was going upon, being very sensible with how formidable a power he was soon to cope. His first care was to bring to *Syracuse* from all parts of *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all sorts of arms. As he found, that mercenaries came flocking in to him from all parts, his intention was to have them all armed after the manner of their respective countries, imagining that by this means they would be more capable of distinguish- ing themselves, and of striking a terror into the enemy. Not only the porches of the d temples, but the schools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every public place, nay, even private houses, were filled with workmen. The great wages which *Dionysius* paid them, induced the best artificers every-where to offer him their service. He himself directed them in every thing relating to the form of the weapons they were to forge, and appointed the chief of the citizens to superintend them, with orders to promise great rewards to the diligent for their future encouragement. The art of making engines to batter walls was, according to *Diodorus*, now first brought to *Syracuse*; but the artificer's name, to whom *Dionysius* was obliged for this, is no- where told us. As he was ambitious of being superior to the *Carthaginians* by sea, e he caused a vast quantity of timber for building his galleys to be brought from *Italy*, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and then shipped for *Syracuse*. Mount *Ætna* also supplied him with many fir and pitch trees, with which it then abounded. Having provided the necessary materials, he employed such a prodigious number of hands, that a fleet of two hundred sail was soon ready to put to sea; to which he added an hundred and ten old galleys, that were refitted. He likewise caused an hundred and sixty distinct receptacles to be made round the harbour, for sheltering his fleet from the weather, which would contain two ships a-piece; and after he had repaired an hundred and fifty old useless vessels, covered them with planks. The *Syracusans* themselves manned half of the long ships, and the foreigners, who had entered into *Dionysius*'s service, the rest. In order to have his troops completely f armed as soon as possible, *Dionysius* animated the artificers by his presence, by the applauses he gave them, and by his bounty, in which all the diligent part of them shared. But his popular and winning behaviour excited more strongly, than any other circumstance, the industry and ardor of these people; for those who distinguished themselves, either by their ingenuity or application, were not only sure of receiving some particular marks of his favour, but even sometimes had the honour to dine or sup with him. It is no wonder therefore, that in a shorter time than can easily be conceived, besides an immense quantity of other arms, he had got ready an hundred and

Artificers flock to him out of all countries, and soon enable him to build a vast number of ships, and to forge a prodigious quantity of all sorts of arms.

[w] Idem ibid. c. 4.

and forty thouſand bucklers, the ſame number of ſwords and helmets, and fourteen thouſand cuiraſſes, all of excellent workmanſhip. He had alſo prepared for ſervice a large train of battering engines of all kinds, and an infinity of darts. As for land-forces, beſides his own ſubjects, many ſoldiers came from *Italy*, *Greece*, and other countries, to liſt in his ſervice. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that *Dionyſius* is ſaid by *Diodorus* to have invented the quinqueremes about this time, to which he was induced chiefly out of a deſire, that the *Syracuſans* ſhould be thought to rival their anceſtors in ingenuity; for being appriſed, that the triremes, or three-oared veſſels, were firſt made at *Corinth*, he was deſirous the number of oars ſhould be firſt inlarged by the *Syracuſans*, a colony of the *Corinthians* [x].

THE tyrant, having finiſhed his military preparations both by ſea and land, and finding his army in a condition to take the field, thought proper now to open his deſign to the *Syracuſans*. In order to which he convened the ſenate, and communicated his intention to them of attacking the *Carthaginian* territories inſtantly, and even without any previous declaration of war. In vindication of his conduct on this occaſion, and to ſpirit up the aſſembly, he urged, that the *Carthaginians* were of all others the moſt implacable enemies to the *Greek* nation; that they had then nothing leſs in view than the conqueſt of *Sicily*, and conſequently the ruin of all the *Greek* cities therein; that they would have even been at the gates of *Syracuſe* before that time, had not the plague obliged them to continue in a ſtate of inaction; that as they were then in a moſt deplorable condition, no finer opportunity could ever offer itſelf to the *Syracuſans* of driving them out of the iſland than the preſent; and that laſtly, if this was let ſlip, upon their recovering themſelves, they would moſt certainly put their favourite ſcheme in execution, and deprive the *Syracuſans*, as well as their neighbours, of every thing that was dear and valuable to them. The aſſembly, moved by ſo pathetic a ſpeech, and influenced by the views of policy more than the dictates of juſtice, readily concurred in his opinion. The ancient hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, their rage againſt them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding ſome opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their ſuffrages, and war was unanimouſly reſolved on. If they were victorious, they doubted not carrying their point; and if worſted, the tyrant would be ſo much afraid of a foreign enemy, that he would learn to treat his ſubjects at home with more moderation. In ſhort, as they fancied themſelves to have a proſpect of bettering their condition, however the war might turn out, they were for puſhing matters to extremity without delay [y].

He acquaints the Syracuſans *with his deſign.*

Who approve of it.

UPON the breaking up of the aſſembly, *Dionyſius*, in conformity to the diſpoſition of the *Syracuſans*, gave up to the fury of the populace the perſons and poſſeſſions of the *Carthaginians*, who then reſided in *Syracuſe*, and there traded on the faith of treaties. As there were many of their ſhips at that time in the harbour, laden with cargoes of great value, the people immediately plundered them, and, not contented with this, ranſacked all their houſes in a moſt outragious manner: and this horrid example of perfidiouſneſs and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole iſland of *Sicily*; nay, the *Greeks* inhabiting the cities under the juriſdiction of the *Carthaginians*, not ſatisfied with ſtripping them of their effects, thought themſelves ſufficiently authorized to treat the bodies of thoſe miſerable wretches with the utmoſt ignominy and barbarity; to inflict every kind of puniſhment upon them, in return for the cruelties they had formerly exerciſed on the natives of the country. This was the bloody ſignal of the war that *Dionyſius* now entered into with the *Carthaginians* [z].

He falls upon the Carthaginians *in* Sicily, *without any previous declaration of war.*

It has been above obſerved, that great numbers of mercenaries flocked to *Dionyſius* from *Greece*, *Italy*, and ſeveral other countries. The great pay he offered, drew them over in crouds; but no foreign power contributed ſo much to his ſupport as the *Lacedæmonians*. From *Sparta* he received as many recruits as were neceſſary for the completing of his troops, which, becauſe he apprehended the war with *Carthage* would be long and bloody, he reſolved ſhould be very numerous. That he might be intirely at liberty to act againſt the common enemy with all his forces, he concluded a peace with the *Rhegians* and *Meſſanians*. To engage the latter the more firmly in his intereſts, he ceded to them a large extent of territory. This he judged not ill beſtowed at ſuch a critical juncture; for the *Meſſanians*, being a ſea-faring people,

Great numbers of foreign mercenaries take on in his ſervice.

He concludes a peace with the Rhegians *and* Meſſanians.

[x] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 7. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid.

people, and pretty powerful, would have given no ſmall diverſion to his arms, had a they joined with the *Carthaginians*[a].

Dionyſius, thus backed by his ſubjects, mercenaries, and confederates, and finding the vaſt project he had formed now ripe for execution, diſpatched a herald to *Carthage*, with a letter to the ſenate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their gariſons from all the *Greek* cities in *Sicily*, the people of *Syracuſe* would treat them as enemies. This letter, being read firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the people, occaſioned a general alarm at *Carthage*, which the plague had reduced to a miſerable condition. However, though in want of all neceſſaries, they were not diſmayed, but ſent officers into *Europe*, with conſiderable ſums, to raiſe troops with the utmoſt diligence. In the mean time, they b diſpatched orders to their gariſons in *Sicily*, to obſerve the motions of the *Syracuſan* army; and appointed *Himilco* commander in chief of all their forces[b].

The Carthaginians *levy forces to oppoſe* Dionyſius.

Dionyſius, without waiting for the anſwer of the *Carthaginians*, agreeably to the plan he had laid down, advanced with his army towards mount *Eryx*, near which ſtood the city of *Motya*, a *Carthaginian* colony of great eminence. This town was defended by a citadel of great ſtrength, and might be juſtly looked upon as the key of *Sicily*. The reduction of it therefore, the tyrant very well knew, would be a conſiderable blow given to the *Carthaginians*. He was joined on his march by the *Greeks* of *Gela*, *Camarina*, *Agrigentum*, *Himera*, and *Selinus*, out of the ardent deſire they had to recover their liberties, and ſhake off the *Carthaginian* yoke. With this acceſſion of ſtrength, his army amounted to eighty thouſand foot and above three thouſand horſe. The fleet conſiſted of two hundred long galleys, and five hundred tranſports, laden with warlike engines and all ſorts of proviſions. The *Motyans*, by reaſon of their attachment to the *Carthaginians*, expected the ſtorm would fall upon them; but, in hopes of relief from *Carthage*, they were reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of blood. The city ſtood on a ſmall iſland, about half a league from ſhore, to which it was joined by a ſmall neck of land, which the *Motyans* cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that ſide. In it the *Carthaginians* kept all their ſtores and proviſions. *Dionyſius* therefore opened the campaign with the ſiege of this place; and, after having taken a view of it with his engineers, commanded d the canal between the city and the ſhore to be filled up with rubbiſh, and his galleys to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having given theſe orders, he left his brother *Leptines*, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the ſiege, while he with the land-forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the *Carthaginians*, which, terrified at the approach of ſo formidable an army, all ſubmitted, except five, *viz.* *Ancyra*, *Solas*, *Egeſta*, *Panormus*, and *Entella*.. The territories of the *Solantines*, *Panormitans*, and *Ancyreans*, he deſtroyed with fire and ſword, and cut down all their trees. *Egeſta* and *Entella* he beſieged, endeavouring, by repeated attacks, to take them both by ſtorm; but not being able to reduce them in ſo ſhort a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to *Motya*, not doubting, but all other e places would fall of courſe, as ſoon as he had made himſelf maſter of this.

Dionyſius *inveſts* Motya.

In the mean time, *Himilco* (F), who was buſy in raiſing men and making other preparations for the war in *Sicily*, ordered his admiral to ſet ſail from *Carthage* with ten galleys, and making ſtraight to *Syracuſe*, to deſtroy all the veſſels he ſhould find in that harbour. What he propoſed by this was, to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige

Himilco *ſends ten galleys from* Carthage, *to deſtroy the veſſels in the harbour of* Syracuſe.

[a] Idem ibid.

[b] Idem ibid.

(F) This general we have conſtantly called *Imilcar* in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe*, through miſtake; for we are now convinced, that his true name was *Himilco*. This appears not only from *Diodorus Siculus*, but likewiſe from *Livy*, *Polyænus*, *Frontinus*, and *Oroſius*. In ſome editions of *Juſtin* he is called *Amilco*; in others *Imilco*; but that author is certainly guilty of a miſtake, when he makes him the ſon of *Hamilcar*, who was killed by *Gelon*, and ſkips over a long interval of time, when he will have the deſtruction of this general's army by the plague immediately to have ſucceeded the death of *Hamilcar* above-mentioned. Beſides, that this was not the ſame *Imilcar* who commanded in the preceding war, is probable from hence, that *Imilcar* there imagined his collegue *Hannibal* to have brought the plague into the *Carthaginian* army, by demoliſhing the tombs and monuments of the dead, which he conſidered as an impious action, and therefore diſcontinued that demolition; whereas we find, that this *Himilco* beat down the tombs which ſtood round the city, in order to fortify his camp, and facilitate his approaches. They were therefore probably different perſons from this circumſtance; but the authorities produced, without this, put the point beyond diſpute (1).

(1) *Liv. l.* xxiv. *c*, 36. *Polyæn ſtratag. l.* v. *c.* 10. *ex.* 2. *Frontin. ſtrat. l.* i *c.* 1. *ex.* 2. *Oroſ. l.* iv. *Juſtin. l.* xix.

a oblige *Dionyſius* to ſend part of his fleet to the defence of *Syracuſe*. The admiral, purſuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, without being diſcerned by the enemy; and having ſunk moſt of the ſhips he found there, returned to *Carthage* without the loſs of a ſingle man [c] (G).

Dionyſius, on his return to *Motya*, having ſet more hands at work, ſpeedily filled up the canal with heaps of ſtone and rubbiſh, ſo that he could make his approaches as on dry land. He then perfected the rampart, brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers ſix ſtories high, rolled upon wheels, of equal height with their houſes, and from thence galled the beſieged with continual vollies of arrows and ſtones diſcharged from his catapults (H), an engine at that time of late invention. The place was attacked and defended with the utmoſt vigor. The *Motyans*, tho' deſpairing of any relief, reſolved to ſell their lives at as dear a rate as poſſible, knowing they had no quarter to expect from ſo incenſed an enemy; and therefore oppoſed the beſiegers, notwithſtanding the imminent danger they were in, with incredible bravery. They poſted ſoldiers armed in coats of mail upon the maſts of their ſhips, who hoiſting up their main-yards, threw down burning firebrands, and tow dipped in pitch, upon the engines, which immediately ſet them on fire; but the *Sicilians*, preſently advancing, not only extinguiſhed the flames, but opened ſeveral large breaches in the walls, and made a general aſſault upon the town with ſuch fury, that they bore down all before them. The conteſt now was c extremely bloody; for the beſiegers, thinking themſelves ſure of carrying the place, and being vaſtly deſirous of taking vengeance of the enemy for the barbarous treatment their nation had formerly received from them, fought like lions; and on the other hand, the beſieged, knowing they muſt fall a victim to an implacable and enraged enemy, if the town was taken by ſtorm, reſolved to die valiantly in the defence of the place, and therefore behaved like men in deſperation. At laſt, however, the *Sicilians* prevailed, and entered the city ſword in hand, thinking they ſhould now ſpeedily accompliſh their deſign; but herein they found themſelves deceived, for the *Motyans* had finiſhed a fortification at the foot of the walls, of equal ſtrength with the walls themſelves, which there was a neceſſity of carrying, before *Dionyſius* could d make himſelf maſter of the place. The beſieged therefore, after having been obliged to abandon the walls, betook themſelves to the defence of this, and gave the *Sicilians* a warmer reception here than they had met with before, deſtroying vaſt numbers of them from the top of the fortification, and the roofs of the houſes adjoining to it. However, the *Sicilian* towers being of a vaſt height, by their aſſiſtance the beſiegers advanced their ſcaling ladders to the neighbouring houſes, and by this means fought hand to hand with the beſieged. The diſpute now was extremely ſharp and obſtinate; for the *Motyans* having new life and vigor infuſed into them by the ſight of their wives and children, who, in caſe of any diſaſter, they knew would be treated in the ſame barbarous manner, as their countrymen taken priſoners by the *Greeks* had already been, reſolved either to conquer or die. They ruſhed therefore with a fury t little inferior to madneſs into the midſt of their enemies, threw infinite numbers of them headlong from the ſcaffolds they had erected, and, in fine, repulſed *Dionyſius* with ſuch ſlaughter, that he was at laſt obliged to ſound the retreat [d].

Dionyſius attempts to ſtorm Motya,

But is vigorouſly repulſed.

THE

c DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. d Idem ibid.

(G) *Polyænus* tells us, that the admiral ordered the lights to be all placed abaft, or in the ſterns of the ſhips, that no ſuſpicion might be given of their approach; by which means he entered the port in the night undiſcovered by the enemy, and eaſily deſtroyed the veſſels he found there (2).

(H) To what has been lately obſerved of the *catapultæ* and *baliſtæ* may be added, that from the latter ſtones of a prodigious ſize were generally thrown; that the *Greek* word πέλτη, of which, with the prepoſition κατὰ, the word καταπέλτης or *catapulta* is compoſed, ſignifies, according to *Heſychius*, a dart, a ſpear, or javelin; and conſequently gives us to underſtand, that theſe were the miſſive weapons diſcharged moſt frequently out of that machine. This is confirmed by an alluſion to be found in *Plautus*. Both the *catapultæ* and *baliſtæ* were of *Syrian* or *Phœnician* invention, and from thoſe nations the *Jews* had them, as may be learned from *Pliny*, in conjunction with ſcripture. The *Sicilians* introduced them into *Greece*, in the time of *Ageſilaus*. Upon the firſt ſight of the *telum catapultarium*, *Archidamus*, the ſon of that prince, is ſaid to have cried out, *O ye gods, all valour is now deſtroyed* (3).

(2) *Polyæn. ubi ſup.* (3) *Heſych. in voc.* πέλτη. *Plaut. curcul.* 5. 3. 11. *Lipſ. poliorc.* 3. 2. *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 56. 2. *Chron.* xxvi. 15. *Plutarch in apophth. Vid. & Jac. Perizonii comment. in Ælian. var. hiſt. l.* vi. *c.* 12. *ed. Lugd. Bat.* 1701.

But at last takes the town,

THE attack was repeated for ſeveral days ſucceſſively in the ſame manner, but a without any effect; for the *Motyans*, being accuſtomed to this way of fighting, conſtantly repulſed *Dionyſius*, obliging him every evening to draw off. At laſt *Archylus* the *Thurian*, at the head of a choice detachment, in the dead of the night, getting over the ſhattered houſes without noiſe, poſſeſſed himſelf of a very commodious poſt, where he made a lodgment, till *Dionyſius* ſent another ſtrong body of troops to ſupport him. The *Motyans*, ſeeing themſelves ſurpriſed, made their utmoſt efforts to diſlodge the enemy, ſo that a fierce encounter enſued. But at laſt the *Sicilians*, overpowering them with numbers, gave *Dionyſius* an opportunity of breaking into the city like a torrent with his whole army. Every part of the town was in a b moment covered with dead bodies; for the *Sicilians*, enraged at the obſtinate defence of the beſieged, and to retaliate the former cruelties of the *Carthaginians*, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, thoſe only excepted who took ſanctuary in the *Greek* temples. For *Dionyſius*, being deſirous of ſelling them for ſlaves, in order to bring money into his coffers, and not being able to reſtrain the violence of the ſoldiery, ordered the public crier by proclamation to declare, that he would have the *Motyans* fly for refuge thither. This put a ſtop to the

And plunders it.

ſlaughter; however, the army thoroughly plundered the town, carrying off from thence an immenſe quantity of wealth and treaſure. This *Dionyſius* thought proper to permit, that he might ingratiate him with the troops, and that they might hereby be the more readily induced to ſignalize themſelves on all future occaſions. c

As many therefore of the *Motyans* as were left alive, he ſold for ſlaves, but commanded *Daimenes*, and all the *Greeks*, who had joined the *Carthaginians*, to be crucified. As for *Archylus*, to whoſe bravery and conduct the taking of the place was in a great meaſure owing, he rewarded him with an hundred *minas*, and all the reſt in proportion to their merit. Having thus reduced the ſtrongeſt city in *Sicily* ſubject to *Carthage*, he placed a numerous gariſon in it, under the command of one

Leaves a gariſon there, and returns to Syracuſe.

Bito a *Syracuſan*. Afterwards ordering *Leptines*, with an hundred and twenty galleys, to watch the *Carthaginians* at ſea, and to make incurſions into the territories of *Entella* and *Egeſta*, which it was his intention to have done himſelf, would the ſeaſon and the exigence of his affairs have permitted, ſummer now drawing to an end, d he returned with his army to *Syracuſe* [c].

THE *Carthaginians* having been ſurpriſed by *Dionyſius*, in contempt of the faith of treaties, as above related, found it impoſſible to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege of *Motya*; however, they were willing to attempt, not only this, but even to carry the war to *Syracuſe*. In order to which, *Himilco*, receiving advice, that *Dionyſius* with his fleet was entered into the harbour, gave orders to have an hundred of his beſt galleys manned without delay; with which, as the *Syracuſans* had no ſquadron out at ſea to obſtruct his deſign, he entertained hopes either of deſtroying or making himſelf maſter of the tyrant's whole naval force by ſurpriſe at one ſingle blow. Could this have been effected, he would not only have relieved the place, but likewiſe e changed the ſeat of the war.

SETTING ſail therefore from *Carthage*, after a ſhort paſſage, he arrived in the night on the coaſt of *Selinus*, and the next morning by break of day, at the port of *Motya*, where the *Syracuſan* galleys were then riding at anchor. Theſe he immediately attacked, burning and ſinking ſeveral of them. *Dionyſius*, not a little alarmed

Himilco *makes an attempt to ſurpriſe* Dionyſius's *ſquadron in the harbour of* Syracuſe,

at this unexpected viſit of the enemy, and ſeeing, by the diſpoſitions they were making, his whole fleet in danger of being deſtroyed, advanced with his army to the mouth of the harbour; but finding the *Carthaginians* had poſſeſſed themſelves of the paſſage, he looked upon it as too hazardous an attempt to bring his ſhips out of port, becauſe the mouth being ſtrait and narrow, a few galleys there might engage a f much ſuperior number with great advantage. Commanding his land-forces therefore to draw them over land into the ſea, at a farther diſtance from the harbour, he by this means preſerved them.

IN the mean time, *Himilco*, preſſing upon thoſe galleys that lay next to him, made all poſſible efforts to take or deſtroy them; but was vigorouſly repulſed, and loſt many o his men by ſhowers of darts thrown from the decks. The *Syracuſan* army likewiſe greatly annoyed him by repeated vollies of arrows from their engines of battery; which being a new kind of weapon, and doing conſiderable execution, ſtruck

[c] Idem ibid.

a ſtruck a great terror into the enemy. *Himilco* therefore, finding that he could not bring his enterprize to bear, as judging it by no means adviſeable to venture an engagement with a ſquadron ſo much ſuperior to him in ſtrength, left the *Motyans* (I) to themſelves, and returned to *Africa* [f].

But is obliged to ſheer off.

THE following ſpring, *Dionyſius*, drawing his forces out of *Syracuſe*, made an inroad into the *Carthaginian* provinces, ravaging and deſtroying the country in a dreadful manner. The *Halicyæans*, terrified by this irruption, ſent embaſſadors to his camp to implore his protection; but the inhabitants of *Egeſta*, remaining firm in their fidelity to *Carthage*, ſet him at defiance. Upon this, advancing with his army, he laid ſiege to the place; but the *Egeſtines*, making a vigorous and unexpected ſally
b upon the beſiegers, put the advanced guards in diſorder, and ſet fire to their tents, which occaſioned a great conſternation throughout the whole camp. Several ſoldiers, in endeavouring to quench the flames, loſt their lives, and many horſes were burnt. *Dionyſius*, ſoon after, raiſing the ſiege, roved about the country in the ſame hoſtile manner as before, and, whilſt *Leptines* was obſerving the motions of the enemy by ſea, continued his depredations without oppoſition.

Dionyſius *makes an inroad into the* Carthaginian *territories.*

SOON after the reduction of *Motya*, the news of that melancholy event arrived at *Carthage*; and the year following *Himilco* was appointed one of the ſuffetes there. The progreſs of *Dionyſius* alarming the ſenate, they reſolved to ſurpaſs him in numbers both of men and ſhips; to which end they diſpatched officers into all parts
c of *Africa* and *Spain* to raiſe forces. When the preparations were completed, the *Carthaginian* army amounted to above three hundred thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and four hundred armed chariots. The fleet, under the command of *Mago*, conſiſted of three hundred galleys, and upwards of ſix hundred ſhips of burden laden with proviſions and engines of war. This is the account given by *Ephorus*; but *Timæus Siculus* affirms, that not above a hundred thouſand men were tranſported from *Africa* into *Sicily*, who, upon their landing there, were joined by three thouſand *Sicilians*. The troops being embarqued, and the fleet ready to ſet ſail, *Himilco* delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet ſealed up, injoining them not to open them till they were out at ſea, and then to obſerve them with all ſtrictneſs.
d This precaution he took (and it is the firſt time we find it uſed) to prevent ſpies from informing the enemy of his deſigns. The orders were, that they ſhould make ſtraight to *Panormus*, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they ſteered their courſe with a fair wind. The tranſports, getting out into the open ſea, outſailed the galleys, which kept cloſe to the coaſt of *Africa*; but being deſtitute of a convoy, were attacked off of *Panormus* by *Leptines*, whom *Dionyſius* had ſent out with thirty ſail againſt them. After a ſhort diſpute, he ſunk fifty of them, in which five thouſand men and two hundred chariots were loſt; the reſt, tacking about, had the good luck to eſcape. As ſoon as the galleys appeared, *Leptines* retired; and *Himilco*, having landed his troops at *Panormus*, marched directly
e againſt the enemy, commanding the fleet to ſail along the coaſt near the army. On his march he took *Eryx* by treachery; and haſtening from thence to *Motya*, reduced that important place, before *Dionyſius*, who was then beſieging *Egeſta*, could ſend any forces to its relief [g].

Leptines *defeats the enemy by ſea.*

The Carthaginians *retake* Motya.

THE *Sicilian* troops were very eager for venturing a battle with the *Carthaginians*, in order to decide the fate of *Sicily* as ſoon as poſſible; but *Dionyſius* thought it more adviſeable to abandon the open country to the enemy, becauſe he was at a great diſtance from his confederates, and began to be in want of proviſions. He exhorted the *Sicani* to leave their cities, and join the army, promiſing them, after the concluſion of the war, a richer and more fertile country than their own, and to permit as

[f] Idem ibid. & POLYÆN. ſtrat. l. v. c. 2. ex. 6. c. 10. ex. 2. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l i. c. 1. ex. 2.

[g] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. POLYÆN. ſtrat. l. v.

(I) *Polyænus* intimates, that, upon the approach of the *Carthaginian* fleet, *Dionyſius* drew off his forces from before the town, and advanced at the head of them to the ſhore, as near the enemy's veſſels as poſſible. By this motion he endeavoured to encourage his ſoldiers and mariners. Under the promontory that formed the port, there was a tract of twenty ſtadia in breadth, perfectly level, and full of mud. Over this his ſoldiers and mariners drew eighty triremes in one day, which threw the *Carthaginians* into a great conſternation. The admiral therefore, fearing the *Syracuſans* would firſt block up his fleet in the mouth of the harbour, and then deſtroy it, immediately ſet ſail, and left the *Motyans* to the mercy of the enemy (4).

(6) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* v. *c.* 2. *ex.* 6.

as many of them as would chuſe it, to return to their former habitations. Some a
few, for fear of being plundered, liſtened to this propoſal; but the greateſt part of
them deſerted to the enemy, together with the *Halicyæans*, who ſent embaſſadors to
Carthage, to renew their ancient alliance with that ſtate. *Dionyſius*, not meeting
with a ſufficient reinforcement, and in conſequence of the reſolution he had taken,
marched with great precipitation to *Syracuſe*, plundering and laying waſte the country
all along as he paſſed. *Himilco*, flushed with his ſucceſs, advanced towards *Meſſana*,
of which city he was very deſirous to poſſeſs himſelf, on account of its ſituation; for
being once maſter of it, he could eaſily intercept all ſuccours ſent to the enemy, either
from *Italy* or *Greece*; and beſides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole
fleet, which conſiſted of ſix hundred ſail and upwards. Before he inveſted the city, b
he concluded a treaty with the people of *Himera* and *Cephalœdium*, and reduced the
city of *Lipara* (K), the capital of the iſland of that name, putting it under contri-
bution, by which he exacted from the inhabitants thirty talents. From thence
moving with his forces towards *Meſſana*, his fleet at the ſame time attending him, he
encamped upon the promontory of *Peloris*, now the *Capo di Faro*, about an hundred
ſtadia from that city. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy,
they could not agree among themſelves about the meaſures to be taken on that occa-
ſion. Some, alarmed at the great ſtrength of the *Carthaginians*, ſeeing themſelves
deſerted by their confederates, as well as in great want of their horſe, which were
then at *Syracuſe*, and knowing that the walls were in a ruinous condition, and that c
they had not time then to make the neceſſary preparations for their defence, were
for ſubmitting to the enemy. Others were reſolved to hold out to the laſt, and
chearfully ſacrifice their lives in the maintenance of their liberties. They were en-
couraged to this reſolution by an ancient propheſy, whereby it was foretold, *That
the* Carthaginians *ſhould be one day carriers of water in that city.* This they inter-
preted, as if the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſlaves in *Meſſana*; and being thereby greatly
animated, were determined to undergo all extremities, rather than ſurrender them-
ſelves to the common enemy. Their wives and children, with all their treaſures,
they ſent to the neighbouring towns, before the place was inveſted [h].

And advance afterwards to Meſſana.

Which place Himilco *inveſts.*

In order to prevent any incurſions of the enemy, they ſent a ſtrong detachment d
of the flower of their troops towards the promontory of *Peloris*, who for ſome time
defended the frontiers. But *Himilco*, rightly concluding, that the gariſon muſt be
greatly weakened by the abſence of this detachment, and that the city was thereby
left ſo very much expoſed on the ſea-ſide, that it would be no difficult matter for
his fleet to enter, commanded two hundred galleys to advance towards the town.
His orders were inſtantly obeyed, and, a north wind at that time blowing freſh,
they

[h] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(K) *Lipara* was the principal of the *Ælian* iſlands, in number ſeven, not far from the north coaſt of *Sicily*. The names of theſe iſlands were *Strongyle*, *Evonymos*, *Didyme*, *Phœnicuſa*, *Hiera*, *Vulcania*, and *Lipara* (1). According to *Diodorus*, both the iſland *Lipara* and its capital city received their name from *Liparus*, the ſon of *Auſon* (2), king of theſe iſlands, who built the city *Lipara*, and cultivated all of them. The *Liparenſe* were anciently formidable, had a good fleet, and grew very rich, by reaſon of the great revenue brought them in by alum, with which mineral their iſland (3) abounded. Their capital city, according to *Diodorus*, was beautified with large and fair harbours, and famous for the baths in its neighbourhood, which were medicinal, and of ſingular ſervice to the people of *Sicily*, when ſeized with any ſtrange and unuſual diſeaſe. *Pliny* makes *Æolus* to have preceded *Liparus* in this iſland; but *Diodorus* tells us, that *Æolus* married *Carne*, the daughter of *Liparus*, and, in right of his wife, ſucceeded that prince. About the fiftieth olympiad, a colony of *Cnidians* (4), under their captains *Gorgus*, *Theſtor*, and *Epitherſides*, entered into a league with the ancient inhabitants, and incorporated themſelves with them. *Lipara* was noted amongſt the ancients for the great quantity of delicious fruit it produced, and is at this day remarkable for the excellent raiſins it ſupplies ſeveral parts of *Europe* with, particularly *England*. That the inhabitants were pretty opulent in the times we are now ſpeaking of, is evident from the contributions which *Dionyſius* exacted of them, amounting to about five thouſand four hundred pounds ſterling. It muſt be obſerved, that *Diodorus*, not only here, but in other paſſages, where he mentions a talent, means the *Attic* talent, which was worth about an hundred and eighty pounds (5) of our money, and not the *Sicilian*, amounting not to above three *Roman denarii*, or a two thouſandth part (6) of the *Attic*. The iſland is now called *Lipari*, and has its capital ſo fortified, that it ſtood a ſhort ſiege in the year 1719. when it was taken by an imperial detachment under the command of general *Seckendorf*; as was likewiſe the caſtle, whoſe gariſon of four hundred men thought proper to ſurrender the next day at diſcretion.

(1) *Ssrab. l.* vi. *Diod. Sic. l.* v. *c.* 1. *Pomp. Mel. l.* ii. *c.* 7. *Strab. l.* vi. *& alib. Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 9. (2) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.* (3) *Strab. Plin. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.* (4) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.* (5) *Feſt. ſub voc.* Talentum. (6) *Ariſtot. apud Jul. Pol. l.* ix. *c.* 6. *& Feſt. ubi ſup. See Univ. hiſt. vol.* iii. *p.* 10.

a they were carried with a full gale directly into the harbour. The *Meſſanians*, being now ſenſible of their miſtake, recalled their detachment; but it was too late, for the fleet had already entered, and having a great number of engines on board, battered down the walls on that ſide; upon which the inhabitants haſtened in crouds thither to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite unguarded. *Himilco* took advantage of this confuſion, and attacking the city on the land-ſide, entered it without oppoſition. All thoſe who were on the ramparts died valiantly on the ſpot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or fell into the hands of the enemy, or, getting into narrow creeks about the harbour, threw themſelves into the ſea, imagining they could reach the oppoſite ſhore; of which, however, not above a fourth b part made their eſcape to the coaſt of *Italy*. *Himilco* entered *Meſſana* with his whole army, and, in order to render his conqueſt complete, propoſed reducing all the forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of that city; but upon taking a view of them, and finding them extremely ſtrong, he altered his meaſures, and returned back to *Meſſana*. Here he halted a ſhort time to refreſh and recruit his army, and then marched at the head of all his forces againſt *Syracuſe*.

And takes it.

Himilco, conſidering that *Meſſana* was very remote from the cities held by the *Carthaginians*, and the moſt commodious port in *Sicily* on account of its ſituation, had, before his departure, ordered it to be razed, that it might be of no advantage to the enemy. His orders were executed with the utmoſt ſeverity, inſomuch, that there c was not left one houſe ſtanding in the whole city; nay, *Diodorus* tells us, that ſcarce any traces of it remained, the very rubbiſh being carried away, and thrown into the ſea; which ſufficiently diſcovered the implacable hatred *Himilco*, as well as the whole *Carthaginian* nation, bore to the *Greeks*[i].

He orders it to be razed.

The *Siculi* having *Dionyſius* in perfect deteſtation, and a fair opportunity now offering of ſhaking off their allegiance to him, all of them, except the *Aſſarines*, revolted to the *Carthaginians*. *Dionyſius*, being hereby deprived of the means of raiſing recruits, was obliged to preſent all the ſlaves and ſervants of the *Syracuſans* with their liberty, and with them he manned ſixty galleys. He received likewiſe a ſupply of a thouſand men from the *Lacedæmonians*, his ancient and faithful allies. d Expecting that the enemy would advance into his territories, he took care to fortify the caſtles and forts of the *Syracuſans*, and the cities in their dependence, and to ſtore them with proviſions. Thoſe of the *Leontini*, which were his principal magazines, he rendered extremely ſtrong, and perſuaded the *Campanians* to leave *Catana*, the place he had given them to reſide in, and remove to the city of *Ætna*, a fortreſs of great ſtrength, for their farther ſecurity[k].

Moſt of the Siculi *revolt from* Dionyſius.

Dionyſius, upon a review of his land-forces, found them to amount to thirty thouſand foot, and above three thouſand horſe. With theſe he took the field, and encamped near a place called *Taurus* (L), about an hundred and ſixty ſtadia from *Syracuſe*.

Notwithſtanding which he advances towards the Carthaginians.

[i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

(L) This *Taurus* was undoubtedly the mountain of that name, upon the declivity of which ſtood the famous city of *Tauromínium*. According to *Diodorus* (1), a great number of *Sicilians* had fixed their habitations here before the time of this war. *Dionyſius* had given the country of the *Naxians* to theſe *Sicilians*; but they, induced by the promiſes of *Himilco*, now dwelt upon this hill, which was naturally fortified. The ſame author adds, that, as they had ſettled here in times antecedent to this war, ſo they continued there after it, and inhabited the city called *Tauromínium*, from its ſituation upon mount *Taurus*. We learn farther from this hiſtorian (2), that *Andromachus*, the father of *Timæus Siculus*, about forty years after the commencement of this war, aſſembled all the fugitives of *Naxos*, a city which *Dionyſius* the tyrant had deſtroyed, and ſettled them on this hill, and that this was the origin of *Tauromínium*. Theſe two accounts ſeem to claſh, ſince the firſt makes the foundation of *Tauromínium* to have happened in the firſt year of the ninety-ſixth olympiad, whereas the latter fixes it in the third of the hundred and ſixth. The learned Dr. *Bentley* (3) takes the former to be nearer the truth, though he endeavours to make them both conſiſtent with one another. *Cluverius* indeed prefers the latter, but in this he ſeems to have *Diodorus* againſt him; for that author calls the place *Tauromínium* three ſeveral times, before he makes the leaſt mention of *Andromachus*, *viz.* at *olymp.* XCVI. *an.* 1. (4) *olymp.* XCVI. *an.* 3. (5) and *olymp.* XCVII. *an.* 1. (6) However this may be, that the *Tauromenites* were deſcended from the *Naxians*, cannot be diſputed. *Pliny* and *Solinus* ſay expreſly, that *Tauromínium* was the city which was formerly called *Naxos*. The medals of the *Tauromenites* clearly evince the ſame thing; for there are five ſeveral pieces in *Paruta*, that have on one ſide ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ, and on the reverſe *Apollo*'s head with this inſcription, ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑ, and that *Apollo* Ἀρχαγέτας was a deity of the *Naxians*, we are informed by *Thucydides* (7) and *Appian* (8). To conclude, our author *Diodorus* himſelf, in the place we

(1) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. *c.* 7. (2) *Idem, l.* xvi. *c.* 2. (3) *Dr. Bentley in his diſſert. upon the epiſt. of Phal. p.* 182, 183. (4) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. *c.* 7. (5) *Idem ibid. c.* 10. (6) *Idem ibid. c.* 11. (7) *Thucyd. c.* 6. (8) *Appian. de bel. civil.*

Syracuſe. His fleet, by the acceſſion of the ſixty galleys above-mentioned, conſiſted a of an hundred and eighty galleys. *Himilco*, upon advice of his march, advanced to meet him, his land army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coaſt. When the *Carthaginians* arrived at *Naxos*, they could not continue any longer their march by the ſea-ſide, but were obliged to take a long compaſs round mount *Ætna*, which, by a violent eruption, had covered all the neighbouring country with burning aſhes, and rendered the roads impaſſable by its flaming inundations. *Himilco* therefore ordered *Mago* to ſail to *Catana*, and there wait, till he, marching through the heart of the country, ſhould rejoin him with the land-forces. *Dionyſius*, apprized of this, haſtened with all ſpeed to *Catana*, with a deſign to attack *Mago*, before *Himilco*'s army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the ſhore b would greatly encourage his own mariners, and diſcourage the enemy's: beſides, if his fleet were worſted, both ſhips and men had a place of ſafety to retire to. This was what *Himilco* had foreſeen, when, for the reaſon above-mentioned, his fleet and land-forces were obliged to ſeparate[1].

His fleet, under the command of Leptines, *engages that of the* Carthaginians,

Dionyſius, having therefore drawn up his army on the ſhore, ſent out *Leptines* with the whole fleet againſt the enemy, commanding him to engage in cloſe order, and not to break his line upon any account whatſoever. And indeed ſuch a ſalutary order could not have been too punctually obeyed at that juncture, on account of *Mago*'s great ſuperiority; for his fleet was compoſed of no leſs than five hundred ſhips of burden, beſides a vaſt number of galleys with brazen beaks. The *Carthaginians*, c ſeeing the *Greek* troops drawn up on the ſhore, and the navy advancing in good order againſt them, were ſtruck with terror, and tacking about, began to make to the ſhore, with a deſign to ſave themſelves over land, and join *Himilco*; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more, dangerous, they reſolved to try their fortune by ſea; and accordingly drawing themſelves up in a line, they waited for the enemy. *Leptines*, inconſiderately advancing with thirty of his beſt galleys, contrary to the expreſs command of *Dionyſius*, fell upon *Mago*'s firſt ſquadron, and, after a briſk action, ſunk ſeveral of the ſhips of which it was compoſed; but *Mago*, coming up with the whole fleet, immediately ſurrounded him, upon which, notwithſtanding the inequa- d lity of numbers, a moſt ſharp and bloody engagement enſued.

And is defeated.

The *Carthaginian* and *Syracuſan* galleys grappling with one another, (for they were ſo cloſe together, that there was no room for them to ſtrike with their beaks) the forces on board fought hand to hand, as if in a battle on land. On both ſides they made the utmoſt efforts to board their enemies, and conſequently on both ſides many were thrown over-board and ſlain. In fine, *Leptines*, though for ſeveral hours he defended himſelf perfectly well, being at laſt overpowered, was obliged to fly, valour being forced to give way to numbers. The flight of the admiral diſheartened the *Syracuſans*, and gave the enemy freſh courage; the former therefore fled to the ſhore, where their land-forces were drawn up, but were cloſely purſued by the *Carthaginians*. Many, abandoning their ſhips, threw themſelves into the ſea, hoping to ſave e their lives by ſwimming to the ſhore; but the *Carthaginian* tranſports, which lay near the ſhore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of thoſe unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any reſiſtance; ſo that the land-army ſaw them periſh, without being able to give them the leaſt relief. The *Carthaginians*

[1] Idem ibid.

we are now upon, juſt after mentioning the city *Tauromenium*, obſerves that "*Himilco* marched "with great expedition to the aforeſaid place of "*Naxia*." Probably *Naxia* here is a corruption of *Naxos*, ſince, if we remember right, *Naxia*, as the name of a place, is not to be met with in any other author, nor any-where elſe in *Diodorus* but here. This paſſage ſeems fully to prove, not only that the *Naxians* were the progenitors of the *Tauromenites*, but likewiſe that, in the firſt year of the ninety-ſixth *Olympiad*, the city, or ſpot where it afterwards ſtood, was called *Naxos* or *Naxia*. As therefore it appears from another place (9) in *Diodorus*, that the city was but juſt built in the third year of the ſame olympiad, it ſeems clearly to follow, that *Tauromenium* was founded in the firſt year of the ninety-ſixth olympiad. This is an additional argument in favour of what Dr. *Bentley* has advanced, and, to all appearance, intirely fixes the point. We muſt not omit obſerving, that *Taurominium* ſtood at a conſiderable diſtance from the ancient *Naxos*, the one being ſituated either on the declivity or top of the hill, and the other much lower towards the ſouthern foot of it (10). 'Tis likely there might have been a town of the ſame name with the hill, either upon it, or ſomewhere near the foot of it, as we find *Ætna* was the name both of a mountain and a town in its neighbourhood. If *Dionyſius* did not aſcend any part of the mountain, we may ſuppoſe him to have encamped near this town.

(9) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. *c.* 10. (10) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. *c.* 2. *l.* xiv. *c.* 10. & *Celler. Geogr. ant. l.* 1.

a *nians* ſuſtained great loſs in this action; but above an hundred of the *Syracuſan* galleys were either ſunk or taken, and more than twenty thouſand of their men killed in the battle or purſuit. After the action was over, the *Carthaginian* fleet anchored at *Catana*, where they refitted the *Syracuſan* ſhips they had taken. This was done to regale the eyes and ears of the *Carthaginians* and their confederates, who could not but be highly delighted with ſuch a trophy, as it enabled them to form ſome ſort of an idea of the great victory they had obtained [m].

Upon this misfortune, the *Sicilians*, apprehending they ſhould be reduced to great ſtraits by returning to *Syracuſe* and there ſuſtaining a ſiege, ſolicited *Dionyſius* to fight *Himilco*, alledging that an unexpected attack at the preſent juncture would ſtrike b terror into the *Carthaginians*, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late loſs. This project ſeemed the more feaſible, as the enemy could not but be extremely fatigued with their long and haſty march; and therefore *Dionyſius* at firſt not only liſtened to it, but ordered his forces to be ready to march at a minute's warning. But when he was juſt upon the point of putting it in execution, ſome of his friends remonſtrating to him, that *Mago* in the mean time with his victorious fleet might poſſeſs himſelf of *Syracuſe*, he altered his reſolution, and haſtened with his whole army to the defence of that metropolis. To this he was likewiſe ſtrongly induced by the fate of *Meſſana*, which had lately been loſt by ſuch a point of falſe conduct as the *Sicilians* propoſed to him. However, many of theſe, being diſpleaſed c at his not falling into their meaſures, deſerted, and either retired to the neighbouring gariſons of the *Carthaginians*, or withdrew to their reſpective homes [n].

Dionyſius *returns with his army to* Syracuſe.

Himilco, in two days march, arriving at *Catana*, ordered the ſhips there to be drawn into the harbour, that they might be ſheltered from the weather, which was then very boiſterous and ſtormy. Here he halted ſome time to refreſh his troops, and ſent embaſſadors to the *Campanians* at *Ætna* to excite them to a revolt, promiſing them large poſſeſſions, and that they ſhould be equal ſharers in all the ſpoils taken from the *Sicilians*. That his promiſes might make the deeper impreſſion, he took care to inform them, that the *Campanians* of *Entella* had declared for the *Carthaginians*, and joined them with a conſiderable body of forces. In fine, he deſired them d to conſider, that the *Greeks* of every denomination bore an implacable hatred to all other nations whatſoever. The *Campanians* were not a little moved by theſe promiſes and ſuggeſtions; but as they had given hoſtages to *Dionyſius*, and ſent the flower of their troops to *Syracuſe*, they were obliged, contrary to their inclination, to adhere to the treaty concluded with him [o].

Himilco *endeavours to excite the* Campanians *of* Ætna *to a revolt.*

The *Carthaginian* general, animated with the good ſucceſs that attended his arms, marched ſtraight to *Syracuſe*, with a deſign to beſiege it; while his fleet, under the command of *Mago*, ſailed along the coaſt, carrying great plenty of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of ſo numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation. Two hundred and eighty galleys laden, and richly e adorned, with the ſpoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered in a ſort of triumph the great haven of *Syracuſe*, and were followed by above a thouſand tranſports with more than five hundred ſoldiers on board; ſo that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain ſo great a navy, conſiſting in the whole of near two thouſand ſail. The fleet had ſcarce caſt anchor, when the army appeared on the other ſide, amounting, according to ſome authors, to three hundred thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, beſides an additional ſquadron, of two hundred long ſhips, attending them. *Himilco* took up his quarters in the temple of *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the army encamped round it, above twelve ſtadia from the city [p].

He inveſts Syracuſe, *and takes up his quarters in the temple of* Jupiter.

Before he directly formed the ſiege, he advanced with his army in battalia to f the very walls of the city, and offered the *Syracuſans* battle. But finding they were prudent enough to decline accepting the challenge, he returned to his camp, well ſatisfied at his having extorted from them a tacit confeſſion of their own weakneſs, and his ſuperiority. At the ſame time he ordered an hundred of his beſt galleys to enter the two other harbours, *viz. the little port* and that of *Trogilus*, to ſtrike more terror into the enemy, and convince them, that the *Carthaginians* were likewiſe maſters at ſea. In order to gain the affection of his troops, as well as to diſtreſs the enemy, he ravaged and laid waſte the country many miles round for thirty days together

He takes by aſſault the ſuburbs of Acradina.

[m] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid.

together, cutting down their groves, and doing infinite damage to the inhabitants. a
He took by assault the quarter, or suburb, of the town called *Acradina*, where he plundered the rich temples of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*; and, in short, succeeded in every measure he pursued for straitening the besieged. Elated with this run of good-fortune, he looked upon himself in effect as master of the place, though he was apprehensive, that the intire reduction of it would be the work of a considerable time. He erected therefore three forts near the sea, at equal distances from each other, one at *Plemmyrium*, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of *Jupiter*, in which he laid up vast stores of provision, and all other necessaries, that might enable him to push on the siege. In order to facilitate his approaches, and fortify his camp in the most commodious manner, he ordered all the tombs, which stood b
round the city, to be demolished, and amongst others that of *Gelon* and his wife *Damarete*, which was a monument of great magnificence. Being very intent on the preservation of his troops, he took care they should want nothing that was proper for their subsistence, and therefore sent transports to *Sardinia* and *Africa* for a fresh supply of corn and other provisions. In the mean time, the *Syracusans*, though greatly dejected by their late misfortunes, did not despond, *Dionysius* being in daily expectation of receiving a considerable reinforcement from his foreign allies [q].

The Carthaginians *are worsted in an action by sea.*

Before the storm fell upon *Syracuse*, *Dionysius* had sent his (M) kinsman *Polyxenus* to implore the assistance of the *Italians*, *Corinthians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, against c
the power of *Carthage*, which alone he found himself unable to withstand. He likewise had dispatched several officers with large sums to *Peloponnesus*, to raise a body of mercenaries there. All these, returning some time after *Himilco* had sat down before *Syracuse*, brought with them, besides some land-forces, a supply of thirty galleys under the command of *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. Soon after *Dionysius* and *Leptines* went out upon a cruise, intending, if possible, to intercept some of the *Carthaginian* transports laden with provisions, of which the city then stood in great need. They were scarce out of port, when the *Syracusans* from the city spied one of the transports coming up to *Hamilco*'s camp, upon which venturing out with five galleys they took it. As they were sailing away with their prize, the *Carthaginians* gave them chase with forty sail, against which they advanced with their whole fleet, d
and engaging them with great resolution, took the admiral galley, besides several others, and sunk or damaged twenty more. The rest they pursued to the place where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a second time. The *Carthaginians*, terrified with this unexpected disaster, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them. The *Syracusans*, fastening the galleys they had taken to the poops of their ships, brought them off triumphantly to the town [r].

What happened now to the *Carthaginians* verified the observation, that *misfortunes seldom come alone*. *Himilco*, who, from his first arrival in the island to this e
time, had been successful in every measure, and the constant favourite of fortune in all his undertakings, was soon to be reduced to the lowest degree of ignominy and disgrace, and his people to the extremest misery. All the splendor of his anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and served only to enhance his future misfortunes. This, according to the judicious reflection of our historian, may serve as a lively lesson to mankind, to teach them, that the proudest mortal, how great soever he may be, is but an inconsiderable creature, and may be blasted in an instant by

[q] Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

[r] Idem ibid.

(M) The *Greek* word κηδεστὴς, which *Rhodomanus* has falsly translated *socer* or *father-in-law*. It is a general term, and denotes any person who is related to another by marriage. Sometimes, however, it is equivalent to the *Latin socer*, and sometimes to *gener*, as we learn from *Stephanus* and *Budæus*, who produce instances of both those significations. But that it is to be used in a general sense here, is evident from *Diodorus* himself, who tells us elsewhere, that *Polyxenus* was uncle to *Dionysius*'s wife, and that that tyrant gave him his own sister in marriage. Such a complex relation as this cannot be expressed by any one particular word in our language, and therefore we have rendered it by the general term kinsman. We mention this only to have an opportunity of suggesting to our readers, that many faults and inaccuracies are to be found in *Rhodomanus*'s edition of *Diodorus Siculus*, which yet is the best we at present have: so that it were to be wished some able hand would give us a new edition of that useful and entertaining historian (1).

(1) *Steph. in thesaur. ling. Græc. Bud. in lex. ed. Bas.* 1572. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. *See also Univ. hist. vol.* iii. *p.* 53.

a by a ſuperior power. Here we may behold the *Carthaginians* from the ſummit of human felicity hurled down into the abyſs of calamity and woe; from the moſt potent and formidable ſtate in all the weſtern parts of the world, become the moſt weak and contemptible of all nations, and that, as it were, in an inſtant. However, Providence did not ſo far favour the perfidious *Syracuſans*, but that their enemies, though treacherous and cruel in many reſpects, recovered themſelves, and came off with reputation at the concluſion of this war[e].

The plague breaks out in the Carthaginian *army, and makes dreadful havock there.*

Himilco, now maſter of almoſt the whole iſland of *Sicily*, and expecting with great impatience to crown his other conqueſts with the reduction of *Syracuſe*, was obliged to deſiſt from all further operations againſt that city by the plague, which, breaking
b out in the camp, made great havock amongſt his ſoldiers. This infection was looked upon as a puniſhment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, particularly thoſe of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* above-mentioned, and demoliſhing the tombs round the city, which was conſidered as a violence offered to the dead. But, without having recourſe to the extraordinary interpoſition of the gods, they might have aſcribed it, as *Diodorus* inſinuates, to natural cauſes; for the heats that ſummer, in the midſt of which that peſtilential diſtemper firſt broke out, were more exceſſive than they had ever been known in the memory of man; and the adjacent country abounded with fens and marſhes, whoſe unwholſome exhalations, eſpecially at that hot ſeaſon, which of itſelf was almoſt ſufficient to have occaſioned the plague,
c muſt have had a very ill effect upon the camp, where ſuch an infinite number of people were crouded together: and that theſe in fact were the two principal concurring cauſes of that dire malady, is apparent from hence, that the *Athenians*, who ſpared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the ſame calamity. It began among the *Africans*, and ſoon ſpread through the whole army. As this plague was attended with ſome uncommon ſymptoms, carried off above an hundred and fifty thouſand men in a very ſhort time, and may be looked upon as one of the moſt malignant diſtempers to be met with in hiſtory, we ſhall beg leave here to give a brief account of it, believing that ſuch a ſhort digreſſion will not be unacceptable to our curious readers[t].

A deſcription of this moſt malignant peſtilence.

d Before ſun-riſing, the patients were ſeized with a convulſive ſhuddering, pretty nearly reſembling that attending the *rigor* or cold fit in agues, which happens in the beginning of the paroxyſm. This was in part occaſioned by the freſh breezes comeing off from the ſea, which at that time of the morning were very piercing. As the ſun advanced nearer the meridian, the cold remitted and the heat grew more intenſe; ſo that by noon they found themſelves almoſt ſuffocated with heat; which made them exceſſively weak and faint, but gave freſh force and malignity to the diſeaſe. The ſouth wind moreover greatly increaſing the infection, they died in ſuch numbers, that, after ſome time, it was impoſſible to inter them; nay, the perſons attending the ſick were cut off in ſuch a manner, that no one durſt approach the infected. In
e the firſt ſtage of the diſtemper, they were afflicted with catarrhs, ſwellings of the throat, &c. Theſe were ſucceeded by violent dyſenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all parts of the body, loathſome ulcers, &c. Some were even ſeized with madneſs and fury, falling upon all thoſe that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. No relief could be had from the phyſician (A), this terrible malady eluding all his art; ſo that thoſe infected with it expired the fifth or ſixth day in exquiſite torture. *Juſtin* ſeems to intimate, that almoſt the whole *Carthaginian* army periſhed by it, and that in a manner all at once, as it were in an inſtant; which may ſerve to give

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[e] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ibid.

(A) It appears from the ancient hiſtorians, that the plague raged pretty frequently amongſt the *Carthaginians*, eſpecially in their *African* dominions: and it is worthy obſervation, that thoſe parts are ſtill often viſited by that terrible malady, particularly *Algiers*, *Tunis*, &c. It is probable, that the *Carthaginians* brought the ſeeds of the diſtemper with them out of *Africa*, ſince the peſtilence had made great havock there juſt before the breaking out of this war; which *Dionyſius* (1) urged as a reaſon to the *Syracuſans* for his attacking the *Carthaginians*, whom he ſuppoſed to have been thereby extremely weakened. It may be inferred from this paſſage, that the *Carthaginians* had phyſicians with them in their camps, and conſequently that the art of phyſic was not unknown to that people. This likewiſe in ſome meaſure appears from the worſhip of *Æſculapius* (2), which prevailed in the territories ſubject to the ſtate of *Carthage*, though at what degree of perfection herein the ſtudents arrived, we cannot pretend to ſay.

(1) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. *c.* 7. (2) *Appian. in Libyc. Diod. Sic. Serv. aliique multi.*

us an idea of the great malignity of it. *Diodorus*, however, informs us, that a consi- a
derable body of *Africans* and *Iberians* survived this dreadful calamity; though he at
the same time affirms, that an hundred and fifty thousand carcasses of those who
perished did not meet with any interment, and consequently insinuates, that a greater
number died, since, according to the same author, the dead were buried for some
time after the breaking out of the infection. It is worthy observation, that not a
single person of those who attended the sick escaped [n].

Dionysius *attacks the enemy, and defeats them.*

Dionysius, being apprised of the deplorable condition to which the *Carthaginians*
were reduced, resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking them.
Having therefore manned eighty galleys, he ordered *Pharacidas* and *Leptines* to fall
upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land forces in the b
camp. With this view, having assembled his troops before the moon was up, he
advanced to the temple of *Cyane*, and setting out from thence about midnight, with-
out being discovered, arrived at the enemy's camp by the time appointed. He then
detached a strong body of cavalry, and a thousand of the mercenary foot, with orders
to fall upon that part of the camp, which lay at the greatest distance, pretending,
that the enemy there kept no guard; but his real design was to get rid of that body
of mercenaries, they having a great aversion to him, and being ready to mutiny on
all occasions. Accordingly he gave private instructions to the officers of the horse to
retire as soon as the infantry was engaged. His orders were obeyed, and the merce-
naries, being surrounded on all sides, were cut off to a man. *Dionysius*, upon the c
return of the cavalry, at the same time attacked the enemy's camp, and the forts in
their possession. The suddenness of the attack so surprised the *Carthaginians*, that
they were some time before they could put themselves into a posture of defence,
which gave them an opportunity of taking the fort called *Polichna* by storm; and the
horse at the same time advancing in good order, with some galleys, to that near *Dascon*,
likewise carried it. By the reduction of these forts, the *Syracusans* were enabled to
enter the great haven with all their fleet, and to fall furiously on the enemy's galleys
anchored there. The *Carthaginians* in the camp for some time defended themselves
with great bravery; but seeing their navy now in imminent danger of being utterly
destroyed, many of them, abandoning the defence of the camp, hastened to the d
shore, to the relief of their companions on board the vessels. But all their endeavours
were ineffectual; for the *Carthaginian* ships, not being able to sustain the shock of
the *Syracusan* galleys, many of them were sunk at the first attack, others quite dis-
abled, and a great number burnt and taken. The slaughter on this occasion was so
dreadful, that the shore was covered with dead bodies; which afforded a melancholy
spectacle to *Himilco*, and filled all the *Carthaginians* with great horror, who, bewail-
ing their unhappy fate, were now reduced to a state of desperation. In the mean
time, the camp, being deserted by the body of troops above-mentioned, was left
very much exposed; which *Dionysius* taking advantage of, redoubled his efforts, e
and finding but a feeble resistance, soon broke into it, putting all to the sword who
opposed him. After this, he moved with his forces towards the gulf of *Dascon*, where
finding forty *Carthaginian* ships of fifty oars a-piece, with a great number of transports,
and some galleys, he immediately set fire to them. This completed the destruction of
the enemy's fleet; for the wind being at that time very high, and the cables of many
of the ships burnt, they were all, excepting a few that were afterwards taken, either
consumed by the violence of the flames, or, falling foul one upon another, broken to
pieces. *Diodorus* says, that when the ships were all in a blaze, and the flames
ascending above the masts, a most dreadful scene was exhibited, the gods themselves
seeming to destroy the enemy with lightning from heaven; which punishment, he
insinuates, they deserved, on account of their great impiety. Such a spirit of joy and f
gladness diffused itself over the whole city on this happy occasion, that old and
young, women and children, in fine, almost all the inhabitants of *Syracuse*, posted
to the walls and eminencies in the greatest hurry, to be spectators of so glorious a
victory: at the sight of which, lifting up their hands to heaven, they thanked the
tutelary gods of the city, for revenging in so signal a manner the many sacrileges,
which the *Carthaginians* had committed since their arrival in *Sicily*. Night putting
an end to this action, *Dionysius*, with his troops, retired, and encamped near the
enemy

[n] Justin. l. xix. Diod. Sic. ubi sup. Oros. l. iv.

enemy at the temple of *Jupiter*, with a design to renew the fight early the next morning [w] (B).

THOUGH *Dionysius* penetrated into the *Carthaginian* camp, put great numbers of the enemy there to the sword, and even intirely ruined their fleet, yet he could not, by this last effort, oblige them absolutely to raise the siege: this he reserved to the day following. But *Himilco*, taking the opportunity of this short respite, sent embassadors privately to him, offering him three hundred talents (C), all the ready cash he had then with him, if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to return to *Africa*. *Dionysius* was unwilling utterly to destroy the *Carthaginians*, lest the *Syracusans*, when free from the apprehensions of so formidable an enemy, should seek b to regain their ancient liberty, and thereby give him fresh disturbance; but, on the other side, he knew, that neither the *Syracusans*, nor their confederates, would suffer him to grant the enemy such terms: he therefore replied, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow *Himilco*, with all the citizens of *Carthage*, to depart in the night, upon his paying three hundred talents. This being agreed to, *Dionysius* retired with his forces into the city, whither *Himilco* privately sent him the promised sum, and then began to make the necessary preparations for his departure. The fourth night after the agreement, *Himilco*, with forty galleys full of the citizens of *Carthage*, was ready to set sail, leaving the rest of the army behind him. But the *Corinthians*, who served under *Dionysius*, discovering, c from the noise and motion of the vessels, that *Himilco* and his friends were making off, sent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered some galleys to be manned, as if he designed to prevent their retreat; but as his orders were but slowly executed, they grew impatient, and, without his permission, gave them chace; and coming up with the rear, by piercing them with the beaks of their vessels, sunk several of them. Upon the defeat of the *Carthaginians*, the *Siculi*, who joined them, dispersed, and, flying through the heart of the country, retired to their respective homes. In the mean time, *Dionysius* posted detachments at all the avenues leading to the enemy's camp, that none of those left behind might make their escape; and marching by night with his forces, took possession of it. This he met with no d opposition in doing; for the *Africans*, finding themselves betrayed by *Himilco* and the *Carthaginians*, and that the *Sicilians* had deserted them, were thrown into such a consternation, that they immediately dispersed, taking a great variety of routs. Being therefore incapable of making any resistance, they either fell into the hands of the above-mentioned detachments, or surrendered to *Dionysius* himself at discretion. But the *Iberians*, keeping together in a body, sent a herald to capitulate with *Dionysius*, who took them into his service. All the enemy's baggage and valuable effects left in the camp were delivered up as plunder to the soldiery [x].

Himilco *with great difficulty makes his escape to* Africa.

THIS victory was the more extraordinary, inasmuch as, before the plague broke out in the *Carthaginian* camp, *Dionysius* found himself reduced to the last extremity, e and actually consulted with his friends about the most proper method of making his escape. In this melancholy situation, his friend *Ellopides* advised him to resume his courage, and by no means to renounce his sovereignty, telling him, that the royal title would be the greatest ornament of his sepulchre. The tyrant closed with this advice, and, notwithstanding the *Siculi* had joined the enemy, by the incident above-mentioned, became victorious. *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* both omit this circumstance, though

[w] DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. [x] Idem ibid. c. 7.

(B) *Polyænus* seems to intimate, that *Dionysius* amused the *Carthaginians* with some proposals for an accommodation, and at the same time offered to deliver into their hands a great number of castles and fortresses, if they would put garisons into them. The *Carthaginians*, closing with this offer, posted great numbers of their troops, according to our author, in those places; but hereby so weakened their army, that *Dionysius* found himself strong enough to attack them; which he did, and gained a complete victory. If we admit this story to be true, which perhaps our readers may scruple doing, since *Diodorus Siculus*, *Justin*, and *Orosius*, have passed it over in silence, it is probable the stratagem was made use of after the plague had made great havock in the *Carthaginian* camp; for *Himilco*'s forces were at first so vastly superior in strength to *Dionysius*'s army, even according to *Polyænus* himself, this he might have garisoned all the fortresses belonging to the *Syracusans*, and yet have been much more than a match for *Dionysius* (1).

(C) According to what we have lately observed, that was about fifty-four thousand pounds sterling; which was no extraordinary sum for the military chest, considering what a numerous army *Himilco* commanded.

(1) *Polyæn. strat. l.* v. *c.* 2. *ex.* 9. *Vide etiam Sex. Jul. Frontin. strat. l.* i. *c.* 8. *ex.* 11.

though the former of thoſe hiſtorians mentions ſomething of this nature to have happened to the tyrant upon the revolt of the *Syracuſan* army, when he was ſhut up in his capital city. However, *Iſocrates*, an author of undoubted credit, who lived at the time of the tranſaction, has furniſhed us with this fragment of hiſtory, which has likewiſe been tranſcribed by *Ælian*; ſo that we ſhall make no ſcruple to inſert it here. a

THUS ended this campaign, one of the moſt remarkable, for the variety of incidents and viciſſitudes of fortune obſervable in it, to be met with in hiſtory. A large field for reflections here opens itſelf; but as theſe have been already in ſome meaſure anticipated, and as our province is chiefly confined to facts, we ſhall be obliged at preſent to ſuperſede them. In general, however, we may remark, that all human grandeur is vanity; that Providence frequently makes uſe of ſome wicked men as its inſtruments in ſcourging others, and conſequently that villainy muſt be frequently triumphant; and laſtly, that a ſtrict attachment to the dictates of juſtice and humanity is not only laudable, but politic, in all ſtates, how elevated ſoever, ſince a deviation from theſe cannot be ſecured by the moſt formidable and extenſive power from a retaliation. b

The Carthaginians *are in the utmoſt conſternation upon receiving the melancholy news of the total ruin of both their land and ſea-forces.*

ADVICE being brought to *Carthage* of the terrible fate that both the land and ſea-forces of the republic had met with in *Sicily*, the whole city was overwhelmed with ſorrow. Every part of it was filled with outcries and lamentations, and the people were under the ſame diſmal apprehenſions, as if the enemy had actually made themſelves maſters of the town. All the houſes in the city, as well as the temples, being ſhut up, an intire ſtop was put to every kind of buſineſs, and even to their religious worſhip. This happened when the *Carthaginians* were ſeized with the firſt impreſſions of terror; for ſoon after, recovering themſelves, they began to entertain hopes, that, upon the general's arrival, things might poſſibly turn out better than they had been repreſented. They did not, however, continue long in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe; for in a little time the poor remains of their ſhattered troops landed near *Carthage*, and confirmed the melancholy account they had before received. Upon this, all the wretched inhabitants abandoned themſelves intirely to deſpair, and, giving a full vent to their grief, made the ſhore ring with their groans and lamentations. In ſhort, a greater ſcene of horror, except the ſpot of ground where the *Carthaginian* army encamped before *Syracuſe*, than *Carthage* now was, cannot well be conceived[y]. c d

Himilco, *not being able to ſurvive his misfortunes, kills himſelf.*

Himilco in the mean time, landing at *Carthage*, appeared in mean and ſordid attire. He was immediately met by a vaſt concourſe of people, bemoaning their ſad and inauſpicious fortune. Joining with theſe forlorn wretches, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he bitterly bewailed his own hard fate, but moſt of all that of his country. Afterwards impiouſly taxing the gods with partiality, and making them the ſole authors of his misfortune, he told his countrymen, they ought to eſteem it as a ſingular happineſs, that their preſent calamitous condition was not brought upon them by their own ill conduct, and that the enemy could aſſume to themſelves no merit from it: "The enemy, ſaid he, may indeed rejoice at our miſery, but have "no reaſon to glory in it. The troops we have loſt did not fall by their valour, "nor did they oblige thoſe that are now arrived ſafe here to abandon their iſland "by force. We return victorious over the *Syracuſans*, and are only defeated by "the plague. As for the baggage found in our camp, this ought not to be looked "upon as the ſpoils of a conquered enemy, but as moveables, which the caſual "death of the owners has left the *Syracuſans* in poſſeſſion of. No part of the diſaſter, "continued he, touches me ſo much, as my ſurviving ſo many gallant men, and "my being reſerved, not for the comforts of life, but to be the ſport of ſo dire a "calamity. Since therefore I have brought back to *Carthage* the remaining part "of the army under my conduct, I ſhall ſpeedily follow thoſe brave men, who "periſhed in *Sicily*, and thereby demonſtrate to my country, that it was not out of "a fondneſs for life, but merely to preſerve the troops, which had eſcaped the "plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which, by my more early death, they "would have been expoſed, that I ſurvived them." After this, going directly to his houſe, and ſhutting the doors againſt the citizens, and even his own children, he gave himſelf the fatal ſtroke. This violent death *Diodorus* interprets as a ſignal puniſhment inflicted upon him, for his having ſo frequently violated the ſanctity of temples e f

[y] ISOCRAT. in Archidam. ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. iv. c. 8. JUST. l. xix. ſub fin. OROS. l. iv.

[a] temples and tombs at *Syracuſe*, which, according to our author, was a crime of a moſt flagrant and enormous nature [z].

THE fame of *Dionyſius*'s ſucceſs being ſpread all over the *Carthaginian* dominions, and thoſe of their confederates in *Africa*, the affairs of this ſtate there were ſoon almoſt in as bad a ſituation as in *Sicily*. The *Africans* bore a natural hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and this was much heightened, when it came to be publicly known in *Africa*, that *Himilco* had ſaved only the citizens of *Carthage*, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy. Incenſed therefore to the laſt degree, and moved with a thorough contempt of the *Carthaginians*, who now were become deſpicable to all their neighbours, the cities and ſtates, which had ſent them auxiliaries, [b] took up arms, intending to take ſignal vengeance of them, for the late affront offered them in the perſons of their countrymen. They diſpatched expreſſes into all parts, notifying the ill uſage they had met with in the moſt aggravating terms; by which means, ſupplies coming from every quarter, they ſoon aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, with which they encamped in the fields. And now their deſign being publicly known, and that they had forces likewiſe to put it in execution, the whole country roſe; ſo that their army in a ſhort time amounted to above two hundred thouſand effective men. With this formidable body they immediately took their rout towards *Carthage* [a].

The Africans *revolt from the* Carthaginians.

ON their march, they took *Tunis*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, which [c] ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. This gave a dreadful alarm to the citizens of *Carthage*, who now gave up every thing for loſt. However, upon the approach of the enemy, they engaged them; but were defeated in a pitched battle, and obliged to retire within their walls. As the *Carthaginians*, in all public calamities, carried their ſuperſtition to a very great exceſs, their firſt care was to appeaſe the offended gods, particularly *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, whoſe temples they had violated at *Syracuſe*, and therefore conſidered this freſh melancholy incident as the effect of their reſentment. Before, theſe deities had never been heard of in *Africa*; but now, to atone for the outrage that had been offered them, magnificent ſtatues were erected in their honour; prieſts ſelected from amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the city for their ſer- [d] vices; and all their ſacrifices ordered to be offered after the *Greek* manner, thoſe *Greeks* amongſt them, who were verſed in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the worſhip of theſe goddeſſes, being appointed to officiate in this ſervice. Having by this means ſufficiently, as they apprehended, atoned for paſt offences to theſe deities, they equipped a fleet, and made all neceſſary preparations to reduce the rebels, and thoſe who ſupported them, to reaſon [b].

They take Tunis, *and advance into the neighbourhood of* Carthage.

THOUGH the *African* forces were very numerous, yet, happily for the *Carthaginians*, they wanted a general, as well as ſubordinate officers, of experience, and had neither warlike engines to carry on a ſiege, nor proviſions to ſupport ſo vaſt a multitude; whereas the *Carthaginians*, being maſters of the ſea, were ſupplied with every [e] thing in great plenty from *Sardinia*. Such an army as this was like a body uninformed with a ſoul. As there was no diſcipline or ſubordination in it, every perſon might ſet up himſelf for a general, and claim an independence on the reſt; which would ſoon cauſe numberleſs factions and diviſions amongſt them, and conſequently ſoon diſſolve the whole. Thus in fact it happened with this rabble of an army; for diſſenſions ariſing therein, the famine daily increaſing, and many of their leaders being bribed by the *Carthaginians* to deſert, the individuals of it withdrew to their reſpective homes, and by this means delivered *Carthage* from one of the moſt imminent dangers that had ever threatened it [c].

But are obliged at laſt to diſperſe.

AFTER the late diſaſter in *Sicily*, *Himilco* had left *Mago* to take care of the *Carthaginian* intereſt there, and ſettle their broken affairs in the beſt manner poſſible. In [f] order to this, he treated all the *Sicilians* ſubject to *Carthage* with great mildneſs and humanity, and granted his protection to all thoſe who were perſecuted by *Dionyſius*. He alſo entered into alliances with ſeveral *Sicilian* cities, which had an averſion to that tyrant. Strengthened by theſe alliances, and receiving great reinforcements from *Carthage*, he formed an army, and made an incurſion into the territory of *Meſſana*. Having ravaged this in a dreadful manner, he carried off the plunder, and retired to *Abacænum*, a city of his confederates, where he encamped. *Dionyſius*, advancing to *Abacænum* with his army, offered him battle; which challenge *Mago* accepted,

Dionyſius *routs* Mago *at* Abacænum.

[z] JUSTIN. OROS. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 10. [a] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. [b] Idem ibid [c] Idem ibid.

accepted, but was driven out of the field, with the loſs of above eight hundred men. a
Upon this defeat, the *Carthaginian* general, with his broken troops, entered *Abacænum*; and *Dionyſius* returned to *Syracuſe*[d].

The Carthaginians, *notwithſtanding their loſſes, meditate a freſh attempt upon the iſland of* Sicily.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great loſſes the *Carthaginians* had ſuſtained in the courſe of this war, they could not forbear making new attempts upon the iſland of *Sicily*. Their officers were therefore ſent, as uſual, to levy forces in *Africa*, *Sardinia*, and ſome of thoſe parts of *Italy* not inhabited by *Greeks*. As they had hitherto had ſuch bad ſucceſs with their fleet, they propoſed determining the fate of *Sicily* by a deciſive battle in the field; for which reaſon they fitted out a much weaker ſquadron of long ſhips, than in any of the former expeditions. The *Carthaginians* armed all their troops on this occaſion in the completeſt manner, and appointed *Mago*, who was b
defeated the year before at *Abacænum*, commander in chief, hoping the face of affairs in the iſland above-mentioned would ſoon receive a very conſiderable alteration.

Mago, aſſembling his land-forces, found them to amount to eighty thouſand fighting men, with which he landed in *Sicily*. On his march through the territories of the *Siculi*, many cities fell to him; which gave him great encouragement. At laſt he encamped on the river *Chryſas* in the country of the *Agyrinæans*, and attempted to bring over that people to his party; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, and receiving intelligence, that *Dionyſius* was advancing againſt him at the head of twenty thouſand men, he thought proper to continue ſome time in his camp, and put himſelf there into a poſture to receive the enemy. In the mean time, the tyrant, being c

Dionyſius wins Agyris, *tyrant of the* Agyrinæans, *over to his intereſt*;

arrived in the neighbourhood of the *Carthaginian* camp, ſent to *Agyris*, prince of the *Agyrinæans*, to join him with all his forces, and ſupply his troops with ſome proviſions. This tyrant was next to *Dionyſius* in power of all others in the iſland, his city containing no leſs than twenty thouſand inhabitants. His coffers at that time were full of treaſure; for he had lately put to death ſome of his principal ſubjects, and confiſcated their eſtates. *Dionyſius* therefore making him a viſit, with ſome of his particular friends, prevailed upon *Agyris* to come into his meaſures; in conſequence of which he received a ſupply of proviſions and a ſtrong reinforcement of troops. What induced *Agyris* to fall in ſo readily with the *Syracuſan* tyrant's d
views was, the promiſe of a large extent of territory adjoining to his own, in caſe their arms were attended with ſucceſs in this war[e].

IN the mean time, *Mago*, finding himſelf in an enemy's country, and reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions, began to be very uneaſy. The *Syracuſans* were for coming to a battle immediately with him; but this *Dionyſius* oppoſed, telling them, they might ruin the enemy's whole army without ſtriking a ſtroke, by ſtarving them to a ſurrender. And indeed he had good reaſon for what he advanced; for the *Agyrinæans*, being well acquainted with all the paſſes and by-ways of the country, every day ſurpriſed the *Carthaginian* parties, and, after cutting them to pieces, intercepted all the proviſions they were carrying to their camp. However, e
the *Syracuſans*, being diſguſted at *Dionyſius*'s refuſal to comply with their motion, directly quitted his camp. This threw the tyrant into a great conſternation, and obliged him to manumit all the ſlaves, as he had done once before. Soon after, the *Carthaginians*, moved by the dreadful proſpect of a famine, thought proper to ſend embaſſadors to him, to propoſe an accommodation. This being as neceſſary for *Dionyſius* in his preſent circumſtances as the *Carthaginians*, a peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of both parties, without any further effuſion of blood. The new treaty agreed in all particulars with the former; only by an additional article the city of *Taurominium* was given up to *Dionyſius*, who driving from thence the *Siculi*, placed the choiceſt of his mercenaries in their room. As for *Mago*, as ſoon as the f
treaty was ſigned, he returned to *Carthage*, leaving his allies in *Sicily* to ſhift for themſelves. Thus this war ended, notwithſtanding the terrible blow they received before *Syracuſe*, very little to the diſadvantage of the *Carthaginians*[f].

And concludes a peace with Mago.

FROM this time, for nine years, the *Carthaginians* enjoyed an uninterrupted repoſe, at leaſt hiſtory is ſilent as to any military tranſactions they were concerned in during that interval. But, in the ſecond year of the ninety-ninth olympiad, *Dionyſius*, meditating a war againſt them, formed a project of putting his finances upon (A) ſuch a footing,

[d] DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. c. 10. [e] Idem ibid. c. 11. [f] Idem ibid.

(A) *Ariſtotle* and *Polyænus* affirm, that *Dionyſius*, in his expedition to *Etruria*, had a hundred galleys, as likewiſe a large ſhip with a body of horſe on board, with which making a deſcent, he plundered the temple

a footing, as might enable him to carry it on with a proſpect of ſucceſs. This, by the aſſiſtance of that good fortune, which had always attended him through the different ſcenes of his life to that time, he eaſily put in execution. Having fitted out ſixty galleys, under colour of clearing the ſeas of pyrates, he made a deſcent in *Etruria*, and plundered a rich temple in the ſuburbs of *Agylla*, carrying away, beſides the rich moveables and furniture, above a thouſand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raiſed by the ſale of the ſpoils, and, with this money, ſet on foot a numerous army. He now wanted nothing but a plauſible pretence to break with the *Carthaginians*, for which he was not long at a loſs. Obſerving, that the *Carthaginian* ſubjects in *Sicily* were inclined to a revolt, he took as many of them under his
b protection as would accept of it, and entered into a league with them; the conſequence of which was an admiſſion of his troops into their cities. The *Carthaginians*, being appriſed of this, firſt remonſtrated againſt ſuch a proceeding, as a manifeſt infraction of the treaties then ſubſiſting between them, by miniſters ſent to the tyrant for that purpoſe; but this not availing, they declared war againſt him [g].

Dionyſius plunders a rich temple in Etruria,

And breaks again with the Carthaginians,

The people of *Carthage*, ſuſpecting his deſign againſt their ſtate, upon the firſt notice they received of his extraordinary preparations, had ſtrengthened themſelves by alliances with their neighbours, and taken all other neceſſary meaſures to ſecure themſelves againſt the impending ſtorm. Expecting to be attacked by the tyrant's whole power, they formed an army out of the flower of their citizens, which was
c joined by a ſtrong body of foreign mercenaries they had engaged in their ſervice. To give a greater diverſion to the tyrant, they divided their army into two bodies, one of which they ſent to *Italy*, and the other to *Sicily*; and this obliged *Dionyſius* likewiſe to divide his forces. The main army, however, was to act in *Sicily*, under the command of *Mago*, who, ſoon after his arrival, was attacked by *Dionyſius* at a place called *Cabala*. The encounter was rude and bloody; but at laſt the *Carthaginians* were overthrown, and forced to fly to a neighbouring hill, that was indeed ſtrong by its ſituation, but deſtitute of water. In the battle they had ten thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, together with *Mago* their general, who behaved with great bravery and reſolution, and five thouſand taken priſoners. The *Carthaginians*, ter-
d rified by this defeat, and finding themſelves blocked up by *Dionyſius* on the hill, where they were like to die of thirſt, were forced to ſue for a peace. *Dionyſius* anſwered the embaſſadors they ſent him with great haughtineſs, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate *Sicily*, and to defray all the expences of the war. Theſe hard terms they pretended to comply with; but at the ſame time repreſenting, that it was not in their power to deliver up

And defeats them at Cabala *in* Sicily.

[g] Diod. Sic. l. xv. c. 2.

temple of *Leucothea*, from whence carrying off ſeventy talents in money, beſides other valuable effects, he immediately put to ſea again. The ſame authors relate, that, upon his re-imbarquing, he was informed, that the ſoldiers and ſeamen had privately conveyed on board the fleet a thouſand talents of ſilver; whereupon he iſſued out an order before he landed in *Sicily*, requiring every perſon to bring to him half of his treaſure, upon pain of death, promiſing each of them the other half for his own uſe, in caſe of a compliance herewith. When the landmen and mariners brought him in their reſpective halves, he knew what riches remained ſtill in their poſſeſſion, and obliged them to refund thoſe likewiſe (1). *Ælian* takes notice of this expedition, telling us (2), that *Dionyſius* impiouſly carried off all the treaſures of *Apollo* and *Leucothea*, and amongſt other valuable moveables a ſilver table, placed near the ſtatue of *Apollo*; and that the men who took it out of the temple, at the ſame time drank, or offered, to the god, the cup of the *good Genius*; which they did by way of joke or ridicule, that cup or health going round the company amongſt the ancients, after the concluſion of their meals, when the tables were taken away. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the learned *Perizonius* imagines *Ariſtotle*'s text here to have been corrupted, and thinks it may be corrected by *Ælian*, viz. by inſerting Τροιζηνίδα or Τροιζηνίαν inſtead of Τυρρηνίαν, and this in contradiction to the manuſcripts. But we muſt beg leave to diſſent from that great man in this particular; for that this very paſſage of *Ælian* is corrupted, he himſelf allows; nay, ſo corrupted, that it has embaraſſed moſt, if not all, of thoſe learned men, who have endeavoured to tranſlate and explain that author, particularly *Geſner*, *Scheffer*, and *Juſtus Vulteius*, none of whom have been able to come at his meaning. Beſides, all the manuſcripts of *Polyænus*, an author who did not occur to *Perizonius*, and who lived within a very few years of *Ælian*, if he was not cotemporary with him, in the paſſage referred to, which was moſt certainly taken from *Ariſtotle*, have Τυρρηνίαν. This authority is of much greater weight than the teſtimony of *Pauſanias*, in proof of there having been in ancient times a temple ſacred to *Apollo* at *Træzene*; which, we cannot help thinking, is little, if any thing at all, to the purpoſe.

(1) *Ariſtot. œconom. l.* ii. *Polyæn. ſtrat l.* v. *c.* 2. *ex.* 21. (2) *Ælian. var. hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 20. & *Jac. Perizon. com. in loc. Vide & Athen. in deipnoſoph. l.* xv. *ſub fin.*

up the cities they poſſeſſed in *Sicily* (B), without the expreſs orders of their republic, a they obtained a truce, which was to laſt till the return of an expreſs ſent to *Carthage*. In the mean time, they buried *Mago*, who, at the time of his death, was one of their ſuffetes, with as much pomp and magnificence, as the preſent melancholy ſituation of their affairs would permit, and appointed his ſon *Mago* to command the troops in his room [h].

Dionyſius, much elated with his good ſucceſs, now looked upon himſelf as ſovereign of all *Sicily*, not doubting, but he ſhould ſoon be in a capacity of giving laws to all his neighbours. But in this he was greatly miſtaken; for the *Carthaginians* intended nothing leſs than in reality to accept of the conditions offered them. As their whole conduct on this occaſion was calculated only to amuſe the tyrant, till they had an b opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing their affairs, in the time of the truce *Mago* their new general raiſed and diſciplined freſh troops, and improved that ſhort interval allowed him ſo well, that, at the return of the expreſs ſent to *Carthage*, he took the field with a powerful army. As *Mago*, though young, had, on many occaſions, given proofs of an extraordinary valour and prudence, the forces under his conduct ſhewed great impatience to come to blows with the enemy. Obſerving therefore their ardor, immediately upon the expiration of the truce, he gave *Dionyſius* battle not far from *Cronion*, and intirely defeated him (C), killing fourteen thouſand *Syracuſans* on the

But is overthrown at Cronion.

ſpot, and among the reſt *Leptines* (D) his brother, a gallant officer, who was greatly c regretted, even by thoſe who hated the tyrant. In the beginning of the engagement, *Dionyſius* had the advantage, repulſing thoſe that charged him with great bravery; but when he heard of the death of *Leptines*, and that the body he commanded was broken and diſperſed, he immediately betook himſelf to flight, and was hotly purſued by the *Carthaginians*. A dreadful ſlaughter was made of the runaways in the purſuit; and as the enemy gave no quarter, the reſt muſt all have been cut off to a man, had they not, by the favour of the night, found means to eſcape. This made the *Carthaginians* ample amends for the blow they received at *Cabala*, and left them in full poſſeſſion, not only of their own towns, but alſo of a good part of the *Syracuſan* territories. *Dionyſius*, with the remains of his ſhattered army, d fled to *Syracuſe*, where he expected ſoon to be beſieged by the victorious enemy. But the *Carthaginian* general uſed his victory with great moderation, and, inſtead of purſuing the routed enemy, retired to *Panormus*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to *Dionyſius*, offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, *viz.* that both parties ſhould keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, ſave only that *Dionyſius* ſhould deliver up to the *Carthaginians* the city and territory of *Selinus*, and that part of the territory of *Agrigentum* adjoining to it, which extended as far as the river *Halycus*, and beſides pay a thouſand talents, to defray the expences of the war. In other reſpects, all former treaties betwixt the two powers were to ſubſiſt in their fulleſt extent [i]. e

The Carthaginians *make an expedition to* Italy, *in favour of the people of* Hippo, *who are their confederates.*

About three years after the concluſion of this laſt war, the *Carthaginians* landed an army in *Italy*, and reſtored the inhabitants of *Hippo*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, *Hipponium*, to their city, from whence they had for ſome time been expelled. This city was very ancient,

[h] Idem ibid. & Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 1. [i] Idem ibid.

(B) *Polyænus* relates this in a manner ſomething different from *Diodorus*. He ſays, that the *Carthaginians* pretended they had not the power of concluding a peace with *Dionyſius*, without the conſent of their admiral; and therefore begged they might be permitted to remove their camp into the neighbourhood of their fleet, which would enable them to comply with the conditions preſcribed them. The tyrant granted this requeſt, though againſt the advice of *Leptines*; which brought upon him the diſaſter here mentioned (3).

(C) According to *Polyænus*, the *Carthaginians* had a ſtrong party in the city of *Cronion*, who were deſirous of opening the gates to them. The *Carthaginian* general, being appriſed of this, when the wind favoured his project, ſet a wood on fire, which grew cloſe by the town, the ſmoke of which being driven by the wind into the face of the enemy, who lay encamped over-againſt him, prevented them from diſcovering any motion he might make. Taking advantage of this, he approached the place, and was admitted by the *Cronians* in his intereſt into the town (4).

(D) *Frontinus* relates, that this *Leptines* was the author of the following ſtratagem: he ordered a detachment of his troops to lay waſte his own lands, and burn ſeveral *Syracuſan* caſtles and villages in the neighbourhood of the *Carthaginian* camp in the night-time. The *Carthaginians*, imagining this to have been done by their own men, ſent a ſtrong body of troops out of the camp to ſupport them; but theſe falling into an ambuſcade, which *Leptines* had laid for them, were intirely defeated, and driven back to their camp with great ſlaughter (5).

(3) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* vi. *c.* 16. *ex.* 1. (4) *Idem, l.* v. *c.* 10. *ex.* 5. (5) *Sex. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *ex.* 11.

a ancient, as being mentioned by *Scylax*, and was, according to *Strabo*, built by the people of *Locri*. The *Romans* called it *Vibo*, *Valentia*, and *Vibo Valentia*; but *Ptolemy* made use of the old name, following herein *Scylax* and *Strabo*. If the last author may be credited, the country about it was extremely beautiful, being covered with flowers of various kinds, of which the matrons of the place made chaplets or garlands, and wore them in honour of *Proserpina*, who, according to an ancient tradition prevailing amongst the natives, came thither on purpose to gather flowers. The citizens were undoubtedly in alliance with the *Carthaginians*, who made this expedition purely with a design to reinstate them in the possession of their native country; which after they had effected, by recalling the exiles from all parts, and treating
b them with great kindness, they returned to *Africa*.

IMMEDIATELY after the arrival of the troops from *Italy*, *Carthage* had a most terrible calamity to struggle with; the plague broke out afresh there, and swept away an infinite number of the inhabitants. This seems to have raged with greater violence than any distemper the city was ever visited with before; for such vast multitudes were carried off by it, that the whole country was in a manner depopulated. The *Africans* and *Sardi*, encouraged by the extreme weakness to which that state was hereby reduced, attempted to shake off the *Carthaginian* yoke; but were at last, not without some effusion of blood, reduced to their obedience. The pestilence we are now speaking of, was of a very singular nature; for panic terrors and violent
c fits of frenzy seized on a sudden the heads of those afflicted with it, who sallying sword in hand out of their houses, as if the enemy had taken the city, killed or wounded all who unhappily came in their way. *Justin* seems to intimate, that the *Carthaginians* laboured under such a grievous sickness as this several years, with little or no intermission; for it appears from a hint he has given us, that they were delivered from the plague not long before the death of *Dionysius* [k].

The Africans *and* Sardi *rebel; but are at last reduced to their former obedience.*

TOWARDS the beginning of the hundred and third olympiad, *Dionysius*, assembling a great number of forces, resolved to fall upon the *Carthaginians*, who were then in a very bad situation, on account of the ravages the plague had made, and the war with the *Africans* and *Sardi*, which had not been long finished. As he had
d not the least colour or pretext for such an open violation of treaties, he was obliged to have recourse to a downright falsity, *viz.* that the *Carthaginians* made incursions into his dominions. Without putting himself to the trouble therefore of making a formal declaration of war, he advanced into the *Carthaginian* territories, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, attended by a navy of three hundred sail. With this formidable force he soon reduced the cities of *Selinus* and *Entella*, plundering and laying waste all the adjacent country. Then he made himself master of *Eryx*, and laid siege to *Lilybæum*; which, being defended by a numerous garison, baffled his efforts in such a manner, that he was obliged to rise from before it. Being informed, that the arsenal at *Carthage* was consumed by fire, he concluded, that this
e state would find it impossible to equip a fleet, and therefore laid up thirty of his best galleys in the haven at *Eryx*, and sent back all the rest to *Syracuse*. The *Carthaginians*, being apprised how little the tyrant was upon his guard, immediately manned two hundred galleys, and unexpectedly entering the port of *Eryx*, surprised that part of his fleet laid up there, and carried most of it off. After this, a truce was agreed upon by both parties, and the troops retired into winter-quarters. *Dionysius* did not long survive this event: having reigned thirty-eight years, he was succeeded by a son of the same name in the government of *Syracuse* [l].

Dionysius *takes* Eryx *from the* Carthaginians; *but has part of his fleet surprised by them in the port of that city.*

THOUGH *Diodorus* does not say expressly, that the *Carthaginians*, upon the last rupture, sent a body of troops to *Sicily*, yet *Justin* gives us some reason to believe,
f that they either did, or designed it, and that the commander's name was *Hanno*. The same author farther informs us, that *Suniator*, or *Suniates*, a person of great authority in the city, bore an implacable hatred to *Hanno*, and, in order to do him a prejudice, endeavoured to give the enemy intelligence of his motions. This he did by writing in *Greek* to *Dionysius*; but his letter, wherein he made very free with *Hanno*'s character, was intercepted, and he thereupon found guilty of treason by the senate. This occasioned the passing of a law at *Carthage*, whereby all the inhabitants

The Greek *language is expelled* Carthage, *on account of a treasonable correspondence carried on in it between a* Carthaginian *and* Dionysius.

[k] Idem ibid. c. 3. JUST. l. xx. sub fin. SCYLAX & STRAB. l. vi. Inscript. vet. apud GRUTER. p. 99. n. 1. & p. 150. n. 7. CIC. pro Planc. c. 40. & ad Attic. iii. ep. 3. PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. [l] DIOD. SIC. l. xv. c. 8.

ants were forbid learning either to write or ſpeak the *Greek* language, that they might be deprived of all means of correſponding with the enemy [m]. a

Oroſius *miſtaken.*

We are told by *Oroſius*, that the *Carthaginians* concluded their firſt treaty with the *Romans* in the four hundred and ſecond year of *Rome*, which was not far from the time we are now ſpeaking of. But this we muſt by no means give credit to, becauſe it is contradicted by *Polybius*, an author infinitely ſuperior in point of authority to *Oroſius*, who affirms, that the firſt treaty the *Carthaginians* entered into with the *Romans* happened in the year after the regifuge; and that this was the ſecond. And here we cannot forbear expreſſing our ſurpriſe at M. *Rollin*, who quotes *Oroſius* as affirming this to have been the ſecond treaty concluded between the two republics; whereas that author expreſsly aſſerts it to have been the firſt. The articles of this b treaty may be ſeen in a former part of this work, and therefore we ſhall not here repeat them. However, it may be proper to obſerve, that the people of *Utica* and *Tyre*, according to *Polybius*, were compriſed in the treaty, and that the *Romans* were not permitted to build towns, or ravage the country, in any part beyond the *Fair Promontory*, *Maſtia*, and *Tarſeium*. The *Carthaginians*, being at this time in full poſſeſſion of *Sardinia* and a great part of *Africa*, thought it conſiſtent with juſtice, and even policy, to prevent all intercourſe betwixt the *Romans* and theſe countries. From the treaty here mentioned it farther appears, that both the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* applied themſelves with great diligence at this time to commerce. Soon after this event, the *Romans* gained a ſignal victory over the *Samnites*; upon which the c *Carthaginians* ſent to compliment the republic on her ſucceſs, and made a preſent of a crown (E) of gold of twenty-five pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of thankſgiving for ſo glorious an action [n]. But to return to the affairs of *Sicily*.

Dionyſius *the ſecond comes to an accommodation with the* Carthaginians.

The prince now upon the throne was of quite a different character from his father, being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterpriſing; but this mildneſs and moderation being rather the effect of a ſlothful and indolent diſpoſition, than of a wiſe and judicious underſtanding, his ſubjects from hence reaped no great benefit. Soon after his taking upon himſelf the government of *Syracuſe*, he changed the truce with the *Carthaginians* into a perpetual peace, and made it his endeavour to cultivate a good underſtanding with that neighbouring ſtate. As *Diodorus* aſcribes this peace to his indolence and ſloth, and conſequently, in ſome meaſure, ſeems to upbraid him for it, we have ſome reaſon from hence to believe, that the terms of it were not very advantagious to the *Syracuſans* [o]. d

A war commences between the Syracuſans *and the* Corinthians *on the one hand, and* Dionyſius *and the* Carthaginians *on the other.*

Some years after, the people of *Syracuſe*, being agitated by civil diſſentions, were involved in the greateſt miſeries (F). *Dionyſius* was obliged to quit his throne, and continued an exile for ten years; but at laſt, the city being rent into parties and factions upon the death of *Dion*, he found means to reinſtate himſelf in his dominions. His paſt misfortunes greatly inflamed his temper, and rendered him very ſavage and brutal. In ſhort, the better ſort of the citizens, not being able to brook ſo cruel a ſervitude, implored the aid of *Icetas*, who was by deſcent a *Syracuſan*, and at e that time tyrant of the *Leontini*; they created him general of all their forces, abandoning themſelves to his conduct; not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but becauſe

[m] Justin. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 5. Mel. l. ii. c 4. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 40, &c [n] Oros l. i. ad A U. C. cdii. M. Rollin in hiſt. anc. des Carthag. p. 223. à Amſterdam, 1733. Polyb. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24. Liv. l. vii. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 595. [o] Diod. Sic. l. xvi. c. 2.

(E) This muſt have been a mere compliment, proceeding from ſome political motive to us unknown; for it was by no means the intereſt of the *Carthaginians*, that the *Samnites* ſhould be ſubdued by the *Romans*. The latter, at this time, began to rival the *Carthaginians* in trade; whereas the former ſeem to have been their good and faithful allies; at leaſt it is certain they ſometimes ſupplied them with bodies of auxiliaries or mercenary troops, as we ſhall find towards the cloſe of this ſection. This paſſage ſeems to intimate, that *Jupiter* was a deity well known at *Carthage*, and that his image there was adorned with a crown of gold, agreeably to what has been before obſerved of *Baal* in the *Phœnician* hiſtory (6).

(F) It appears from *Diodorus*, that the *Carthaginians* were at the bottom of theſe civil diſſenſions at *Syracuſe*; for *Dionyſius* had never been dethroned by *Dion*, had not *Paralus*, the *Carthaginian* governor of *Minoa*, a city in the territory of *Agrigentum*, ſuppoſed to have been built by *Minos*, given the latter a kind reception there, permitted him to land five thouſand arms, and ſupplied him with carriages to convey them to *Syracuſe*. This was certainly good policy in the *Carthaginians*, whoſe intereſt it was to endeavour rending the city of *Syracuſe* into as many factions as poſſible, that the inhabitants might deſtroy one another, and thereby become a more eaſy prey to the ſtate of *Carthage* (7).

(6) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 398. *not.* (E). (7) *Diod. Sic. l.* xvi. *c.* 3.

a becauſe they had no other reſource. Beſides, they entertained ſome hopes of his being both able and willing to protect them, as he was in ſome reſpect their countryman, and had an army able to cope with that of *Dionyſius*. The *Carthaginians*, thinking this a proper opportunity to make themſelves abſolute maſters of *Sicily*, fitted out a great fleet, and for ſome time hovered about the coaſts of that iſland, not being at firſt determined where to make a deſcent. This ſo alarmed the *Syracuſans*, that they apprehended themſelves upon the brink of ruin, and in this extremity reſolved to have recourſe to the *Corinthians*, from whom they were originally deſcended, and whoſe aſſiſtance had ſeveral times extricated them out of great difficulties. The *Corinthians*, being the moſt famed of all the *Greek* nations for their profeſſed averſion to
b tyranny in every ſhape, readily granted their requeſt, and gave their embaſſadors a moſt kind reception. *Icetas*, whoſe only view was to make himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, in the mean time ſeemed to concur with theſe meaſures, though he had actually entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*. He was in hopes ſome domeſtic broils or other would prevent the *Corinthians* from aſſiſting their relations, and then, by his complying with this motion, he doubted not he ſhould win over to his intereſt thoſe very perſons who made it, which would enable him the more eaſily to accompliſh his deſign. He therefore diſpatched deputies himſelf along with the *Syracuſan* miniſters; but in the mean time was contriving how he could prevent the *Corinthians* from ſending any forces into the iſland, which, according to his laſt treaty
c with the *Carthaginians*, was, after the expulſion of *Dionyſius*, to be divided between him and them. However, the *Corinthians*, then enjoying a profound tranquillity, were at leiſure to ſend a body of troops to *Syracuſe*, which, in a general aſſembly, it was reſolved ſhould be done. As the *Syracuſans* in particular deſired they would ſend them an able and experienced general, they appointed *Timoleon*, the ſon of *Timodemus* and *Demariſte*, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit, to take upon him the command of the *Syracuſan* army, in conjunction with their forces, and with theſe he was to act againſt *Dionyſius* and the *Carthaginians* [p].

THE *Syracuſan* embaſſadors were ſcarce ſet out for *Corinth*, when *Icetas* took off the maſk, and openly joined the *Carthaginians*, intending, by their aſſiſtance, to
d poſſeſs himſelf of *Syracuſe*, and that under colour of aſſiſting the inhabitants againſt *Dionyſius*. But being apprehenſive, that a body of forces from *Corinth*, under the conduct of a ſkilful general, would defeat his meaſures, he diſpatched an expreſs to the *Corinthians*, acquainting them, that the *Carthaginians*, appriſed of their deſign, were waiting to intercept their ſquadron with a ſtrong fleet; and that their ſlowneſs in ſending him ſuccours had obliged him to call in even the *Carthaginians* to his aid, and employ them againſt the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any further levies, or exhauſting their treaſures by great, but uſeleſs, expences, ſince he could, without the aſſiſtance of his allies the *Carthaginians*, drive out *Dionyſius*, and reſtore *Syracuſe* to its ancient liberty. The *Corinthians*, hereby plainly diſcovering,
e that the tyrant aſpired to the ſovereignty of *Syracuſe*, and being juſtly at that time celebrated for the generous notions they entertained in behalf of liberty, were incenſed to the laſt degree at ſuch a perfidious conduct; and therefore thoſe who had before either oppoſed the expedition, or been cold and languid in promoting it, now readily concurred with the reſt, and all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for *Timoleon*'s ſudden departure [q].

Icetas *endeavours to diſſuade the* Corinthians *from ſending any forces to* Syracuſe

Plutarch tells us, that when the troops were ready to embarque, the goddeſs *Proſerpina*, attended by her mother *Ceres*, both in travelling habits, appeared to her female prieſts in a dream or viſion; and that both theſe deities declared they would
f ſail with *Timoleon* to *Sicily*, an iſland in a peculiar manner ſacred to them. This greatly encouraged *Timoleon*, who, conſecrating the beſt trireme of his ſquadron to the goddeſſes, called it the ſacred ſhip of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*. The ſame author likewiſe relates, that *Timoleon* going to *Delphi*, in order to ſacrifice there to *Apollo*, and deſcending into the place where the reſponſes of the oracle were received, a wreath or garland, interwoven with crowns and trophies, ſlipping from among the conſecrated gifts, that were hung up in the temple, fell directly upon his head; which he interpreted as a happy omen, *Apollo* thereby ſeeming to crown him with ſucceſs, and to aſſure him of a triumph over *Icetas* and the *Carthaginians*. He ſet ſail from *Corinth* with ſeven galleys of his own nation, two of *Corcyra*, and a tenth, which was ſent him by the *Leuca-*

Timoleon, *encouraged by ſeveral good omens, ſets ſail for* Sicily.

[p] PLUT. in Timol. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 10. [q] DIOD. SIC. & PLUT. ubi ſup.

Leucadians, with only a thouſand ſoldiers on board; a very ſmall force, conſidering a
the enterprize he was going upon. Our author farther informs us, that *Timoleon*,
getting out of port by night, was carried by a proſperous gale into the ocean, and
preceded in the night by a flame, reſembling thoſe torches that were uſed in the
ſacred myſteries of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, which conducted him to that part of *Italy*
where he intended to land; and that this being interpreted by his ſoothſayers as a
confirmation of what thoſe two goddeſſes had before declared, he looked upon it as
a ſure token of victory. Purſuing his voyage therefore over the *Ionian* ſea with great
alacrity, he ſoon arrived ſafe with his ſmall fleet at *Metapontum*, now *Torre di Mare*,
on the coaſt of *Italy*[r].

Upon his arrival on the coaſt of Italy, *he amuſes* Icetas *and the* Carthaginians.

THE firſt advice he received here was, that *Icetas* had defeated *Dionyſius*, and b
having made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of the city, had obliged the tyrant
to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. At the ſame time he was informed, that the *Car-*
thaginians had, by the treaty with *Icetas*, engaged themſelves to hinder the *Corin-*
thian ſquadron from putting in at any of th *Sicilian* ports, that being by this means
obliged to return home, they might from thence meet with no farther obſtruction in
dividing the iſland between them. This gave him great uneaſineſs; however, he
advanced with his ſmall fleet to *Rhegium*, where he found embaſſadors from *Icetas*,
who were charged to acquaint him, that, if he thought proper, he might come to
Syracuſe, and aſſiſt him with his advice; and that he ſhould meet with a kind recep- c
tion there, and even be a partaker of his good fortune, provided he would diſmiſs
his troops; but otherwiſe the *Syracuſans*, who were jealous of foreign forces, would
not admit him into the city. Theſe miniſters were convoyed to *Rhegium* by twenty
Carthaginian galleys, who had orders to block up the road, and oppoſe *Timoleon*, if
he offered to approach *Syracuſe*. That general, finding himſelf unable to force his
way, by reaſon of the ſuperior ſtrength of the enemy, and that, even provided he
could land at *Syracuſe*, his handful of troops would not be able to engage thoſe of
Icetas, fluſhed with victory and ſupported by a numerous *Carthaginian* army, was
reſolved to have recourſe to artifice at this critical conjuncture. He therefore demanded
a conference with the embaſſadors and the chief commanders of the *Carthaginian*
ſquadron, in the preſence of the people of *Rhegium*. He pretended to liſten to the d
propoſal offered him; but inſiſted, that as the *Rhegians* were *Greeks*, and common
friends to both parties, he ought firſt to hear what they had to ſay, and act, if poſſible,
by their advice, that he might, on his return to *Corinth*, have wherewithal to juſtify
his conduct; alledging further, that the *Carthaginians* themſelves would more ſcrupu-
louſly obſerve the articles of a treaty they had ſigned before ſo many witneſſes. The
Rhegians were privy to the deſign, and dreaded nothing more than the conſequence
of having ſo formidable a nation in their neighbourhood as the *Carthaginians*. They
ſummoned therefore an aſſembly, and ſhut the gates of the city, under pretence of
preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themſelves ſolely
to the affair in hand. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians*, being amuſed, and verily be- e
lieving, that *Timoleon* would be perſuaded to return home, had not made the leaſt
preparation to attack him, in caſe he ſhould attempt ſteering his courſe towards the
coaſt of *Sicily*.

And lands his forces in Sicily *by a ſtratagem.*

Timoleon, that he might not give the *Carthaginians* the leaſt room to ſuſpect his
deſign, did not offer for a conſiderable time to ſtir out of the aſſembly, which being
met, long ſpeeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great
warmth, though without coming to a point, on purpoſe to gain time; nay, *Timo-*
leon, farther to prevent any ground for ſuſpicion, frequently made ſigns, as though
he was going to begin a ſpeech in ſupport of the reſolution he had ſeemingly
formed. But while the *Carthaginian* commanders were buſy in the council, nine f
Corinthian galleys, according to the orders they had received from *Timoleon*, ſet ſail,
and paſſed in ſight of the *Carthaginian* fleet, unable at that time to act, by reaſon of
the abſence of its captains, and moreover believing, that their departure had been
agreed on between the officers of both parties, who, it was ſuppoſed, were then in
the city. When *Timoleon* was privately informed, that his galleys were at ſea, by the
aſſiſtance of the *Rhegians* about his chair, he ſlipped through the crowd, and making
to the galley that was left, embarqued, and rejoined the reſt of his ſquadron. The
Carthaginians, being thus deluded, were extremely chagrined, making bitter com-
plaints

[r] DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. c. 11. & PLUT. ubi ſup.

plaints of the *Rhegian* perfidiouſneſs and fraud. The *Rhegians*, on the other hand, greatly rejoiced to ſee the *Carthaginians* overcome at their own weapons, and could not forbear rallying them thereupon. The aſſembly not having broke up till it was dark, the *Carthaginians* could not come up with *Timoleon*, ſo far was he got before them, though they gave him chace for ſome time. He arrived therefore ſafe with his whole fleet at *Taurominium*[s].

The Carthaginians *threaten* Andromachus *with their reſentment, if he continued to harbour* Timoleon.

THE *Carthaginian* general, appriſed of *Timoleon*'s landing at *Taurominium*, diſpatched an expreſs on board one of his galleys thither, threatening *Andromachus*, tyrant of that city, with his reſentment, if he did not immediately drive away the *Corinthians* from thence. The form of the menace, according to *Plutarch*, was this: The barbarian, ſtretching out his hand with the inſide upward, and then turning it down again, threatened to turn the city topſy-turvy juſt ſo, in as little time, and with as much eaſe. *Andromachus*, laughing, made no other reply to this inſolence, than by repeating the ſame motion with an air of contempt, and ordering him to be gone immediately, upon pain of having that trial of dexterity exerciſed firſt upon the veſſel which brought him thither. This ſingle circumſtance, ſlight as it is, ſeems clearly to point out the *Carthaginian* original, ſuch kind of inſolent denunciations having been common in the eaſt, as may be learned from ſcripture, to omit what may be collected on this head from profane authors[t].

Timoleon *defeats* Icetas *at* Adranum.

Icetas no ſooner received intelligence of *Timoleon*'s arrival in *Sicily*, than he was thrown into a great conſternation, and deſired the *Carthaginians* to ſend a ſquadron of galleys with all poſſible expedition to guard the coaſts. Soon after, he put the *Carthaginian* fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and fifty galleys, in poſſeſſion of the harbour of *Syracuſe*, and diſpatched an expreſs to *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, preſſing him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time, *Timoleon*, drawing his forces out of *Taurominium*, which in the whole did not amount to above a thouſand or twelve hundred men, began his march towards the duſk of the evening, and arrived the next day at *Adranum*, a place to which *Icetas* had advanced a little before at the head of a *Carthaginian* detachment of five thouſand men. Theſe he ſurpriſed at ſupper, and therefore meeting with but a faint reſiſtance, eaſily made himſelf maſter of their camp, putting three hundred of them to the ſword, and taking ſix hundred priſoners. In order to follow his blow, and ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, he flew like lightning to *Syracuſe*, and even broke into one part of the town, before any thing of his march was known. Here he immediately took poſt with his troops, and defended himſelf with that intrepid reſolution, that the whole united power of *Icetas* and the *Carthaginians* found it impoſſible to diſlodge him[u].

The ſituation of affairs in Sicily, *when* Timoleon *broke into* Syracuſe.

THE *Carthaginians*, being informed, ſome time before this war broke out, that the whole iſland of *Sicily* was ſoon like to be in a flame, greatly careſſed all thoſe cities with whom they were in alliance, to which many other neighbouring ſtates were invited to accede, particularly *Icetas*, tyrant of the *Leontini*, the *Syracuſan* general, with whom a treaty offenſive and defenſive was concluded, as above-mentioned. In order therefore to make good their engagements, and ſupport their confederates, eſpecially *Icetas*, they raiſed a great number of forces both by ſea and land, and tranſported them to *Sicily*, under the command of *Hanno* their general. Upon a general muſter here, the army was found to conſiſt of fifty thouſand men, and three hundred chariots. Theſe were attended with two thouſand carriages drawn by two horſes a-piece, an immenſe quantity of proviſions, beſides a prodigious number of arms, engines of battery, and all ſorts of warlike ſtores. The fleet, deſtined to concur with theſe land-forces in the operations of the campaign, was compoſed of an hundred and fifty long ſhips or galleys, as related above. *Hanno*, with his forces, moved firſt towards *Entella*; which city he cauſed to be blocked up, having before ravaged and deſtroyed the country all round it. The *Campanians*, however, then in gariſon, found means to notify their diſtreſs to the neighbouring cities, and to deſire their aſſiſtance; but none of them durſt ſtir, except *Galeria*, which ſent them a reinforcement of a thouſand men, who, being intercepted by the *Carthaginians*, were all cut to pieces. The *Campanians* indeed, who inhabited *Ætna*, ſeemed at firſt, on account of their conſanguinity, diſpoſed to aſſiſt them; but receiving advice of the terrible fate the *Galerians* had met with, they judged it more convenient to lie ſtill. In the mean

[s] PLUT. & DIODOR. ibid. [t] 1 King. xx. 10. & alib. paſſ. [u] PLUT. & DIODOR ubi ſup.

mean time, *Icetas*, moving from *Leontium* with his army, encamped at *Olympus*, fortifying his camp with a trench and a parapet, that he might be the better enabled to receive *Dionyſius*, in caſe he ſhould think proper to attack him. Proviſions failing him, he was obliged to return to *Leontium* for a freſh ſupply. This *Dionyſius* interpreting as a flight, fell directly upon his rear; which brought on a general engagement. But, after a ſharp conflict, *Icetas* routed him, killing three thouſand of his men upon the ſpot, and purſuing the reſt with ſo much ardor, that he entered with them pell-mell into the town of *Syracuſe*; by which means he poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole city, except the iſland on which the citadel ſtood. This was the ſituation of affairs in *Syracuſe*, when *Timoleon* broke into the city, and gave *Icetas* the defeat above-mentioned[w].

The Sicilians *at firſt not diſpoſed to join* Timoleon.

BEFORE the action at *Adranum*, the *Sicilians* in general were ſo far from being diſpoſed to join *Timoleon*, that they were prejudiced againſt him as a foreign commander; which was chiefly owing to the calamities they had formerly ſuffered by the treachery of *Calippus* an *Athenian*, and *Pharax* a *Lacedæmonian* general; for theſe perſons, under the ſpecious pretext of delivering them from tyranny, had treated them in a more rigorous and oppreſſive manner than the worſt and moſt deſpotic of their own tyrants. The people of *Adranum* only were divided in their ſentiments; ſome preferring the *Carthaginians* and *Icetas*, and others the *Corinthians*. Hence it came to paſs, that both parties were ſolicited for ſuccours by their reſpective confederates; and both ſides accordingly advancing to the relief of their friends much about the ſame time, engaged in the manner above related. The *Corinthians*, being victorious, intirely through the valour and conduct of *Timoleon*, according to *Plutarch*, were received with open arms by the people of *Adranum*, and, after their example, other cities opened their gates to *Timoleon*, and joined him with all their forces. In the mean time, *Dionyſius*, as we have already obſerved, poſſeſſed the iſland of *Ortygia*, *Icetas Neapolis* and *Acradina*, *Timoleon* all the reſt of the city, and the *Carthaginians* the port, having moreover their army encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the town. This deplorable ſituation threw *Timoleon* into great perplexities, ſo that he was at a loſs what courſe to take. Whilſt he remained in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, he was reinforced by a body of the *Adranitæ* and *Tynderitæ*; *Marcus* or *Mamercus* alſo, prince of *Catana*, an able warrior, and maſter of an immenſe treaſure, advanced at the head of a powerful army to his relief. Upon ſuch an unexpected flow of ſucceſs, many forts and caſtles ſurrendered to him; and laſtly, to crown all, he received advice, that the *Corinthians* had ſent him a farther ſupply of ſoldiers on board ten galleys, which were happily arrived at *Thurium*, together with money to pay all their troops at *Syracuſe*[x].

Dionyſius *ſurrenders the citadel of* Syracuſe *to* Timoleon.

Dionyſius, ſeeing himſelf beſieged on all ſides, without any hopes of relief, ſent privately embaſſadors to *Timoleon*, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would ſuffer him to retire unmoleſted. *Timoleon*, immediately cloſing with ſo advantagious an offer, readily agreed to what the tyrant deſired, and detached *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, two *Corinthian* officers, with four hundred men, to take poſſeſſion of that important place. As the *Carthaginians* had a ſtrong guard upon the haven, and conſequently were maſters of that part of the town adjoining to it, where *Icetas* was poſted, the *Corinthians* could not march in a body to the citadel, and therefore they entered it in ſmall parties. *Dionyſius* received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike ſtores and proviſions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with a vaſt number of horſes, darts, military engines, all the old magazine, containing ſeventy thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and two thouſand regular troops, which *Timoleon* incorporated among his own. After this, *Dionyſius* was ſent to *Corinth* by *Timoleon* in a ſingle galley, without any convoy, where he arrived ſafe, notwithſtanding the *Carthaginians*, being appriſed of his departure, had laid ſeveral veſſels in wait for him. The *Carthaginians* were ſo diſheartened at theſe misfortunes, coming as it were one upon the neck of another, (for *Plutarch* tells us they happened all in the ſpace of fifty days) that they did not offer to make the leaſt movement, either with their fleet or land-forces, tho' the latter were above ten times as numerous as the *Corinthians*[y].

ACCORDING to *Diodorus*, the firſt treaty between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* was ſigned this year, which was the firſt of the hundred and ninth olympiad. As this

[w] PLUT. & DIODOR. ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid.

a this corresponded with the four hundred and fourth or four hundred and fifth year of *Rome*, (if, with *Fabius Pictor*, we place the foundation of that city in the firſt year of the eighth olympiad) it is not improbable, that *Oroſius*, in the paſſage above-cited, followed *Diodorus Siculus*. But neither of them, in the point before us, deſerves any conſideration; for though we do not pretend to deny, that there might have been a treaty concluded this year between the two republics aforeſaid, yet, that it was the firſt, we can by no means allow; ſince *Polybius*, who undoubtedly conſulted both the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* archives, does not only aſſure us, that they entered into a treaty above an hundred and ſixty years before this time, but likewiſe gives us the expreſs words of that treaty. His authority therefore, in this caſe, as b well as in all others relating to the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* affairs, as interwoven, muſt be looked upon as inconteſtable [z].

The Corinthian *gariſon in the citadel defends itſelf againſt the united forces of* Icetas *and the* Carthaginians.

But to return to the *Carthaginian* tranſactions in *Sicily*: Towards the concluſion of this, and the beginning of the following year, the *Carthaginian* forces, that were to act in favour of *Icetas*, received a ſtrong reinforcement, and *Mago* was appointed to command them. Upon the retreat of *Dionyſius*, *Icetas*, laid ſiege to the citadel of *Syracuſe*, which was defended only by four hundred *Corinthians*, left there by *Timoleon*, under the conduct of one *Leon*, an experienced and brave officer. *Timoleon*, who had withdrawn to *Catana*, ſent the gariſon frequent ſupplies of proviſions; but they were for the moſt part intercepted by *Icetas*, who kept the place cloſely blocked up c on all ſides. When they were reduced to the laſt extremity, *Timoleon* found means to relieve them, by conveying into the place, in ſpite of all oppoſition, a great quantity of corn. This he did by the aſſiſtance of ſmall fiſher-boats and ſkiffs, which got a paſſage through the *Carthaginian* fleet in the moſt tempeſtuous weather, ſliding over the waves and billows up to the citadel, when the enemy's galleys were either beat one againſt another, or diſperſed by the violence of the wind. Whilſt theſe things happened, *Icetas* formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate *Timoleon* at *Adranum*, to which place he had for a ſhort time retired, and employed two foreigners, probably *Carthaginians*, for that purpoſe; but they were prevented from executing their execrable deſign in a very providential manner, a full and minute account of which remark-d able event may be ſeen in *Plutarch*. *Timoleon*, after his eſcape, returned to *Catana*, and continued ſupplying his troops in the citadel with proviſions, as often as an opportunity offered. The beſieged were, however, greatly fatigued, by being obliged to be continually under arms, in order to repel the enemy's aſſaults, which were frequent and vigorous, and to repair the breaches made by their battering engines. Nevertheleſs they defended themſelves with incredible bravery, and, having their renowned general himſelf ſo near at hand, deſpiſed all the efforts of the enemy [a].

Icetas *introduces the Carthaginian army into Syracuſe.*

Icetas, being much chagrined at this late diſappointment, and finding his ſoldiers deſert in great numbers to the enemy, diſpatched an expreſs to *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, deſiring him to advance with his troops to the gates of the city. As e ſoon as he arrived, *Icetas*, without any ſcruple, admitted him at the head of the whole *Punic* army, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand men, into the town; which was a point the *Carthaginians*, in all their ſtruggles with the *Siculo-Greeks*, could never gain before. As *Mago*'s fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail at the ſame time rode in the har our, the city ſeemed to be intirely in the enemy's hands. *Timoleon*, being informed of this, kept his troops together, but for the preſent remained at *Catana*, that he might be at hand to encourage and ſuccour the *Corinthian* troops in the citadel; which he did ſo effectually, by continuing to ſupply them with corn and other proviſions, in the manner above related, as well as by giving them hopes of obliging the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, that they were not under the leaſt apprehenſion for the ſafety of the place [b].

The Corinthian *gariſon in the citadel in a ſally take* Acradina.

f *Mago* and *Icetas*, finding it impoſſible to reduce the citadel, as long as *Timoleon* was in that neighbourhood, reſolved to leave part of the army in *Syracuſe*, and with the reſt either drive *Timoleon* from *Catana*, or block him up in that city. Tho' they knew his forces were very inconſiderable in compariſon of thoſe with which they intended to attack him, yet, having a great opinion of the abilities of that general, they picked out the very flower of their troops on this occaſion. They were ſcarce gone, when *Leon*, who commanded in the citadel, obſerving that thoſe who were left to continue the ſiege were very remiſs in their duty, made a ſudden ſally, killed a great

[z] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Oros. l. iv. Polyb. l. iii. p. 245, 246, &c. edit. Gronov. [a] Plut. ubi ſup. [b] Idem ibid.

a great number of them, put the reſt to flight, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the quarter of the city called *Acradina*, fortified it, and, by works of communication, joined it to the citadel. As *Acradina* was the beſt and moſt opulent part of *Syracuſe*, conſiſting, as it were, of ſeveral towns united, *Leon* found vaſt ſums of ready money and great plenty of proviſions in it; which, at that time, were of ſignal ſervice to him. A courier was immediately ſent away with this melancholy news to *Mago* and *Icetas*, who, upon receiving it, returned in great haſte to *Syracuſe*, though they were then but a ſmall diſtance from *Catana*; but could not, upon their arrival, diſlodge the enemy from the poſt they had gained. In the mean time, a ſupply of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe from *Corinth* landed ſafe in *Sicily*, having been detained a conſiderable time at *Thurium* by tempeſtuous weather, and found means to elude the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron under *Hanno*, poſted to intercept them. That commander, not imagining the *Corinthians* would attempt a paſſage to *Sicily* in ſuch a ſtormy ſeaſon, left his ſtation at *Thurium*, and, ordering his ſeamen to crown themſelves with garlands, and adorn their veſſels with bucklers of both the *Greek* and *Carthaginian* form, ſailed to *Syracuſe* in a triumphant manner, where he gave the troops in the citadel to underſtand, that he had taken the ſuccours *Timoleon* expected, thinking by this means to intimidate them to a ſurrender. But whilſt he ſpent his time in ſuch trifling amuſements, the *Corinthians* marched with great expedition through the territories of the *Brutii* to *Rhegium*, and taking the advantage of a gentle breeze, were eaſily wafted over to *Sicily*. This capital error in *Hanno* proved the total ruin of *Icetas*, and, in its conſequences, was of infinite prejudice to the *Carthaginians* [c].

Timoleon receives a freſh ſupply of troops from Corinth;

And reduces Meſſana.

Timoleon, greatly animated by this new reinforcement, marched againſt *Meſſana*, which he ſoon made himſelf maſter of, and then advanced in good order to *Syracuſe*. *Mago* was ſeized with a panic upon the news of his approach, inſomuch, that he ſeemed only to want a pretence to quit the iſland, tho' the new *Corinthian* ſuccours, in conjunction with all *Timoleon*'s other troops, did not form a corps of above four thouſand men. Soon after, ſome of *Icetas* and *Timoleon*'s *Greek* mercenaries mixing together in converſation, whilſt they were fiſhing for eels in the marſhes about *Syracuſe*, one of the *Corinthian* party addreſſed himſelf to thoſe of the other ſide in the following terms: "Is it poſſible for *Greeks* to attempt reducing ſo noble a city as "this to the obedience of barbarians, nay, of the moſt cruel and bloody barbarians "breathing? Is it not much more for their intereſt, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould "be removed at the greateſt diſtance from *Greece*, than that they ſhould be put into "poſſeſſion of a moſt rich and fertile iſland in its neighbourhood? Can any perſon be "ſo ſtupid as to imagine, that they have drawn their forces, from the ſtreights of *Her-*"*cules* and the *Atlantic* ocean, purely to ſupport *Icetas*, who, if he had acted like "an able general, would never have introduced his country's implacable enemies "into its bowels? Was it politic conduct in him to treat his anceſtors and natural "friends, as the bittereſt enemies, which had he not done, he might have enjoyed "his high dignity, without giving the leaſt offence to *Timoleon* and the *Corinthians*?" Theſe diſcourſes being ſpread through the whole camp, and even reaching *Mago*'s ears, whoſe army was moſtly compoſed of mercenary *Greeks*, he pretended to be afraid of a general defection of his troops; and therefore, without hearkening to the intreaties and warm remonſtrances of *Icetas*, who plainly demonſtrated to him the weakneſs of the enemy, he weighed anchor, and ſet ſail for *Africa*, ſhamefully abandoning the conqueſt of *Sicily*. No other reaſon can be aſſigned for this unaccountable conduct, but the timorous diſpoſition of that general, who, conſcious of his guilt, on his arrival at *Carthage*, laid violent hands on himſelf, to prevent the puniſhment his cowardice deſerved. His body was hung upon a gallows or croſs, and expoſed as a public ſpectacle to the people, in order to deter ſucceeding generals from forfeiting their honour, and ſacrificing their country, in ſo flagrant a manner. Perhaps a more daſtardly action is not to be met with in the whole courſe of hiſtory [d].

He takes by ſtorm that part of Syracuſe *poſſeſſed by* Icetas.

THE next day, *Timoleon* appeared before the city with his army drawn up in order of battle; when being informed of *Mago*'s precipitate flight, and ſeeing the haven quite clear of *Carthaginian* veſſels, he was moſt agreeably ſurpriſed, but could ſcarce believe his own eyes and ears. He could not forbear ridiculing the cowardice of *Mago* on this occaſion, and therefore, in a pleaſant humour, by proclamation, offered

[c] Idem ibid. [d] PLUT. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

a offered a great reward to any perſon who could bring him intelligence into what corner of the world the *Carthaginian* ſquadron was retired, to make its eſcape from his formidable fleet. *Icetas* being determined to defend that part of the town in which he was poſted, *Timoleon* made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general aſſault. This he divided into three attacks; the firſt he commanded in perſon, with a body of choſen troops, againſt that part of the town ſituated upon the river *Anapus*, which was the ſtrongeſt and moſt difficult of acceſs; the ſecond he committed to the conduct of *Iſias*, a *Corinthian* captain, who was to advance from the quarter of *Acradina*; and the third was to be formed againſt the poſt *Epipolæ* by *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus*, who brought the laſt ſupply of troops from *Corinth*. In conformity to this plan,
b the aſſault was made; and the troops of *Icetas* being every-where driven from the walls, that part of the city which they held was taken by ſtorm. That *Icetas* ſhould loſe many men in this action, is eaſy to be believed; but that the *Corinthian* forces ſhould not have ſo much as a ſingle man wounded, ſavours ſo much of fable and rhodomontade, that *Plutarch* muſt excuſe us, if we are inclined to be of a contrary opinion [c].

Timoleon, after the junction of his forces with thoſe of *Mamercus* and the cities above-mentioned, and the reduction of *Syracuſe*, having left a body of troops to defend that capital, marched ſtraight to *Leontium*, *Icetas*'s metropolis, with an intention to beſiege it. In conſequence of this deſign, he ſat down before the place;
c but finding the gariſon very numerous, and being repulſed with loſs in ſeveral attacks that he made, he was obliged to draw off. He next advanced to *Engyon*, a city that groaned under the tyranny of *Leptines*, and ſo terrified the tyrant by his repeated aſſaults, that he thought proper to capitulate, and was conducted to *Peloponneſus*. *Apollonia*, a neighbouring city under the power of *Leptines*, upon this, applied to *Timoleon* for his protection, and obtained it, ſo that this general now began to be looked upon as the ſcourge of tyrants, and conſequently to be in high eſteem amongſt the *Sicilians*; but being in great diſtreſs for money to ſatisfy the demands of his ſoldiers, he detached a thouſand men to make an incurſion into the *Carthaginian* territories. This detachment laying all the enemy's country waſte, and pillaging
d it thoroughly, carried off an immenſe booty, which they brought to *Timoleon*, who expoſing every thing to public ſale, by this means raiſed a vaſt ſum, and not only paid his army all their paſt arrears, but likewiſe advanced them their pay for a conſiderable time to come. Soon after, he made himſelf maſter of *Entella*, where he put to death fifteen of the citizens, who perſiſted in their adherence to the *Carthaginians*, and reſtored the reſt to their liberty. Upon this the *Greek* cities every-where ſubmitted to him, and were by him reſtored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewiſe of the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, ſent embaſſadors to him, deſiring to be admitted among his confederates. *Icetas*, in the mean time, in conjunction with ſome *Carthaginian* auxiliaries, formed
e the ſiege of *Syracuſe*. This, in the beginning, he puſhed on with vigour; but as *Timoleon*'s gariſon behaved with incredible reſolution, cutting off a great part of his army by their frequent ſallies, and as *Timoleon* himſelf was now advancing a ſecond time towards *Leontium*, he was at laſt forced to abandon the ſiege [f].

Timoleon *drives ſeveral tyrants out of* Sicily.

Icetas, having thus loſt the beſt part of his troops in this fruitleſs expedition, marched back with great precipitation to *Leontium*, in order to cover that important fortreſs from all attempts of the enemy, who, as he received intelligence, were advancing towards it. In this he was not miſinformed; for *Timoleon*, judging it of the higheſt conſequence to his affairs to reduce *Icetas*, before the *Carthaginians* returned into the iſland, which they threatened to do in a ſhort time, moved directly towards his
f frontiers, and appeared before *Leontium*, without giving him time to recruit his ſhattered troops, and re-eſtabliſh his affairs. The tyrant, terrified at this ſudden approach, and finding himſelf incapable of reſiſting an army ſo animated by ſucceſs, was glad to come to a compoſition with the *Corinthian* general; the terms of which were, that he ſhould renounce his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; that his forts ſhould all be demoliſhed; and laſtly, that the *Leontini* ſhould be governed by laws of their own, he reſiding amongſt them as a private perſon. Having thus detached *Icetas* from the *Carthaginian* intereſt, and extirpated tyranny out of the *Greek* part of

And reduces Leontium.

[c] Plut. ubi ſup. [f] Plut. & Diodor. ubi ſup.

of *Sicily*, he returned to *Syracuſe*, deſigning to carry the war into the *Carthaginian* a dominions without delay [g].

The Carthaginians *make great preparations for carrying on the war with* Timoleon.

THE ſenate and people of *Carthage*, being highly offended at the conduct of their general officers the laſt campaign, deprived moſt of them of their commiſſions; and, reſolving, to new-model the army, filled the vacant poſts with perſons of known merit. As they were determined to carry on the war in *Sicily* with all poſſible vigour, they ordered levies to be made in all parts of their dominions, and took beſides into their ſervice a numerous body of mercenaries, raiſed in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*. Their naval preparations were in all reſpects proportioned to thoſe made by land; both which being completed, they ſent *Aſdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, two experienced commanders, over to *Sicily* with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, two hundred b
ſhips of war, and a thouſand tranſports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horſes, and all ſorts of proviſions. In the mean time, *Timoleon*, having juſt concluded the war with *Icetas*, and, by the acceſſion of his troops, conſiderably reinforced his army, advanced againſt them with great intrepidity upon the firſt news of their landing at *Lilybæum*, though his forces did not amount to above ſeven thouſand effective men. He had, before the arrival of the *Carthaginians*, detached *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus* with a body of choice troops to make an inroad into one of their provinces, where they did not only live for a conſiderable time at diſcretion, but likewiſe obliged ſeveral of their cities to ſide with the *Greeks*, and at their de- c
parture carried off a vaſt ſum of money, exacted from the inhabitants, whom they had laid under contribution. By this means *Timoleon* was enabled to ſettle a military cheſt, and eſtabliſh a fund ſufficient for the preſent exigences of the war. The *Carthaginian* generals had no ſooner landed their forces, but they were appriſed of this affront, which they intended fully to revenge; and therefore moving with their whole army towards *Timoleon*, they at laſt encamped upon the banks of the river *Crimeſus* or *Crimeſſus*. The *Corinthian* commander was by no means tardy in his approaches to their camp; but on his march one of his mercenaries, by name *Thracius*, a profligate fellow, who had ſome time before been concerned in plundering the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, cried out, that *Timoleon* was not in his right ſenſes, otherwiſe he would never propoſe with ſuch a handful of men to attack the *Carthaginian* d
army. He farther urged, that as the general was leading them to inevitable deſtruction, if he was not diſtracted, he muſt certainly have a deſign to ſacrifice them, perhaps becauſe he was not able to pay them their arrears. In fine, therefore, he adviſed them to go and demand their pay at *Syracuſe*, and not think of attending *Timoleon* in ſuch a deſperate expedition [k].

Timoleon, by his addreſs prevents a mutiny from breaking out in his camp.

THE mercenaries, naturally prone to mutiny and ſedition, received the harangue of this hot-headed incendiary with applauſe, and were all of them upon the point of deſerting their ſtandards. But at length *Timoleon*, by his intreaties, large promiſes, and ſingular addreſs, brought them back to a ſenſe of their duty, excepting a thouſand, who were determined at all events to follow the deſperate fortunes of *Thracius*. c
After this he wrote to his friends at *Syracuſe*, informing them of what had happened, but at the ſame time injoined them to treat the deſerters with moderation and humanity, and order the mercenaries their pay. By this means having extinguiſhed all the ſparks of ſedition, and regained the affection of his troops, he advanced to attack the *Carthaginian* forces with great ardour and celerity [l].

He engages and defeats the Carthaginian *army.*

IT happened that, as he was aſcending an eminence to take a view of the enemy's army, he met ſome mules loaded with parſley, an herb with which the ſepulchres of the dead were uſually adorned by the ancients. This trifling event threw the ſoldiers into a great panic, as taking it for an omen of very bad ſignification. *Timo-* f
leon, to calm their minds, halted for a moment, declaring that, as the victors at the *Iſthmian* games were crowned with this herb, particularly the *Corinthians*, it ought to be eſteemed as a ſymbol of victory, and therefore intreated them to baniſh all gloomy apprehenſions. To remove intirely all impreſſions of terror from their minds, he made himſelf a crown of parſley, and the officers, in imitation of their general, did the like. With theſe round their heads, they approached the enemy with as much alacrity as if they had been ſure of a triumph, and thereby inſpired the troops with as much reſolution as *Timoleon* had done, before the laſt occurrence happened, by a pathetic ſpeech, wherein he put them in mind of *Gelon*'s ſignal victory

[g] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 12. [h] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 13. [i] Idem ibid.

victory over the barbarians with an inconsiderable force, and exhorted them to enable him to follow so great an example. *Plutarch*, an author not a little tinctured with credulity and superstition, adds, that the soothsayers discovered two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a dragon pierced through with her talons, and the other made a terrible and martial sort of noise (A). These they shewed to the soldiers, and interpreted them as a token of certain success, by which the troops were confirmed in their hopes of an auspicious day. *Timoleon* therefore, taking advantage of their present disposition, and of the confusion the *Carthaginians* were in at his unexpected arrival upon the banks of the *Crimesus*, attacked them with great vigour and resolution. Ten thousand of the enemy's forces, who had already passed the
b river, were defeated and put to flight, before the rest could come up to their assistance. Great numbers of the enemy perished in this first action; for *Timoleon* himself being at the head of the particular body of troops engaged, they performed wonders. But in the mean time the whole *Carthaginian* army having gained the opposite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful. The *Sicilian* horse, under the conduct of *Demaretus*, charged the enemy in front, before they could form themselves; but could make no impression, the armed chariots (B) posted

(A) *Plutarch* says, that just before the beginning of the engagement, there ascended so thick a fog out of the river, that neither the enemy's camp, nor any part of the plain, nor even the river itself, was visible, the *Greeks* only hearing a confused noise of a vast multitude advancing towards them. But the sun-beams at length dissipating the vapours, they observed the *Carthaginian* army approaching them in the following order: First, the armed chariots, which appeared very terrible; secondly, a body of ten thousand infantry, with white targets on their arms, whom, from the brightness of their armour, and their slow regular march, they took to be native *Carthaginians*; and lastly, the gross of their army, composed of different nations, who followed the rest in such a disorderly manner, as gave *Timoleon* great encouragement to attack them. By this it seems to appear, that the national troops in the *Carthaginian* armies were distinguished in a particular manner from the mercenaries, as well as those of the provinces subject to *Carthage* (1).

(B) The custom of fighting in armed chariots was undoubtedly of great antiquity. That it prevailed amongst the *Greeks*, *Phrygians*, and neighbouring nations, at the time of the *Trojan* war, is evident from *Homer*. *Herodotus* assures us, that the *Greeks* learned this method of fighting from the *Libyans* or *Africans*; and *Xenophon* intimates, that it was particularly in use amongst the people of *Cyrenaica*. In the earliest ages the *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Arabs*, &c. fought in chariots, but especially the *Libyans* and *Ethiopians*, as we are informed by *scripture*. The sacred writings farther speak of two sorts of chariots, one for princes and generals to ride in, the other designed to break the enemies battalions, by being let loose against them. These last were armed with iron, which made terrible havock in the troops that opposed them (2).

The most ancient chariots of war mentioned in history are *Pharaoh*'s, which were overwhelmed in the *Red-sea*. The *Canaanites*, to whom *Joshua* gave battle at the waters of *Merom*, had cavalry, and a multitude of chariots; *Sisera*, *Jabin* the king of *Hazor*'s general, had nine hundred chariots of iron in his army; the tribe of *Judah* could not take possession of all the lands allotted to them, because some of the ancient inhabitants were strong in chariots of iron; the *Philistines*, in the war carried on by them against *Saul*, had thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen; *David*, having taken a thousand chariots of war from *Hadadezer*, king of *Syria*, ham-strung the horses, and burnt nine hundred chariots, preserving only an hundred to himself. These, with many more passages that might be produced, plainly evince, that armed chariots were used amongst the *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, and *Egyptians*, in very remote times (3).

Erectheus or *Erichthonius*, king of *Attica*, is said first to have introduced these armed (4) chariots into *Greece*, though he, in all probability, received them from the *Barbarians*, amongst whom they were in use long before his time, as is intimated by *Eusebius*. At the *Trojan* war the *Greek* chariots had for the most part only a pair of horses, to which, however, sometimes a third was added, called by *Homer* παρήορος, which was tied to them in a more lax manner, according to *Eustathius*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* says, that in his time this sort of chariots was used among the *Romans*, but left off by the *Greeks*. Sometimes also the most ancient *Greeks* had two pair of horses to their warlike chariots, as may be inferred from *Homer*. The drivers were frequently persons of the highest distinction, as *Pandarus* the son of *Lycaon*, and *Hector* the son of *Priamus*. The person armed in the chariot directed the charioteer which way to drive, and was likewise frequently a person of prime quality, as *Æneas*, *Nestor*, and one of *Priamus*'s sons. He generally leaped out of the chariot to engage his enemy, as *Paris*, *Agamemnon*, *Hercules*, and *Cygnus*, &c. did. Princes and generals had their chariots adorned with gold and silver, and much curious workmanship, as that of *Rhesus* in *Homer*, and even sometimes covered with plates of gold and tin, as that of *Diomedes* in the same author. The kings of *Persia* were forbidden by the royal law so much as to touch the bridles or reins of horses fastened to a chariot, it being looked upon as inconsistent with the high dignity they enjoyed (5).

The *Rhodians* consecrated horses and chariots to the sun annually, in conformity to the practice of their *Phœnician* ancestors, as we learn from *Festus*; and *Pausanias*, *Heliodorus*, and *Strabo* assure us, that the *Spartans*, *Massagetæ*, and *Ethiopians* anciently did the same thing. The *scripture* observes, that some of the kings of *Judah* preceding *Josiah* did offer chariots to the sun; which superstitious custom was in imitation of the pagan nations, principally of the *Persians*,

(1) *Plutarch. ubi sup.* (2) *Hom. in Il. & Odyss. pass. Herodot. in Melpom Xenoph. in Cyropæd.* l. 6. 2 *Chron.* xvi. 8. *Calmet in dict. bibl.* (3) *Exod.* xiv. 7, 10, 17, &c. *Josh.* xi. 4. *Jud.* iv. 3. *Jud.* i. 19. 1 *Sam.* xiii. 15. 1 *Chron.* xxiii. 4. 2 *Sam.* viii. 4. (4) *Euseb. in chron. p.* 99 & *Erasm. Finding. in Hel. apud Gronov. in thes. ant. Græc. t.* xi. *p.* 188. (5) *Hom. Il.* 3, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, & *alib. pass. Odyss.* 13. & *alib. pass. Everard. Fritkius in antiquit. Homer. l.* iv. *c.* 11. *Diod. Sic. l.* xvii. *Hesiod. in Scut. Herc.* &c.

posted there keeping them at a distance, and pushing them with such vigour, that a they found it difficult to maintain their ranks. *Timoleon*, observing this, ordered them instantly to wheel about, and attack the enemy in flank, whilst with the foot he formed a sort of *phalanx*, joining man to man, and shield to shield, by which the van being rendered firm, he bore down with great fury upon the *Carthaginians*. These sustained the shock of the *Sicilian* foot with great intrepidity, and repelling the enemies javelins with their iron and brazen armour, soon came to a close engagement. The *Carthaginians* had now apparently the advantage, because in such actions as these strength contributes as much to victory as discipline and military skill. But whilst the enemy were fighting with great courage in this manner, and endeavouring to hem in and surround on all sides *Timoleon*'s small army, there arose on a sudden b a violent storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which beating on the faces of the *Carthaginians*, put them into such confusion, that they were not able to stand their ground any longer. At the same time, the *Crimesus* overflowing its banks, occasioned such an inundation, that the enemy were extremely embarassed by it, which heightened their consternation and confusion, and forced them to retire in disorder. The *Greeks* then, encouraging one another with shouts of joy, pressed them so vigorously, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned. The sacred cohort or brigade, as the *Carthaginians* called it, which consisted of two thousand five hundred citizens of *Carthage*, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great resolution, and stood their ground till they c were all cut off to a man. *Plutarch* relates, that, of ten thousand men, who were left dead on the field of battle, above three thousand were native *Carthaginians* of the

Persians, as father *Calmet* thinks, who had horses and chariots consecrated in honour of that luminary. The reason the *Rhodians* gave for throwing a chariot every year into the sea, in honour of the sun, was, because they believed, that every day he travelled round the earth riding in a chariot (6).

The description of the scythed chariots, mentioned in the *Maccabees*, as the ancients have given it us, is as follows. The beam to which the horses were fastened, was armed with pikes having iron points to them, which projected forward; the yokes of the horses had likewise two long points of three cubits. To the axle-tree also were fixed iron spits, armed at their extremities with scythes; between the spokes of the wheels were placed javelins, and the very felloes of the wheels were furnished with scythes, which tore every thing they met with in pieces. The axle-tree was longer than usual, and the wheels stronger, that they might be able to resist the shock of the motion, and the chariot be less subject to overturn. The driver's seat was a kind of little tower made of very solid wood, and raised breast-high. The charioteer was armed all over, and covered with iron. Sometimes several men well armed were put in the chariots, who fought with darts and arrows (7).

Such chariots as these the *Romans* found amongst the ancient inhabitants of this island when they first landed here, which very much galled them in their engagements with that people. They were likewise common in the neighbouring parts of *Gaul*, which is a plain proof, that both these countries were known to the ancient *Phœnicians*, except it be admitted, that these machines were invented before the progenitors of the *Gauls* and *Britons* first came out of *Asia*. *Diodorus* affirms, that the military chariots of these remote nations were of the same kind with those used by the ancient *Greek* heroes at the siege of *Troy*. It appears from different authors, that the *Britons* had several sorts of chariots, *viz.* the *benna*, the *carrus* or *carrum*, the *covinus*, the *essedum*, and the *rheda*, all of which, from their names, appear to have been of *Phœnician* extraction The *essedæ* seem to have been of the same kind as the *Carthaginian* armed chariots, from the description *Cæsar* gives us of them; for he tells us, that the charioteers drove through every part of the armies engaged, and threw their darts upon the enemy; that, with the terrible appearance of their horses, and the noise of their wheels, they usually broke the enemies ranks; that, when they had intermixed themselves with the cavalry, the armed men in the chariots flung themselves out, and fought on foot; and, that the drivers, in the mean time retiring out of the battle, posted themselves in such a manner, that, if their party was overpowered, they might enable them to make good their retreat. For a full account of their incredible dexterity and agility on these occasions, as well as their particular manner of engaging, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Cæsar* and *Dio*, or to a future part of this history, to which it will more properly belong (8).

According to father *Calmet*, it does not appear, that the *Hebrew* kings ever made use of chariots in war. For though the *scripture* says, *Solomon* had fourteen hundred chariots, it does not appear, that they were ever employed by him in any military expedition. Perhaps, as the territories of these princes were very mountainous, chariots, being only fit for the plains, could not be of any great use there. This seems to be confirmed by an observation in *scripture*, *viz.* that the tribe of *Judah* could not dispossess the ancient inhabitants of the valleys in their district, because they had chariots of iron. The *Carthaginians*, who were descended from the old *Phœnicians* or *Canaanites*, imitated their ancestors in this particular. They generally posted their chariots in front, and intermixed them with the horse, that when the former had made an impression upon any part of the enemies troops, the latter might be able to charge with the greater vigour, and cut off all those who were put into disorder and confusion (9).

(6) *Fest. voce October. Pausan. in Laconic. Strab. l.* xi. *Heliodor. in Æthiopic. l.* x. *Vid. & Dan. Clasenium in theol. gent. l.* iii. *c.* 4. 2 *Kings* xxiii. 11 (7) 2 *Macc.* xiii. 2. *Diod. Sic. l.* xvii. *Q. Curt. l.* iv. *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.* 6. (8) *Cæs. de bell. Gal. l.* iv. *Dio Cass. l.* lxii. *p.* 706. *in Ner. & alib. ed Hanov.* 1606. *Diod. Sic. l.* iv. *p.* 209. (9) 1 *Kings* x. 26. *Jud.* i. 19. *Christ. Hendr. in republ. Carthag. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *p.* 515, 516.

a the beſt families in *Carthage*, and that, according to the *Punic* records, ſuch a number of perſons of diſtinction never fell in any battle before, the *Carthaginian* armies being for the moſt part made up of *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Numidians*, &c. ſo that when they received any remarkable defeat, it was generally at the expence of other nations. Beſides the ſlain, there were above fifteen thouſand taken priſoners; all their baggage and proviſions, with two hundred chariots, a thouſand coats of mail, and ten thouſand ſhields, fell into *Timoleon*'s hands, and were either ſent to *Corinth*, and there dedicated to *Neptune*, or hung up in the temples of *Syracuſe*. The ſpoil, which conſiſted chiefly of gold and ſilver plate, and other furniture of great value, was, according to *Plutarch*, ſo immenſe, that the whole *Sicilian* army was three days in
b collecting it, and ſtripping the ſlain. In fine, after *Timoleon*'s troops had paſſed the river, and taken poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp, they found there ſuch an incredible quantity of gold and ſilver in different forms, that nothing of inferior value was at all regarded; for the commander in chief divided the whole among the ſoldiers, reſerving nothing for himſelf but the glory of ſo famous a victory. It muſt not be forgot, that this memorable battle was fought on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month *Thargelion*, which was *Timoleon*'s birth-day, nor that all the other engagements of note he was concerned in, if *Cornelius Nepos* may be credited, happened on the ſame day. The wonderful ſucceſs it was attended with, is a full proof of the great force of ſuperſtition; for, next to the violent ſtorm above-mentioned, this unparallelled
c victory was owing to the happy turn *Timoleon* gave to a frivolous accident conſidered as a fatal omen. This certainly ſhewed him to have been a man of genius, and perfectly well acquainted with the diſpoſitions of his countrymen, as well as with the general bent of mankind at that time; and *Polyænus* takes notice of it as an inſtance of the great military capacity of that general [k].

Which occaſions great joy at Corinth *and* Syracuſe.

THE news of ſo ſignal a victory, obtained over the profeſſed enemies of the *Greek* name, could not but be highly agreeable to the people both at *Corinth* and *Syracuſe*, eſpecially as it was like to be attended with ſuch happy conſequences. The *Corinthians* adorned their temples with the *Carthaginian* ſpoils, which they hung up there with inſcriptions upon them, importing, that the people of *Corinth*, and *Timoleon*,
d their general, offered them to the gods as an acknowledgment for their having made them the inſtruments of delivering *Sicily* from *Carthaginian* ſervitude. *Timoleon* having left his mercenaries upon the enemy's frontiers, in order to plunder and ravage their whole country, returned to *Syracuſe* with the reſt of his army, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. 'Tis worthy obſervation, that all the puniſhment he inflicted upon the thouſand mercenaries, who were accomplices of *Thracius*, for their infamous deſertion above-mentioned, was only baniſhment from *Syracuſe*; however, he ordered them all to be gone before ſun-ſet [l].

Icetas *concludes another treaty with the* Carthaginians.

Icetas, according to *Plutarch*, after this, being tired with his private ſtation, ſhewed an inclination to reinſtate himſelf, if poſſible, in his dominions; and, in order thereto,
e found means, in conjunction with *Mamercus*, tyrant of *Catana*, to ſtrike up another treaty with the *Carthaginians*. In conſequence of this freſh alliance, that nation equipped a fleet of ſeventy ſail, and took a ſtrong body of *Greeks*, of whoſe valour they had now a great opinion, for the firſt time, into their ſervice, intending to try their fortune once more in *Sicily*. *Giſco*, the brother of *Hanno*, a general of great experience and bravery, was recalled from baniſhment to command the troops deſtined for the new expedition. This news ſoon reaching *Sicily*, occaſioned freſh commotions there. The inhabitants of *Meſſana*, entering into an aſſociation againſt *Timoleon*, put four hundred of his men, left as a gariſon in that place, to the ſword; a
f detachment of mercenaries under the command of *Euthymus* the *Leucadian*, being drawn into an ambuſcade by the *Carthaginian* troops at *Hieræ*, were all cut off to a man; and whilſt *Timoleon* was on his march to *Calauria*, *Icetas*, being reinforced by a *Carthaginian* party, made an incurſion into the territories of *Syracuſe*, carrying off a conſiderable booty, and, in contempt of *Timoleon*, paſſed by *Calauria* itſelf, the place where that general was then poſted. However, he purſued the tyrant with a body of cavalry, attended with ſome of his light infantry, who could march with expedition. This *Icetas* perceiving, paſſed the river *Damyrias* with ſome precipitation;

[k] PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi ſup. CORN. NEP. in vit. Timol. c. 5. ed. Auguſt. Van Staveren. Lugd. Bat. 1734. Vid. & BOSIUM in loc. POLYÆN. ſtrat. l. v. c. 12. ex. 1. DION. PETAV. ration temp. p. 1. l. iii. c. 10. ed. Par. 1641. [l] PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi ſup.

cipitation; and drawing up his troops on the other side, put himself into a posture a to receive the enemy. In the mean time, a dispute arising amongst *Timoleon*'s officers, who could not agree which of them should pass the river first to attack *Icetas*, the general ordered them to cast lots, upon which every one of them threw a ring into *Timoleon*'s robe, and the first that was taken out, and exposed to public view, had the figure of a trophy engraven for a seal upon it. This greatly encouraging the troops, they fell with incredible fury upon *Icetas*, who, not being able to sustain the shock, was put to flight, with the loss of a thousand men killed upon the spot, and pursued to the city of *Leontium*. Upon this defeat, the tyrant himself, his son *Eupolemus*, and *Euthymus*, general of his cavalry, were brought bound by their own soldiers to *Timoleon*. The two first were immediately executed, as tyrants and traytors, and the last murdered in cold blood. *Icetas*'s wives and daughters likewise suffered death, after a public trial. *Plutarch* blames *Timoleon* (C) for not preventing this last execution, which, he insinuates, that general might have done, had he interposed in the affair, and censures it as the only blot in his character; tho' we think his conniving at the murder of *Euthymus*, a brave man, who was put to the sword by the *Corinthian* soldiers for speaking with some contempt of them, ought to be looked upon as another of the same kind. After this, he moved with his forces towards *Catana*; and meeting *Mamercus*, gave him battle in the plains of the river *Abolus*. The dispute was for some time warm and bloody; but at last the tyrant was overthrown, his army intirely dispersed, and above two thousand men left dead upon the c field of battle. As the greatest part of these last were auxiliaries sent to *Mamercus* by *Gisco*, the *Carthaginians* themselves suffered considerably in this action [m].

And is overthrown by Timoleon.

A peace concluded between Timoleon *and the* Carthiginians.

Notwithstanding the warlike preparations they were making at *Carthage* for the invasion of *Sicily*, the senate had sent embassadors to *Timoleon* to attempt striking up a peace with him, imagining, perhaps, that he would be the more inclined to a pacification, when he saw them in a condition to continue the war. The two last blows given their confederates disposed them still more strongly to an accommodation, to which they found *Timoleon* not averse, as he was apprehensive of fresh troubles from *Mamercus* and others, against whom he wanted to turn his arms. A peace was accordingly settled on the following terms: That all the *Greek* cities should be d set free; that the river *Halycus*, or, as *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* both call it, the *Lycus*, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the *Carthaginians* should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to *Syracuse*, or its dependences, with their families and effects; and lastly, that *Carthage*

[m] Idem ibid.

(C) We have already observed, that *Timæus Siculus* exalted *Timoleon* to a superiority above the highest divinities, and that he was greatly censured for this by *Suidas*. The last author's words are to this effect: "If *Callisthenes* deservedly suffered "death for designing to deify *Alexander*, a prince "infinitely more *illustrious* than *Timoleon*, what did "*Timæus* deserve? *&c.*" This passage seems to contradict most, if not all, of those writers who have given us any account of *Alexander*'s atchievements, *viz. Justin*, *Q. Curtius*, *Plutarch*, &c. who represent *Callisthenes* as inflexibly determined not to deify *Alexander*, nor even to allow him that kind of adoration which the *Persians* paid their king; when many of his sycophants, particularly *Anaxarchus*, would have made him that high compliment. Nay, these writers seem unanimously to agree, that he lost *Alexander*'s favour by his obstinacy in this particular, and even at last was put to death by him. Now, in order to reconcile *Suidas* with these authors, it must be observed, that *Timæus* extolled *Timoleon* in his history; and therefore *Suidas* must intimate, that *Callisthenes* had an intention to deify *Alexander* in his history of that prince, otherwise the comparison is impertinent and absurd. Admit this, and the passage in *Suidas* does not at all clash with what the authors above-mentioned have observed of *Callisthenes*, because it bears no relation to them as taking notice of that philosopher's refusal to adore *Alexander*, whilst at the head of his army in *Asia*. *Arrian* assures us, that *Callisthenes*, out of a vanity peculiar to himself, declared, that *Alexander* should in future ages be esteemed as a god from the history he would write of him, and not from those idle stories his mother *Olympias* imposed upon the world. This comes up to the point, and seems to be what *Suidas* had particularly in view. As for that author's affirming, that *Callisthenes* suffered death for his intention to deify *Alexander* in his history, no more can be meant by it than this, *viz.* he was put to death by that very prince whom in his history he intended to deify, which was a just punishment inflicted upon him by the gods for his great impiety. That this reconciliation is just, will appear from a perusal of the passages referred to in *Suidas* and *Arrian*, as likewise from the drift and scope of *Suidas*'s observation: we cannot therefore help expressing our surprize, that M. *Bayle* should not have been able to discover the consistency betwixt *Suidas* and the above-mentioned historians (10).

(1) *Suid. in* Τίμαιος. *Justin. l.* xii. *c.* 7. *Q. Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 5. *Diog. Laert. in Aristot. Plutarch. in Alex. & Arrian. l.* iv. *p.* 165. *Edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat.* 1704.

a *thage* ſhould not for the future give any aſſiſtance to the remaining tyrants againſt the *Syracuſans* [n].

ABOUT this time, one *Hanno*, who, according to *Juſtin*'s account of him, was the moſt opulent and powerful citizen in *Carthage*, formed a deſign of ſubverting the conſtitution there, and introducing arbitrary power. In order to accompliſh this, he propoſed to invite the ſenators to a grand entertainment on the day of his daughter's marriage; and there, by mixing poiſon with his wine, to deſtroy them all, not doubting, but ſuch a tragical event would at once make him maſter of the republic. Though the ſcheme was carried on with great ſecrecy, yet it came to be diſcovered by ſome of his ſervants; but his intereſt in the city was ſo great, that the govern-
b ment did not dare to puniſh ſo execrable a crime. The magiſtrates therefore contented themſelves with only preventing it, which they did by paſſing a law prohibiting too great luxury and magnificence at weddings, and limiting the expence on ſuch occaſions. *Hanno*, ſeeing his ſtratagem defeated, was reſolved to have recourſe to arms, and for that purpoſe aſſembled all his ſlaves, and fixed upon a day a ſecond time to put his deſign in execution. However, he was again diſcovered; but, to avoid puniſhment, he retired with twenty thouſand armed ſlaves to a caſtle, that was very ſtrongly fortified, and from thence applied to the *Africans*, and the king of the *Mauritani*, for aſſiſtance, but without ſucceſs. He was afterwards taken priſoner,
c and carried to *Carthage*, where being ſeverely whipped, his eyes were put out, his arms and thighs broken, that puniſhment might be inflicted on every part; and at laſt he was executed in the preſence of all the people, to deter others from ſuch flagitious attempts; after which his body was hung on a croſs or gibbet. His children and all his relations, though they had not joined in his guilt, ſhared in his puniſhment. They were all ſentenced to die, that not a ſingle perſon of his family might be left, either to imitate his crime, or revenge his death. *Plutarch* mentions one *Hanno* as admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet, in the beginning of the late war between *Icetas* and *Timoleon*, who, in all probability, was the very perſon *Juſtin* repreſents as ſo infatuated with ambition, eſpecially as he was, if that author may be credited, very fond of ſhew and parade. However this may be, ſince *Juſtin* makes
d him cotemporary with the younger *Dionyſius*, and *Oroſius* affirms this conſpiracy to have happened in the time of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, we think from hence we are ſufficiently authorized to place that event here [o].

Hanno *endeavours to make himſelf abſolute at* Carthage.

WE muſt likewiſe obſerve here, that *Diodorus Siculus* places *Alexander*'s reduction of *Tyre* in the firſt year of the 112th olympiad, and *Agathocles*'s deſcent on *Africa* in the third of the 117th; and conſequently that *Q. Curtius* muſt have been out in his chronology, when he makes theſe two events to have happened about the ſame time, as anticipating the latter full twenty-two years by this ſynchroniſm. What the laſt of theſe authors relates of the arrival of certain *Tyrian* embaſſadors at *Carthage*, to implore the aſſiſtance of that potent republic againſt *Alexander*, has a greater appear-
e ance of truth; ſince not only a good underſtanding, but a moſt cordial friendſhip, always ſubſiſted between *Carthage* and *Tyre*, and even at this time moſt of the inhabitants of the latter were tranſported to the former of theſe cities. The extremity to which their countrymen (for ſo theſe two ſtates always called one another) were reduced, touched the *Carthaginians* in a moſt ſenſible manner, though, by reaſon of ſome domeſtic troubles, they were then incapable of ſending them any ſuccours. However, though they were unable to relieve, they at leaſt thought it their duty to comfort them on this melancholy occaſion, and therefore diſpatched to *Tyre* thirty of their principal citizens to expreſs their grief, that the bad ſituation of their own affairs would not permit them to ſpare any troops. The *Tyrians*, though fruſtrated
f of their hopes, did not deſpond, but took all the neceſſary meaſures for a vigorous defence. Their wives and children they put on board ſome veſſels, in order to ſend them to *Carthage*; by which being delivered from all apprehenſions of danger, with regard to what was the deareſt to them of any thing in nature, they were prepared againſt all events, and thought of nothing but making the moſt ſtrenuous efforts to repel the enemy. *Curtius* intimates, that the *Carthaginians* offered annually a ſacrifice to the tutelary gods of *Tyre*, conſidering them as their protectors; and that when their embaſſadors came to *Tyre* on this occaſion, they perſuaded the *Tyrians* to ſtand it out to the laſt, promiſing powerfully to ſupport them. As this very hiſtorian

Q. Curtius guilty of a miſtake.

[n] PLUT. & DIODOR. ibid. [o] JUSTIN. l. xxi. PLUT. & OROS. ubi ſup.

historian obſerves, that the ſeas at that time were blocked up by the *Carthaginian* a
fleets, and that by the hopes of mighty ſuccours they ſpirited up the *Tyrians* to oppoſe *Alexander*'s whole force, 'tis not very probable, that they ſhould be then engaged in ſo dangerous a war as that with *Agathocles* was, or be reduced to ſo deplorable a condition as they muſt have been in, when that general, after giving them a notable defeat, advanced to the very walls of *Carthage*. He therefore ſeems not to be intirely conſiſtent with himſelf in this particular; for which reaſon, as well as upon account of *Diodorus*'s ſuperior authority in the point before us, we muſt beg leave to diſſent from him, and look upon the arrival of the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors at *Tyre*, as coincident with the tranſactions of the period we are now upon [p].

The Carthaginians *ſend* Hamilcar Rhodanus *to* Alexander, *in order to diſcover that prince's intentions.*

The *Carthaginians*, hearing of the reduction of *Tyre*, and the great progreſs *Alex-* b
ander made in the eaſt, began to be under ſome apprehenſions for their own ſafety, as fearing that prince's good fortune might be as boundleſs as his ambition. But they were much more alarmed, when they received advice, that he had made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*, was advancing towards the weſt, and had built *Alexandria* upon the confines of *Egypt* and *Africa*, in order to rival them. They imagined now he might in reality have an intention to unite *Africa* and *Aſia* under his dominion, and aſpire to univerſal monarchy. They therefore choſe one *Hamilcar*, (or, as *Gellius* intimates, *Aſdrubal)* ſurnamed *Rhodanus*, to ſound the inclinations of that prince, and endeavour to pry into his counſels. Being a perſon of wonderful addreſs, as well as great eloquence, though at the ſame time of great ſubtilty and art, he made it c
his utmoſt endeavour to inſinuate himſelf into *Alexander*'s favour. Having obtained an audience by means of *Parmenio*, he declared to the king, that he was, by the cabals of his enemies, baniſhed *Carthage*, and begged he might have the honour to attend him in all his future expeditions; which being granted, he did his country ſignal ſervice by communicating many important diſcoveries relating to *Alexander*'s ſchemes. The manner of this communication being ſomewhat ſingular, we ſhall give it our readers from *Gellius*. He prepared tables of wood, in which he cut out the letters or characters of his epiſtle, and afterwards covering them with wax, as was the cuſtom of that age, without any characters upon it, ſent them away as blanks. This the people of *Carthage* being before appriſed of, decyphered the d
contents; which could not have been eaſily done by others, had the diſpatches been intercepted, becauſe the manner of writing then was upon the wax itſelf, and conſequently the whole muſt have been looked upon as a blank. We do not find, that *Alexander* ever diſcovered the treachery of this *Carthaginian*, or even entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of him; which is a further proof of the refined genius of that nation for all works of intrigue. Upon his return home, notwithſtanding his eminent ſervices, he was conſidered as a betrayer of his country, and was accordingly put to death at *Carthage*, by a ſentence as barbarous as it was ungrateful [q].

In the ſecond year of the hundred-and-fourteenth *Olympiad*, *Thimbro*, after he had aſſaſſinated his friend *Harpalus* in *Crete*, ſailed with a body of mercenaries to e
Cyrenaica, and being joined by ſome exiles, who were perfectly well acquainted with all the by-ways and paſſes there, endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of that country. Having given the natives a defeat, they were obliged to apply to the *Carthaginians*, whoſe dominions were contiguous to theirs, for relief; which they thought that ſtate, in point of good policy, could not well refuſe them. This we learn from *Diodorus*; but as the whole country was immediately after conquered by *Ophellas*, and delivered into the hands of *Ptolemy*, 'tis very probable the *Carthaginians* were not then at leiſure to aſſiſt them.

The Syracuſans *elect* Agathocles *their general againſt* Soſiſtratus.

A few years afterwards, *Soſiſtratus*, who had uſurped the ſupreme power at *Syracuſe*, f
having been forced by *Agathocles* to raiſe the ſiege of *Rhegium*, returned with his ſhattered troops to *Sicily*. But ſoon after this unſucceſsful expedition, he was obliged to abdicate the ſovereignty and quit *Syracuſe*. With him were expelled above ſix hundred of the principal citizens, who were ſuſpected by the populace to have formed a deſign of altering the plan of government, which then prevailed in that city, as we have already related in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe*. As *Soſiſtratus* and the exiles thought themſelves ill treated, they had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, who readily eſpouſed their cauſe. Hereupon the *Syracuſans* recalling *Agathocles*, who had before been baniſhed by *Soſiſtratus*, appointed him commander in chief of all their forces, principally on account

[p] Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 3. [q] Justin l. xxi. c. 6. Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 2. ex. 3. Aul. Gell. noct. At. l. xvii. c. 9. Oros. l. iv. c. 6. Vid. & Æne. in Poliorcet. c. 31.

account of the known averſion he bore to that tyrant. The *Carthaginians* ſupplying *Soſiſtratus* with troops, he immediately aſſembled an army, and advanced at the head of it, to do himſelf, and his ſix hundred adherents, juſtice. After the two armies approached one another, ſeveral marches and counter-marches, and even ſome ſkirmiſhes happened, each ſide ſtriving to gain ſome notable advantage. *Agathocles*, in all theſe military movements and falſifications, acquired great reputation, both for his valour and policy. He frequently contrived ſome ſtratagem or other, which turned out much to the advantage of the *Syracuſans*; of which the following was one of the moſt remarkable [r].

Agathocles *makes an attempt to ſurpriſe* Gela, *but is repulſed.*

THE *Syracuſan* army having encamped near *Gela*, *Agathocles*, with a detachment b of a thouſand men, found an opportunity of entering the city in the dead time of the night; but being inſtantly charged by *Soſiſtratus* with a ſtrong body of troops, he was obliged to retire with the loſs of three hundred men. All the reſt now looked upon themſelves as loſt, though *Agathocles* behaved with great intrepidity and reſolution. However, having received ſeven wounds, being ready to faint for loſs of blood, and hearing the enemy advancing from all parts to ſurround him, he ordered his trumpets to ſound a charge at both parts of the walls. This greatly alarmed the *Carthaginians*, who now imagined, that another party of the *Syracuſans* had forced their way into the town to relieve their companions. As the darkneſs of the night did not permit them to diſcover the truth, they thought proper to put an end to the c purſuit; and dividing their forces, poſted away to the places from whence the trumpets ſounded, in order to defend the walls. In the mean time, *Agathocles*, at the head of his detachment, arrived ſafe in his own camp. By this artifice, he not only preſerved the ſeven hundred men that firſt entered, but ſeven hundred more that were ſent afterwards to his aſſiſtance [s].

Agathocles *ſwears to do nothing at* Syracuſe, *to the prejudice of the democracy there.*

THIS war did not continue long; for *Soſiſtratus* and the exiles being ſoon received again in the city, a treaty of peace was concluded between *Carthage* and *Syracuſe*. The *Syracuſans* now finding, that *Agathocles* began to exerciſe a ſovereign power over his fellow-citizens, and take ſuch meaſures as plainly ſhewed, that he aimed at monarchy, had recourſe anew to *Corinth* for a general to command their forces. Accord- d ingly one *Aceſtorides* was ſent them to fill this poſt, who, upon his arrival, found that *Syracuſe* could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity as long as *Agathocles* was alive; and therefore formed a deſign of diſpatching him, which he attempted to execute in the manner already related in the third volume of this work. But *Agathocles* by a ſtratagem eluded that attempt; and making his eſcape, raiſed a body of forces in the heart of the iſland, with which he prepared to attack *Syracuſe*. The *Carthaginians* being appriſed of this, were ſtruck with terror as well as the people of *Syracuſe*; and therefore, at the inſtigation of the former, the latter thought proper to re-admit him, to avoid the fatal conſequences of a civil war; however, he was obliged to ſwear in a ſolemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democ cracy [t] (D).

But breaks this oath, makes himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, *and concludes a treaty with the* Meſſanians *by the mediation of the* Carthaginians.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſolemn oath he had taken, *Agathocles* ſtill purſued the point he had before in view, and, by a general maſſacre of the principal citizens, at laſt raiſed himſelf to the throne of *Syracuſe*. Not content with this, he propoſed to turn his arms againſt the other cities of *Sicily*, having a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. Beginning therefore with *Meſſana*, he ſeized upon a fort in the territory of that city; and being informed, that the walls were in a ruinous condition, he attempted at the head of a body of horſe to ſurpriſe *Meſſana* itſelf. But miſſing his aim, he laid ſiege to the caſtle of *Mylæ*, which ſurrendered to him. Soon after he renewed his attempt upon *Meſſana*; but the citizens, knowing f what treatment they were to expect, if the city fell into his hands, defended themſelves

[r] DIOD. SIC. l. xix. c. 1. [s] Idem ibid. [t] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. JUSTIN. l. xxii. VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 4. Univ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 81.

(D) It appears from *Diodorus* and *Juſtin*, as this laſt author's text is emended by *Sebiſius*, that theſe ſolemn oaths were uſually taken in the temple of *Ceres*, and that at taking them the perſons generally put their hands on the altar of that goddeſs. *Juvenal* and *Virgil* illuſtrate this point to ſatisfaction; *Scheffer*, *Tanaquil Faber*, and *Gronovius*, agree with *Sebiſius*, but *Vorſtius* differs from him; though the paſſage this laſt author produces from *Plutarch*, equally ſupports both opinions (1).

(1) *Diod. Sic. l.* xix. *c.* 1. *Juſtin. l.* xxii. *c.* 2. *Juvenal. ſat.* xiv. 238. *Virg. Æn.* vii. 102. *T. Liv. l.* xx. *Plaut. in rudent.* 5, 2, 49. *Plut. in Dio. Fid. & Briſſon. formul. l.* xiii.

ſelves with great bravery, and repulſed him in ſeveral attacks. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians*, being applied to, ſent embaſſadors to him, complaining of ſuch a notorious infraction of former treaties. The tyrant, at that time not caring to draw upon himſelf the whole power of *Carthage*, ſubmitted to the terms preſcribed him; and, in conſequence of his peace with the people of *Meſſana*, concluded by the mediation of *Carthage*, he not only drew off his army from before their city, but reſtored likewiſe the caſtle of *Mylæ* to them. Upon which the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, having happily executed their commiſſion, returned back to *Africa* [u]. a

Several Sicilian *cities enter into a confederacy againſt him, but at laſt make a peace with him by the mediation of* Hamilcar, *the* Carthaginian *general.*

But the reſtleſs ſpirit of *Agathocles* would not ſuffer him to be quiet. The cities therefore of *Gela*, *Meſſana*, and *Agrigentum*, entered into a confederacy againſt him, and ſent to the *Lacedæmonians* for a general, not daring to truſt any of their own principal citizens, as ſuſpecting them to be too much inclined to arbitrary power. But obſerving that *Acrotatus*, who came from *Sparta* to command their forces, was more cruel and bloody than even *Agathocles* himſelf, they not only refuſed to act under his conduct, but even attempted to ſtone him. *Hamilcar* therefore, the *Carthaginian* general, judging this a favourable juncture to accommodate matters between *Agathocles* and the confederate cities, propoſed a treaty of peace to both parties, which was at laſt made upon the following conditions: Firſt, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of *Heraclea*, *Selinus*, and *Himera*; and ſecondly, that all the other cities dependent on the *Syracuſans*, ſhould be governed by their own laws. By this treaty it ſeems to appear, that the cities above-mentioned were at that time greatly in the intereſt of the *Carthaginians* [w]. b c

Agathocles *breaks this treaty, and prepares for a war with* Carthage;

Agathocles, finding his ſubjects diſpoſed to ſecond his ambitious views, ſhewed as little regard to this laſt treaty as he had before done to his oath; and therefore, in violation of the ſecond article of it, he firſt made war on the neighbouring ſtates, and afterwards carried his arms into the very heart of the iſland. He was attended in theſe expeditions with extraordinary ſucceſs, inſomuch, that in the ſpace of two years he brought intirely under ſubjection all the *Greek* part of *Sicily*. This rapid progreſs alarmed the *Carthaginians*, who ſaw their territories there threatened with the ſame fate; eſpecially as the tyrant had ſtrengthened himſelf by many alliances, and, beſides a potent army, made up of his own forces and thoſe of his allies, had a body of mercenaries, conſiſting of ten thouſand foot and above three thouſand horſe, all excellent troops. On the other hand, *Agathocles*, being ſenſible that both his power and proceedings gave great umbrage to the *Carthaginians*, and that they were very angry with *Hamilcar* for being inſtrumental in concluding the late peace, made all the neceſſary preparations, not only to put himſelf into a good poſture of defence, but even to act offenſively, in caſe of a war with *Carthage*. Things being in this ſituation, it was morally impoſſible but that a rupture muſt ſoon commence [x]. d

And commits great depredations in the territories of the Carthaginians.

It is intimated by *Juſtin*, that *Agathocles* was at firſt ſupported by the *Carthaginians*, or rather by *Hamilcar*, their general in *Sicily*, nay, he aſſures us, that the tyrant effected the maſſacre above-mentioned by the aſſiſtance of five thouſand *Africans* ſent him by *Hamilcar*. After the reduction of the other parts of *Sicily*, he made incurſions into the *Carthaginian* territories and thoſe of their allies, where he committed great depredations, *Hamilcar* not offering to give him the leaſt diſturbance. This highly incenſed the people of thoſe diſtricts, who looked upon themſelves as betrayed by *Hamilcar*; and therefore ſent letters to *Carthage*, filled with bitter complaints of his perfidious conduct and *Agathocles*'s tyranny; adding moreover, that, by the late infamous peace, many cities in alliance with *Carthage* had been ſacrificed and delivered up into the tyrant's hands. This greatly exaſperated the ſenate; but as *Hamilcar* was inveſted with great power in *Sicily*, they judged it prudent to ſuſpend their reſentment till the arrival of *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Giſco*. In the mean time, they came to a vigorous reſolution concerning him; but, for the reaſon juſt hinted, did not think proper to declare this openly, but threw all the ſuffrages that paſſed it into an urn, which they ſealed up, till the other *Hamilcar* came from *Sicily*. But the general, being ſurpriſed by death, eſcaped thereby the puniſhment prepared for him at *Carthage*; and *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Giſco*, was appointed to ſucceed him in the command of the forces. This incident haſtened the rupture between *Agathocles* and the *Carthaginians* [y]. e f

The

[u] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. c. 4. [w] Idem ibid. c 5. [x] Idem ibid. & Justin. ubi ſup. [y] Justin. ubi ſup.

THE laſt place that held out againſt *Agathocles* was *Meſſana*, whither all the *Syracuſan* exiles had retired. His general *Paſiphilus* at firſt marched againſt it with an army; but having before received inſtructions from *Agathocles* to act as he ſhould think fit for the good of his ſervice, and finding that force would prove ineffectual, he cajoled the inhabitants into a treaty. This *Agathocles* likewiſe infringed when in poſſeſſion of the town, cutting off all ſuch as had formerly oppoſed his government; for as he intended to proſecute the war againſt *Carthage* with the utmoſt vigour, he thought it a point of good policy to deſtroy, if poſſible, all his enemies in *Sicily*[z] (E). *He enters into a ſecond treaty with the* Meſſanians, *and infringes it.*

IN the mean time, the *Carthaginians* arrived with a fleet of ſixty ſail at *Agrigentum*, and obliged *Agathocles* to deſiſt from an attempt upon that place, which a little before he had projected. But as they had not brought a ſufficient body of land-forces, he ravaged all the adjacent country, plundered the ſubjects of the *Carthaginians*, and took ſeveral of their forts by ſtorm. Whilſt he was thus employed, another *Carthaginian* ſquadron of fifty ſhips entered the great harbour of *Syracuſe*, and ſunk two tranſports, one of them an *Athenian*, which were all the veſſels then in port. The *Carthaginians*, according to their uſual cruelty, cut off the hands of all thoſe they found on board, though they had not offered them the leaſt injury, it being impoſſible for them to make any reſiſtance. This barbarity was ſoon retaliated by *Agathocles* upon the *Carthaginians*; for ſeveral of their galleys, having been ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet upon the coaſt of *Italy*, fell into his hands, when he ſerved all the priſoners taken therein in the ſame manner[a]. *The* Carthaginians *prevent his taking* Agrigentum; *notwithſtanding which, he ravages all the adjacent country, and takes ſeveral* Carthaginian *forts by ſtorm.*

THE *Carthaginians*, being informed that *Agathocles* had pillaged their territories in *Sicily*, and that his forces grew very numerous upon the frontiers, reſolved to aſſemble an army without delay, in order to reduce that tyrant. As they had received advice, that he had offered battle to a conſiderable body of their troops poſted upon the hill *Ecnomos*, who were obliged to decline his challenge, they were determined to purſue the war with more vigour than they hitherto had done. Having therefore reinforced the troops intended for the *Sicilian* expedition with two thouſand native *Carthaginians*, among whom were many perſons of quality, a thouſand *Etruſcan* mercenaries, as many ſlingers from the *Balearic* iſlands, and two hundred chariots, they tranſported them to that iſland, under the command of *Hamilcar*, as above-mentioned, to put a ſtop to the tyrant's conqueſts. The fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and thirty long ſhips, in the paſſage was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, in which *Hamilcar* loſt ſixty ſhips of war and two hundred tranſports, with a great number of men. Many perſons of the beſt families of *Carthage* were loſt by this diſaſter, which cauſed a public lamentation in that city, when the walls were all hung with black, as uſual on ſuch melancholy occaſions. *Hamilcar*, notwithſtanding his loſs, being joined on his arrival by ſuch of the *Sicilians* as hated *Agathocles*, found upon a muſter, that his army conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. With theſe he took the field, and encamped near the city of *Himera*, deſigning to come to blows with the enemy as ſoon as a fair opportunity offered[b]. *The* Carthaginians *aſſemble a powerful army to oppoſe him, and encamp near* Himera.

IN the mean time, *Agathocles*, finding the *Carthaginians* much ſuperior to him, concluded, that many cities would join them, particularly that of *Gela*. What confirmed him in this opinion was, a blow he had lately received, twenty of his galleys, with all the troops on board, having fallen into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. To prevent the inhabitants of *Gela* from declaring againſt him, he found means gradually to introduce a party of his troops into the town, who not only pillaged it, but put four thouſand of the citizens to the ſword, threatening to uſe all others in the ſame manner, who did not immediately produce their treaſure. Having thus filled Agathocles *defeated by the* Carthaginians *near* Himera.

[z] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 6. [a] Idem ibid. [b] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 7.

(E) In the midſt of theſe troubles, *Dinocrates* aſſembled a large body of troops, which conſiſted chiefly of *Syracuſan* and *Meſſanian* exiles. Having a great antipathy to *Agathocles*, he ſent a conſiderable detachment under the command of *Nymphodorus*, one of his captains, to reduce the city of *Centuripe*, which was then gariſoned by that tyrant's troops; but *Nymphodorus* was killed in this attempt, and his men forced to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs. *Dinocrates* ſent to the *Carthaginians* for aſſiſtance in this expedition; but whether or no he received any from them, *Diodorus* tells us not. However, *Agathocles* took from hence an occaſion of accuſing the *Centuripians* of having formed a conſpiracy againſt him, which gave him an opportunity of cutting off all thoſe whom he ſuſpected to be diſaffected to his government (2).

(2) *Diod. Sic. l.* xix. *c.* 6.

filled his coffers with wealth, and left a ſtrong gariſon in the place, he moved with his forces towards the *Carthaginians*; and poſſeſſing himſelf of an eminence oppoſite to the enemy, there encamped. The *Carthaginians* had poſted themſelves upon the hill *Ecnomos*, on which *Phalaris*'s caſtle, where he tortured offenders in his brazen bull, formerly ſtood; and *Agathocles* took poſt in another of that tyrant's caſtles, which from him was called *Phalerios*, upon the oppoſite height, being ſeparated from *Hamilcar* by a river which ran between the two camps. As a prophecy or tradition had long prevailed there, that a great battle ſhould be fought on the banks of this river, in which a vaſt carnage ſhould be made, neither ſide for a long time ſhewed any diſpoſition to begin the attack, both armies having a ſuperſtitious dread upon them. At laſt a party of *Africans*, by way of bravado, paſſed the river; and another of *Agathocles*'s troops, to return the compliment, did the ſame; and this brought on a general engagement. For the *Sicilians*, driving off ſome cattle and beaſts of burden belonging to the enemy, were purſued by a *Carthaginian* detachment, which immediately upon its arrival on the oppoſite bank, fell into an ambuſcade, that *Agathocles*, foreſeeing what would happen, had laid there to intercept it; and not having time to form itſelf, was eaſily routed. This firſt inſtance of ſucceſs greatly encouraged *Agathocles*, who hereupon moving out of his camp, attacked *Hamilcar* with his whole army, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches; though he ſuſtained great loſs from the ſlingers of the *Balearic* iſlands, who (F) with ſtones of a large ſize broke to pieces the ſhields and armour of his ſoldiers, and deſtroyed him abundance of men. But at this critical juncture a ſtrong reinforcement unexpectedly arrived from *Carthage*, which intirely changed the face of affairs; for the *Sicilians* having before made their utmoſt efforts, became greatly dejected upon the arrival of theſe ſuccours, and, almoſt as ſoon as the enemy rallied, took to their heels, and were ſo hotly purſued, that all the plains of the *Himera* were covered with dead bodies. The heats being then exceſſive, great numbers that were ready to periſh with thirſt, drank too copiouſly of the river-water, which was ſalt and brackiſh, and thereby loſt their lives. The *Carthaginians* had five hundred men killed in this battle, but *Agathocles* at leaſt ſeven thouſand [c].

Upon which the people of Catana, Leontium, Tauromenium, Abacœnum, *and* Meſſana, *ſubmit to them.*

After this defeat, *Agathocles*, collecting the ſhattered remains of his army, burnt his camp, and retired with great precipitation to *Gela*. He had not been there long, before ſome of his troops, by chicane, deluded three hundred *African* horſe into the place, all of whom to a man he cauſed to be cut off. The tyrant remained ſome time in *Gela*, that he might draw the enemy thither, and thereby prevent the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, till the inhabitants of that place had got in their harveſt. *Hamilcar*, being informed, that *Gela* was defended by a ſtrong gariſon, ſupplied abundantly with all ſorts of proviſions and military ſtores, did not think fit to make an attempt upon it, but contented himſelf with reducing the forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood of that place, all of which ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. As he behaved in a very affable manner, the people of *Camarina*, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Tauromi-nium*, ſent embaſſadors to him to implore his protection; as did ſoon after thoſe of *Meſſana* and *Abacœnum*, though they were before at variance amongſt themſelves. In ſuch perfect abhorrence did the people over the whole iſland hold the tyrant and and all his adherents [d] (G).

And Agathocles *ſhuts himſelf up within the walls of* Syracuſe.

Agathocles, finding the *Carthaginian* general not diſpoſed immediately to undertake either the ſiege of *Gela* or *Syracuſe*, repaired to the latter of theſe places; and having filled his magazines, reinforced the gariſon, and perfected all the works, he ſhut himſelf up within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the *Carthaginians* followed

[c] Idem ibid. & Justin. l. xxii. [d] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(F) *Diodorus* tells us, that all theſe *Balearic* ſlingers had been trained up in the art of ſlinging from their infancy, and conſequently were very expert in that art; that they frequently attacked the enemy with ſtones of three pounds weight, which did great execution; and that in fine the *Carthaginians* wreſted many victories out of the enemy's hands almoſt intirely by their efforts. Our readers may expect a further account of them from *Lycophron*, *Diodorus*, *Vegetius*, and others, when we come to the hiſtory of *Spain* (3).

(G) *Juſtin* intimates, that that there was a ſecond action between *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Giſco*, and *Agathocles*, before the *Carthaginians* laid ſiege to *Syracuſe*, wherein the latter was totally routed, and obliged to ſhut himſelf up within the walls of his metropolis (4).

(3) *Diod. Sic. l.* v. *c.* 1. *&* *l.* xix. *c.* 7. (4) *Juſtin. l.* xxii. *c.* 3.

a followed him, and laid cloſe ſiege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would ſoon have put them in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland [c].

THE *Carthaginians* having cut off a great part of *Agathocles*'s army, ſtripped him of his confederates, and got all *Sicily*, except *Syracuſe*, into their hands, the tyrant now found himſelf driven to a ſtate of deſperation. Being therefore abandoned by his allies from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, he formed a deſign of ſo bold, and, in appearance, ſo impracticable, a nature, that nothing but the ſucceſs, with which it was attended, could juſtify the undertaking of it. This deſign was to transfer the war into *Africa*, and beſiege *Carthage* at a time when he himſelf was beſieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in *Sicily*. His project b he communicated to no perſon whatſoever, but only told the *Syracuſans* in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the loſſes they had ſuſtained to that day. He then choſe the moſt daring and intrepid among the ſoldiers and citizens of *Syracuſe*, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the firſt call, and the horſemen to carry each along with him, beſides his arms, a ſaddle and a bridle. Before his departure he gave free permiſſion to all perſons, who were not willing to go through the fatigues of a ſiege, to (H) retire out of the town, which many of the principal citizens, *Juſtin* ſays ſixteen hundred, accepted of; but were ſcarce got out of the place, when they were cut off by parties poſted upon the roads for that purpoſe. He c ſet at liberty all the ſlaves who were able to bear arms, and, after obliging them to take an oath, incorporated them among his troops. Having ſeized upon the eſtates and effects of thoſe perſons who left the city, he raiſed a conſiderable ſum, which was intended in ſome meaſure to defray the expence of the expedition he was going upon; however, he carried with him only fifty talents to ſupply his preſent wants, well aſſured that he ſhould find in the enemy's country whatever was neceſſary to his ſubſiſtence. His forces being all embarqued, he appointed his brother *Antandrus* governor of *Syracuſe* in his abſence, with forces and proviſions ſufficient to hold out a long ſiege; and taking with him his two ſons *Archagathus* and *Heraclides*, he went on board laſt himſelf, where he waited ſome time for a fair wind. All people d were at a loſs to conjecture, what deſign he was going upon: ſome imagined his intention was to ſail to the coaſt of *Italy* or *Sardinia*, to plunder thoſe countries; others, that he propoſed ravaging that part of *Sicily* belonging to the *Carthaginians*; but moſt perſons agreed, that it was a deſperate project he had in view. As the *Carthaginians* had a much ſuperior fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the harbour, he was obliged to watch ſeveral days for an opportunity to ſet ſail. At laſt a large fleet of tranſports appeared laden with corn and other proviſions for *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe, the *Carthaginians* put to ſea, and *Agathocles* no ſooner ſaw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewiſe hoiſted ſail, and, by the great activity of his rowers, ſoon got out into the main ocean [f].

The Carthaginians *puſh on the ſiege of that metropolis, and* Agathocles, *with a body of troops, ſets ſail for* Africa.

e THE *Carthaginians*, ſeeing a ſquadron of ſixty galleys, (for ſo many did this of *Agathocles* contain) at firſt imagined, that the enemy's fleet was ſent to defend the tranſports; and therefore, tacking about, prepared for an engagement. But obſerveing that this ſquadron continued its courſe ſtraight forward, and was far before them, they immediately gave it chace, crowding all the ſail poſſible. However, *Agathocles* ſo beſtirred himſelf, that, night coming on, they loſt ſight of him; and in the mean time the tranſports, unexpectedly eſcaping the danger, plentifully ſupplied the city with corn and all other proviſions. The next day a moſt remarkable (I) eclipſe of

And, after a ſlight engagement with the Carthaginian *fleet, makes a deſcent there.*

[c] Idem ibid. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. POLYÆN. ſtrat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 5.

[f] DIOD. SIC. l. xx. c. 1. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. OROS. l. iv.

(H) *Polyænus* relates, that vaſt numbers of *Syracuſans* having crowded on board the ſixty veſſels, of which *Agathocles*'s fleet conſiſted, the tyrant gave free liberty to all who were not willing to be engaged in a deſperate expedition, to retire with their effects. Many, embracing this offer, withdrew into the town, all of whom *Agathocles*, who looked upon them as cowards, ordered to be put to the ſword (5).

(I) *Diodorus* and *Juſtin* both affirm this to have been a ſolar eclipſe; but *Frontinus* makes it a lunar one. The laſt author has, however, been corrupted in the paſſage referred to, ſo that the critics can ſcarce make ſenſe of it. From the two former writers, as well as many others, that might be produced, it appears, that the ancients believed the eclipſes of the luminaries to have portended great revolutions in human affairs; and it muſt be owned, that this notion, as well as ſome other points in judicial aſtrology, is of a very high antiquity (6).

(5) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* v. *c.* 3. *ex.* 5. *Peucerum de divinat. p.* 661.

(6) *Diod. Sic. Juſtin. & Frontin. in loc. citat. Vide &*

of the ſun happened, when the ſtars appeared every-where in the firmament, and the day ſeemed to be turned into night. As the *Sicilians* were not a little ſuperſtitious, this event ſtruck the troops on board with terror, every one believing it to be a preſage of their approaching deſtruction. But *Agathocles* revived the drooping courage of his ſoldiers, by telling them, that if they had ſeen this before their departure from *Sicily*, it would have portended a diſappointment to them; but that as as it happened afterwards, it predicted a train of diſaſters to the *Carthaginians*, whoſe dominions they were going to invade. He further remarked, that theſe eclipſes always foretold ſome inſtant change; that therefore happineſs was taking its leave of the enemy, and coming over to them. The *Carthaginian* admiral, finding that, by purſuing two fleets at once, he had miſſed them both, and that *Agathocles* did not return, reſolved to purſue him cloſe, and prevent him from kindling the war in ſome other place. Having therefore ſailed ſix days and ſix nights ſteering his courſe towards *Africa*, he at laſt came up with the *Sicilian* fleet, then upon the point of landing the forces on board. As both ſquadrons had the coaſt of *Africa* in view, the *Carthaginians* made the utmoſt efforts to attack *Agathocles* before he could reach the ſhore; and on the other hand the tyrant, knowing what his fate would be, if he fell into the hands of ſo cruel an enemy, was no leſs active in his endeavours to land, before the *Carthaginians* could engage him. In fine, he had juſt begun to execute his deſign, when part of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron coming up with his rear, a ſlight engagement enſued. The weapons chiefly made uſe of on this occaſion were bows and ſlings, the veſſels not being cloſe enough to grapple. As but a ſmall part of the *Carthaginian* fleet found it poſſible to engage, and the mariners were quite tired with rowing, *Agathocles* gained the advantage; whereupon the *Carthaginians*, tacking about, ſtood off a little above the caſt of a dart. This gave him an opportunity of landing his troops at a place called the *quarries*, without any farther oppoſition [g].

Soon after his landing, he burns his ſhips.

Agathocles, having landed his forces in the enemy's country, and ſecured for the preſent his ſhipping by a breaſt-work or parapet, offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, the guardians of *Sicily*. After this he ſummoned a council of war, compoſed of ſuch officers as were intirely at his devotion; where, appearing in his royal robes, he acquainted them, that when they were ſo cloſely purſued by the *Carthaginians*, he had applied himſelf to the two goddeſſes, promiſing, upon his arrival in *Africa*, to conſecrate all the veſſels of the ſquadron to them, by reducing them to ſo many burning lamps; and that, ſince they were now delivered from the enemy, his intention was to perform his vow by burning the whole fleet. He exhorted them to diſtinguiſh themſelves on the preſent occaſion, declaring, that by the ſacrifices the gods promiſed great ſucceſs. He likewiſe obſerved, that the only way to draw the enemy out of *Sicily* was, to carry the war into their own country; that the *Carthaginians* were ſoftened and enervated by eaſe and luxury; that the *Africans* under their ſubjection, as well as the neighbouring ſtates, being highly incenſed at the *Carthaginian* inſolence, would join them on the firſt news of their arrival; that the cities of *Africa* were not fortified and built on mountains, as in *Sicily*, and therefore could not make any defence; that the boldneſs only of their attempt would quite diſconcert the *Carthaginians*, who were altogether unprepared to repel an enemy at their own gates; that no enterprize could redound more to their honour and advantage, ſince this would, if attended with ſucceſs, make them maſters of all the wealth of *Carthage*, and tranſmit their names and fame to the lateſt poſterity. In fine, he deſired them not to be diſmayed at the loſs of their ſhips, ſince the two goddeſſes above-mentioned would hereafter return them a far greater number. Having uttered theſe words, a ſervant brought him a torch, which he eagerly catching hold of, went on board his own ſhip, and ſet it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the ſoldiers. As the flames mounted up, the trumpets ſounded from every quarter, and, after a joint prayer to the gods to grant the army a ſafe return home, the whole ſhore echoed with joyful ſhouts and loud acclamations. In ſhort, the ſoldiers fancied themſelves already maſters of *Africa*; and not having been allowed time to reflect on the propoſal made them, the whole fleet was in a moment conſumed.

This

[g] DIOD. SIC. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 12. ex. 9.

a This ſeems to have been one of the moſt deſperate actions to be met with in hiſtory [b] (K).

THE motives for this aſtoniſhing point of conduct were various: Firſt, *Agathocles* was deſirous of putting his troops under a neceſſity of conquering; which he imagined might be done by the deſtruction of his fleet, ſince this would leave them no other refuge but victory. Secondly, he conſidered, that he had not one good harbour in *Africa*, where his ſhips could lie with ſafety; wherefore, as the *Carthaginians* were maſters at ſea, they would infallibly poſſeſs themſelves of all his ſhipping, which was no-ways in a condition to cope with theirs. Thirdly, in caſe he had left as many troops as were neceſſary to defend the fleet, he would have thereby ſo weak-
b ened his army, which was at beſt but inconſiderable, that he could not have ventured a battle with the enemy, and of courſe would have rendered himſelf incapable of drawing any advantage from this unexpected diverſion. Theſe, with other reaſons, determined him to act in the manner above-mentioned, and exert that prodigious courage, neceſſary to work up his troops to ſuch an unparallelled reſolution. As they had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour, when they began to cool, things appeared in another light. They now conſidered themſelves as in the midſt of an enemy's country, ſeparated from their own by the vaſt ocean, without the leaſt hopes or means of eſcaping. Upon this a ſad and melancholy ſilence ſucceed that tranſport of joy, which but a moment before had been ſo general in the
c army [i].

The motives for his conduct.

BUT to diſſipate all gloomy apprehenſions, *Agathocles* marched inſtantly at the head of his troops againſt a place in the territories of *Carthage*, called the *Great City*, leaving the ſoldiers here again no time for reflection. The whole country, through which he paſſed, afforded the moſt delicious and agreeable proſpect imaginable. On each ſide were ſpacious meadows covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houſes built with extraordinary magnificence, delightful avenues planted with all ſorts of fruit-trees, charming gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with all poſſible care and elegance, *&c.* The whole tract was likewiſe watered by beau-
d tiful ſtreams, and full of towns adorned with ſtately palaces belonging to the nobility of *Carthage*, many of whom inhabited this particular province. As they had enjoyed a long peace, nothing but a face of plenty and abundance here appeared, and an immenſe quantity of wealth was amaſſed in every part. This inchanting ſcene raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the ſoldiery, who thought the poſſeſſion of ſo fine a country would make full amends for all the toils and fatigues that could be undergone. They advanced therefore with intrepidity to the *Great City*, which, after a feeble reſiſtance, they took by ſtorm. As *Agathocles* was deſirous of inſpiring his troops with freſh courage, he abandoned the plunder of the place, which was very conſiderable, to them. That this was a town of importance, and called in the *Punic* language *Samath*, *Sumeth*, or *Samatho*, is in ſome degree probable from
e *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, *Stephanus*, and others [k].

He advantes towards Carthage, *takes a place called the* Great City, *and gives the plunder of it to his ſoldiers.*

FROM hence the tyrant moved with his army to *Tunis*, a city of eminence in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, which, being intimidated by ſo unexpected a viſit, ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons. The troops would willingly have gariſoned both theſe places, and laid up in them the plunder they had got; but *Agathocles* would by no means liſten to ſuch a motion. He, with ſome difficulty, convinced them, that this was not conſiſtent with the plan he had laid down, nor at all expedient in their preſent circumſtances. Being therefore determined, that his men ſhould have no place to retire to in caſe of any misfortune, that they might place all hopes of ſafety in victory, he cauſed both the cities lately reduced to be levelled with the
f ground, and encamped in the open fields [l].

He likewiſe takes Tunis, *and levels this, as well as the above-mentioned city, with the ground.*

IN

[h] DIOD. SIC. JUSTIN. FRONTIN. POLYÆN. & OROS. ubi ſup. [i] DIOD. SIC. JUSTIN. &c. ubi ſup. Vid. & POLYB. l. xxii. & ATHEN. deipnoſoph. l. iii. [k] DIOD. SIC. & JUST. ubi ſup. ALEXAND. POLYHIST in Libyc. l. iii. apud. STEPH. de urb. & BOCHART. Chan. l. ii. c. 12. [l] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

(K) This conduct of *Agathocles*, how wild and extravagant ſoever it may appear to us at this diſtance of time, who are not ſo well acquainted with the ſprings and motives to it, nor the circumſtances of his and the *Carthaginian* affairs, was highly approved of by *Scipio*, as we learn from *Polybius*. That great general looked upon *Agathocles* as a very able commander, and took hints from ſome points of his conduct, which much facilitated the conqueſt of *Carthage* (7).

(7) *Polyb. l.* XV. *Liv. l.* XXVIII. *n.* 43.

The Carthaginians *are greatly alarmed at this motion.*

IN the mean time, the *Carthaginians* on board the galleys, that came up with *Agathocles*, juſt before he made his deſcent, expreſſed great joy upon ſeeing the *Sicilian* ſhips all on a blaze, imagining this to be the effect of fear. But they changed their note, when they obſerved the enemy marching in good order up into the country, being then convinced, that a puſh was intended to be made at *Carthage* itſelf. Hereupon they immediately ſpread a great number of hides upon the fore-caſtles of their ſhips, which was with them a conſtant ſignal of ſome impending public calamity. They alſo carried on board their own veſſels the iron beaks belonging to the *Sicilian* ſhips that had been deſtroyed, and diſpatched an expreſs to *Carthage* to give the ſenate a particular account of every thing that had happened. But the whole country was ſo alarmed upon the firſt appearance of the enemy's ſquadron on the *African* b coaſt, that, before his arrival, the news of their unexpected deſcent had reached *Carthage*, and thrown the whole city into the utmoſt terror and confuſion. They all concluded, that their army before *Syracuſe* had been defeated, and their fleet loſt; for that, in any other ſituation of affairs, it was poſſible for *Agathocles* to leave *Syracuſe*, and paſs over into *Africa*, they could not believe. The people haſtened with trembling hearts to the market-place, while the ſenate aſſembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might ſave the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches advancing to beſiege. They had no army in readineſs to make head againſt the enemy; and their imminent danger did not permit them to wait, till forces were levied among their allies. Some therefore were for ſending embaſ- c ſadors to *Agathocles* to propoſe an accommodation, and at the ſame time to diſcover the poſtureof the enemy; others apprehended it would be better to receive a more perfect intelligence of the true ſtate of affairs, before any public ſtep was taken; and this opinion prevailed [m].

Who, however make preparations to give the enemy a warm reception.

WHILST the city was in this ferment, the courier ſent by the *Carthaginian* admiral arrived, and informed the ſenate of the deſtruction of the *Sicilian* fleet, and that *Agathocles* was advancing with his army into the heart of their dominions. However, he gave them to underſtand, that their troops in *Sicily* were all ſafe and in good condition; that they puſhed on the ſiege of *Syracuſe* with the utmoſt vigour; that the body of forces under *Agathocles* was not very conſiderable; and that the advan- d tage he had lately gained by ſea was attended with no other conſequence in his favour, than that it enabled him barely to land his troops. This pacified the minds of the people, ſo that by degrees they recovered from the panic they were lately thrown into; though the ſenate ſeverely reprimanded the ſea-officers for their negligence, in ſuffering the enemy to make a deſcent, when they were maſters at ſea. It was now reſolved, that the citizens ſhould be armed; and accordingly in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thouſand infantry, and a thouſand cavalry, with two thouſand armed chariots. They appointed *Hanno* and *Bomilcar* to command the forces, notwithſtanding the grudges that had long ſubſiſted between their reſpective families, hoping that, laying aſide all private animoſities, they would jointly e exert themſelves in the defence of their country, and not permit any family quarrels to interfere with the public welfare. In this, however, they were deceived; for *Bomilcar*, having long thirſted after arbitrary power, paſſionately wiſhed for an opportunity of ſubverting the republican form of government at *Carthage*; which believing the poſt above-mentioned would enable him to do, he readily accepted of it with that view only. As the *Carthaginians* frequently brought falſe accuſations againſt their generals after the concluſion of a peace, and through envy put many of them moſt unjuſtly to death, 'tis not to be wondered at, that ſometimes, in order to avoid ſuch perfidious treatment, they either reſigned their commiſſions, or attempted to introduce arbitrary power. Of this *Bomilcar* was an inſtance, as will more f fully appear by-and-by [n].

Agathocles *commits great ravages in* Africa, *and prepares to engage the* Carthaginians.

IN the mean time *Agathocles* committed great ravages, razing ſeveral caſtles, and burning many villages on his march, though his army did not conſiſt at moſt of above fourteen thouſand men. The *Carthaginian* generals, to find him other employ, immediately took the field, and advancing towards him with great celerity, at laſt poſſeſſed themſelves of an eminence in ſight of his camp, and drew up their forces

[m] Idem ibid. & JUSTIN. ubi ſup. [n] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

a forces in battle-array. *Hanno* commanded the right-wing, ſupported by the (L) ſacred cohort; *Bomilcar* the left, making his phalanx very deep, ſince the nature of the place would not permit him to extend his wing farther in front; and the cavalry and chariots were placed, as uſual, in the van. *Agathocles*, on the other hand, made a proper diſpoſition of his forces, which were compoſed of *Syracuſans*, *Samnites*, *Etruſcans*, *Celtes*, and *Greek* mercenaries. The right wing he committed to the conduct of his ſon *Archagathus*; the other at the head of the troops of the houſhold and a thouſand cuiraſſiers, oppoſite to the *Carthaginian* ſacred cohort, he commanded himſelf; and laſtly, the ſlingers and archers, to the number of five hundred, were diſtributed in both wings to the beſt advantage. Finding ſeveral of his ſoldiers un-
b armed, he obliged them to draw the covers and caſes of ſhields over a quantity of rods collected for that purpoſe, and to carry thoſe before them, as if they had been real. By this ſtratagem, though none of the moſt refined, he impoſed upon the enemy, who were at ſome diſtance from him, and prevented the nakedneſs of his troops from being expoſed to their view °.

Agathocles was in no ſmall conſternation, when he ſaw ſo numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he diſſembled his fear, and in order to encourage his men, who were quite diſpirited, and under great apprehenſions of the enemy's horſe and chariots, he let out ſeveral owls, which he had before prepared for that purpoſe. Theſe flying about the camp, and lighting on the ſoldiers ſhields, ſo raiſed their
c ſpirits, that of their own accord they began to advance againſt the enemy, not doubting, but by the aſſiſtance of *Minerva*, to whom that bird was ſacred, and therefore looked upon by the whole army as a good omen, they ſhould gain a complete victory. The firſt charge was made by the enemy's chariots, and the cavalry intermixed with them; but the body of *Sicilian* troops oppoſed to them did not only withſtand their efforts with incredible bravery, but pierced ſome of them through with darts and arrrows, and drove the reſt back into the midſt of their own foot. This naturally threw the foot into confuſion, and occaſioned the defeat of the horſe; for theſe, finding themſelves deprived of their chief ſupport, were eaſily broken, and never afterwards made the leaſt attempt to rally. However, *Hanno*, with the ſacred cohort,
d which conſiſted of the flower of the troops, ſuſtained a long time the fury of the enemy, and even put them into diſorder; but being overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell, fighting bravely to the laſt. His death obliging the right wing to give ground, inſpired *Agathocles* and his troops with ſuch ardor, that they bore down all before them, though for ſome time they were moſt vigorouſly oppoſed by the enemy. *Bomilcar*, underſtanding that his collegue was ſlain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity put into his hands by the gods of poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty, to which he had long aſpired. Tho' therefore it was in his power to have changed the face of things, yet being ſenſible, that he could not accompliſh the deſign he had in view, if the army of *Agathocles* were
e deſtroyed, but might eaſily put it in execution, if the enemy conquered, he reſolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting, but he ſhould be able to get the better of *Agathocles* whenever he pleaſed. Accordingly acquainting his men with *Hanno*'s death, he injoined them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; as the only means to eſcape the fury of the victorious enemy. As by the general's direction the retreat was ſo precipitate, that it looked like a downright flight, the *Africans* in their rear imagined, that all the reſt of the army were totally routed, and therefore immediately fell into diſorder; which being obſerved by *Agathocles*, he took advantage of this confuſion, and purſued them ſo cloſe,

And by a ſtratagem, together with Bomilcar's *treachery, intirely overthrows them.*

° Idem ibid.

(L) The ſacred cohort conſiſted of the ſons of ſenators, and the prime nobility, who ſeem to have had their tents placed near that of the general. His aids de camp were taken out of this body, and the officers of it were his principal companions. The preciſe number of this corps cannot be determined; but from *Appian* we may conclude, that it conſiſted of about four thouſand men. It was known to the *Romans* by the appellations *ſacra cohors*, *ſtipatores*, *prætoriani*, *delecta cohors*, and anſwered to the *evocati* and *ablecti* of that nation. In ſhort, it was a body compoſed of voluntiers of diſtinction, who might be looked upon as the general's guard and particular friends. *Curtius* intimates, that *Amyntas* had a guard of *Macedonian* youths ſomething reſembling theſe. For a further account of them, we muſt refer our readers to the authors cited in the margin (8).

(8) *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *Appian. in Libyc. Q. Curt. l.* v. *& Chriſt. Hendr. de rep. Carthag. l.* ii. § 2, *m.* 1. *c.* 7. *p.* 424, 425.

close, that they were obliged to take to their heels, as their companions before had a
done, whereby he gained a complete victory. The sacred cohort, however, fought with great bravery, even after the death of *Hanno*, and courageously advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, till they saw themselves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy. Then indeed they thought it proper to have some regard to their own safety, and therefore retiring in good order, gained an eminence, where they halted, and endeavoured to make head against those who pursued them; but not being supported by *Bomilcar*, they were either cut off, or forced to save themselves by flight, after having distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. That general, after the defeat of his army, retired to *Carthage*, not having been pursued far by *Agathocles*, who returned back with b
great expedition to take possession of the enemy's camp. This he allowed his soldiers to plunder for their further encouragement; where, among other rich spoils, they found many chariots of curious workmanship, that carried twenty thousand pair of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided for the *Sicilian* prisoners, not doubting, but they should fill all the dungeons in *Carthage* with them. Of the *Sicilians*, according to *Diodorus*, not above two hundred were slain, and about a thousand *Carthaginians*, or, as others will have it, six thousand. *Justin* makes the loss to be pretty equal on both sides; for he tells us, that two thousand *Sicilians*, and three thousand *Carthaginians*, fell in this battle. As *Bomilcar* quitted the field of battle without fighting, and *Agathocles* did not long continue the pursuit, it is pro- c
bable, that the slaughter was not very considerable, and that both sides suffered pretty much alike, especially since the sacred cohort behaved to the last with such unparallelled resolution. *Justin* likewise differs from *Diodorus* in his account of the strength of the *Carthaginian* forces in this action; for whereas the former will have that host to have been very numerous, the latter relates, that it consisted only of thirty thousand men. Be this as it will, the *Carthaginians* received a notable defeat, when they thought themselves in a manner certain of victory; God, as our historian here observes, being pleased, by this instance, to let them know, that He is the supreme disposer and arbiter of events [p].

The Carthaginians *endeavour to appease some deities, whom they imagined they had offended.*

Though the *Carthaginians* had sustained no very considerable loss in the late en- d
gagement, they were extremely disheartened, believing the gods fought against them. They could not imagine it possible for *Agathocles*, after his whole army had been totally routed in *Sicily*, and he reduced almost to the necessity of surrendering his metropolis, to land in *Africa*, in spite of a powerful fleet, with the shattered remains of his broken troops, and afterwards defeat a numerous body of forces, without the interposition of some superior being. Under the influence of this persuasion, they made it their first endeavour to appease the offended deities, particularly *Hercules* and *Saturn*, whom they considered as the tutelar gods of their country. From the foundation of their city, they had sent the tenth part of all their revenues annu- e
ally to *Tyre*, as an offering to *Hercules*, the patron and protector both of *Carthage* and its mother city. This custom for many ages had been religiously observed; but their revenues at last growing immensely large, they not only had omitted to raise the tenths sacred to *Hercules* in proportion, but even discontinued their ancient acknowledgment to that deity. For this sacreligious avarice they now imagined themselves punished; and therefore, to expiate their guilt, they made a public confession of their insincerity, and sent the golden shrines of their other deities to *Hercules* at *Tyre*, having a notion, that such sacred gifts would make a more effectual atonement. As for *Saturn*, in ancient times it was usual to sacrifice children of the most noble families to him, as has been above observed; but for many years past in f
these sacrifices they had substituted children of mean extraction, secretly bought and bred up for that purpose, in the room of those nobly born. This they now considered as a departure from the religion of their forefathers, and a remarkable failure of paying this divinity the honour due to him, and consequently were conscious of having given him just cause of offence. To expiate the guilt of so horrid an impiety, a sacrifice of two hundred children of the first rank was made to the bloody god, and above three hundred other persons, in a sense of their dreadful neglect, voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to pacify, by the effusion of their blood, the wrath of this deity. Such were the sentiments of the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, and such

[p] Diod. Sic. & Justin. ubi supra.

a ſuch the method, they apprehended, would prove the moſt effectual in reconciling the offended deities to them, whom they imagined the immediate authors of the bad ſucceſs that attended their arms; though it is probable, that ſoon after, upon the diſcovery of *Bomilcar*'s perfidious conduct, they admitted at leaſt of the concurrence of an inferior cauſe [q].

And recal Hamilcar from Sicily.

After theſe expiations, the *Carthaginians* thought it not improper likewiſe to make uſe of human means for their preſervation; they therefore diſpatched meſſengers to *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, with advice of what had happened in *Africa*, and expreſs orders to haſten over to the relief of his country. When the meſſengers arrived, *Hamilcar* commanded them not once to mention the victory of *Agathocles*; but, on
b the contrary, to give out amongſt the troops, that he had been intirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet deſtroyed by the *Carthaginians*. The ſenate of *Carthage* had ſent to *Hamilcar* by the meſſengers all the beaks of the *Syracuſan* ſhips, that this report might more eaſily gain credit; for it was by their orders that he had cauſed it to be propagated. *Hamilcar* therefore, in conſequence of theſe orders, immediately ſent the perſons newly arrived from *Carthage* to *Syracuſe*, to publiſh this melancholy news there, and at the ſame time, in confirmation of it, to produce the iron beaks of the ſhips pretended to be taken from the enemy. This they did, ſummoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, ſince they could expect no ſuccours, their army and fleet in *Africa* being utterly ruined. At firſt this ſad account
c was generally believed, and greatly affected the whole city; but the leading men, to prevent all commotions, diſmiſſed the meſſengers without any anſwer, and ſoon after expelled eight thouſand of their citizens, who ſeemed diſpoſed to an inſurrection. This threw every part of the city into the utmoſt confuſion, the women running about the ſtreets in a diſtracted manner, and every houſe being filled with outcries and lamentations. Some bewailed the death of *Agathocles* and his ſons; others the loſs of their friends, who were ſuppoſed to be cut off in *Africa*; and great numbers their own hard fate, in being driven, with their wives and children, into the hands of the enemy. But *Hamilcar* entertained the exiles with great kindneſs; and being informed by them of the deplorable condition the city was in, he reſolved to make a
d general aſſault on all quarters at once. Tho' he expected eaſily to carry the place, as believing it to be almoſt deſtitute of troops to defend it, yet he firſt ſent new deputies to *Antandrus* the governor, promiſing to ſpare him and all thoſe who ſided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupon a council of war was ſummoned, at which all the principal officers were invited to aſſiſt; when, after much debate, *Antandrus*, being a man of a mean ſpirit and very unlike his brother, declared himſelf for a capitulation; but *Eurymnon* the *Ætolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left to aſſiſt his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the reſt to hold out, till they had certain intelligence of the truth. *Hamilcar*, being appriſed of the reſo-
e lution the gariſon had taken, prepared his battering-engines to play afreſh upon the walls, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions to ſtorm the town without delay [r].

Who, upon this, raiſes the ſiege of Syracuſe, *and ſends a detachment of five thouſand men to* Africa.

Whilst matters remained in this ſituation, a galley with thirty oars arrived in the harbour of *Syracuſe*, whoſe rowers, crowned with garlands, and ſinging the *Io Pæan*, made directly to the city. This veſſel *Agathocles* cauſed to be built immediately after the battle; and having manned it with ſome of his beſt rowers, under the conduct of his intimate friend *Nearchus*, diſpatched it to *Syracuſe*, to carry thither the agreeable news of his late victory. The *Carthaginian* guard-ſhips, diſcovering it, gave it chace ſo briſkly, that it narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands; which it muſt infallibly have done, had not the *Syracuſans* advanced to his relief, when it was within a dart's caſt of the ſhore. *Hamilcar*, obſerving that the gariſon flocked down
f to the port on this occaſion, and believing that he ſhould find the walls unguarded, ordered his ſoldiers to rear up ſcaling-ladders, and begin the intended aſſault. The enemy having left the ramparts quite expoſed, the *Carthaginians* mounted them without being diſcerned, and had almoſt poſſeſſed themſelves of an intire part lying between two towers, when the patrol diſcovered them. Upon this a warm diſpute enſued; but at laſt the *Carthaginians* were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. *Hamilcar* therefore, finding it in vain to continue the ſiege, after ſuch glad tidings had reſtored life and reſolution to the *Syracuſans*, drew off his forces from before the place, and ſent a detachment of five thouſand men to reinforce the troops in *Africa* [s].

Agathocles,

[q] Polyb. p. 944. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3. Precen. Fest. apud. Lactant. divin. inſtit. i. c. xxi. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra, &c. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

Agathocles *after his victory, reduces most of the places of note in the proper territory of* Carthage.

Agathocles, after his victory over the *Carthaginians*, finding no enemy to oppose him, reduced many forts and castles in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. Many cities likewise, either out of fear, or aversion to the *Carthaginians*, joined him, by which his army being considerably reinforced, he moved towards the maritime towns, having left a body of troops to defend his fortified camp at *Tunis*. The first place he attacked was the *New City*; which he carried sword in hand, but treated the inhabitants with great humanity. He then advanced to *Adrumetum*, and laid siege to it. The *Carthaginians*, by degrees recovering from the consternation they were thrown into by the late defeat, and being informed of the progress *Agathocles* made, as also of his being supported by *Elymas* king of *Libya*, immediately assembled another army, and marched against *Tunis*. After a stout resistance, they made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, and by their repeated attacks so pressed the town, that it was soon reduced to great extremity. *Agathocles*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's success, left the greatest part of his army to carry on the siege of *Adrumetum*, and, with a small body of troops, privately posted himself on the top of a mountain between *Adrumetum* and *Tunis* (M), from whence he could take a view both of his own camp and that of the *Carthaginians*. Here he ordered his soldiers in the night to make large fires, that the *Carthaginians* might think he was advancing at the head of a formidable army to the relief of *Tunis*; and, on the other hand, the garison of *Adrumetum* might be induced to believe, that a strong reinforcement was coming to his camp before that place. The stratagem answered both these views; for the *Carthaginians* raised the siege of *Tunis* hereupon with so much precipitation, that they left all their battering engines behind them; and the *Adrumetines* were so intimidated, that they immediately capitulated. *Thapsus* he afterwards took by storm, and reduced in that tract above two hundred cities and towns, partly by force, and partly by composition. *Justin* intimates, that he put a great number of people to the sword in this expedition; but as the contrary seems to appear from *Diodorus*, we must suspend our belief of this particular. Perhaps the author above-mentioned took this article from *Timæus Siculus*, who painted all the expeditions of *Agathocles*, and his whole life, in the blackest colours. Be that as it will, he made himself master of the whole territory of *Carthage*; but hearing that *Elymas*, king of *Libya*, in violation of the late treaty, had declared against him, he immediately entered *Libya Superior*, and in a great battle overthrew that prince, putting to the sword a good part of his troops, and the general that commanded them. This blow obliged the *Libyan* monarch to recal the body of auxiliaries he had sent to aid the *Carthaginians*, and enabled *Agathocles* to march against that nation, who, he was acquainted, had formed the siege of *Tunis* a second time. Advancing with great expedition, he at length encamped within two hundred stadia of the enemy, and commanded his soldiers not to make any fires at all. This prevented the *Carthaginians* from having any suspicion of his approach; so that marching all night with wonderful celerity, he arrived by break of day in the neighbourhood of their camp; where meeting with a body of their forces, that had been plundering and laying waste the adjacent country, he charged them with such vigour, that two thousand were killed upon the spot, many taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. The *Carthaginians*, being extremely mortified at this disaster, and receiving advice, that *Elymas* had been obliged to recal the troops sent to their assistance, without waiting for *Agathocles*, abandoned the siege [t].

Hamilcar *intirely defeated by the* Syracusans, *and his head sent to* Agathocles *in* Africa.

It has been before observed, that *Hamilcar* sent only a detachment of five thousand men to the relief of his distressed country: keeping therefore the main body of his forces together, he still entertained hopes of obliging *Agathocles* to quit *Africa*, and return to the defence of his own dominions. He spent some time in making himself

[t] Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

(M) The learned and ingenious Dr. *Shaw* supposes mount *Zow-aan*, or *Zag-wan*, a conspicuous mountain in the inland part of the summer circuit of the *Tunisecns*, to have been the place from whence *Agathocles* was entertained with a view both of the country of the *Adrumetines* and *Carthaginians*. *Solinus* intimates, that the foot of this mountain was one of the limits of *Africa Propria*; which, in conjunction with the name, renders it something probable, that the *Regio Zeugitana* received its denomination from it (9).

(9) *Dr. Shaw's geograph. observat. relating to the kingdom of Tun. c. 3. p. 184, 185. Solin. c. 27. Vide & Strab. l. x. p. 326.*

himſelf maſter of ſuch cities as ſided with the *Syracuſans*; and after having brought all their allies under ſubjection, returned again to *Syracuſe*, hoping to ſurpriſe the city, by attacking it in the night. The *Syracuſans* were, before the approach of the *Carthaginian* army, reduced to ſome ſtrats; for *Hamilcar* had not only cut off all ſupplies of proviſions, that might have come to their relief by ſea, but likewiſe deſtroyed all the corn and fruits of the earth he could meet with in their territory, and had attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of the caſtle of *Olympia* or *Olympieum*, lying before the town. However, they were not diſcouraged, but took all the neceſſary meaſures for a vigorous defence; and ſuſpecting *Hamilcar* to have formed a deſign of ſurpriſing the city, they, by way of precaution, ordered a body of three thouſand foot and four hundred horſe to take poſt in *Euryalus*, the citadel of *Epipolæ* (N). About midnight, *Hamilcar* advanced, at the head of a ſtrong party, to begin the attack, and was ſupported by *Dinocrates*, general of the horſe. His army was divided into two phalanxes, one formed of the *Carthaginian* forces, the other of the *Greek* mercenaries, which were followed by a confuſed multitude, compoſed of various nations (O), who attended the army for the ſake of plunder. The paſſes being then rough and narrow, this unwieldy rabble for ſome time found it impoſſible to move forwards; and therefore the barbarians, of which it conſiſted, quarrelling for the way, came at laſt to downright blows; which put the whole army into confuſion. The *Syracuſans* poſted at *Euryalus*, taking advantage of this, made a ſally, and after having terribly galled the *Carthaginians* with their darts and arrows from the hill, attacked them in form. *Hamilcar* at firſt received the enemy with great reſolution, crying out to the officers to do their duty, and endeavour to animate their troops to ſuſtain the ſhock of the enemy; but the *Syracuſans* having ſeized upon the paſſes, and there not being room for ſo numerous an army as *Hamilcar*'s to act, great numbers of the *Carthaginian* foot were trod to death by their own horſe; and the confuſion they were at firſt thrown into being heightened by the darkneſs of the night, one part of their army engaged the other; ſo that the rout became general, and the ſlaughter dreadful. *Hamilcar* therefore, being deſerted by all his army, which, before the engagement, amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, was taken priſoner, and carried into *Syracuſe*. *Diodorus* relates, that an *haruſpex*, or ſooth-ſayer, before the beginning of the action, predicted, that *Hamilcar* ſhould ſup the next night in *Syracuſe*; which though it proved true, yet the entertainment he there met with was not much to his ſatisfaction; for thoſe, whoſe parents and relations he had barbarouſly murdered, led him in chains about all the ſtreets of the city, and, after having venting their rage on their miſerable captive by all ſorts of torments, ſtruck off his head, and ſent it into *Africa*, a welcome preſent to *Agathocles*, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and ſhewing them the head of their general, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that their commanders with the utmoſt difficulty kept them from abandoning the camp, and returning to *Carthage* [u].

THE day after this defeat, the *Carthaginians* rallied their ſhattered troops at ſome diſtance from *Syracuſe*; but having loſt their general, they could not agree amongſt themſelves about the choice of his ſucceſſor: the exiles and *Greek* mercenaries therefore pitched upon *Dinocrates* for their commander, and the *Carthaginians* veſted with the ſupreme command of the national troops the *Carthaginian* officer who was next in dignity to the general. The *Agrigentines*, finding the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans*

The Agrigentines *take ſeveral places from the* Carthaginians *and* Syracuſans.

[u] DIOD. SIC. l. xx. c. 1. JUSTIN. l. xxii. c. 7. ſub init. & OROS. l. iv. c. 6.

(N) *Diodorus* here makes a fine reflection on the uncertainty of war, and inſinuates, that neither valour nor conduct has the greateſt ſhare in bringing it to a happy concluſion. *Agathocles*, one of the greateſt captains of his age, at the head of a numerous army, was routed by *Hamilcar* at the battle of *Himera*; and yet ſoon after, this very victorious army, weakened only by an inconſiderable detachment ſent to *Africa*, and conſiſting then of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, was intirely defeated by a ſmall party of the routed enemy, ſupported only by the advantagious ſituation of the poſt they were ordered to defend (10).

(O) From this paſſage it appears probable, that the *Carthaginian* armies were attended by a numerous rabble in all remarkable expeditions. This will enable us to account for the prodigious carnage made of their troops when the enemy was victorious; for ſuch an undiſciplined number of people muſt firſt greatly contribute towards throwing the regular troops into confuſion; and then, not being able either to reſiſt or eſcape, be totally cut off. The *Turks* labour under the ſame inconvenience at this day, or at leaſt have done ſo till of late.

(10) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.*

cuſans had extremely weakened each other by this bloody war, and that the latter were in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, judged this a favourable opportunity of ſeizing upon the ſovereignty of the whole iſland themſelves; and therefore ſet on foot a conſiderable army for that purpoſe, appointing *Xenodicus*, one of their countrymen, general. This army was ſoon reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops from the city of *Gela*, which *Xenodicus* had found means to engage in the *Agrigentine* intereſt. He firſt made himſelf maſter of *Enna*, and then marched to *Herbeſſus* (P), that was defended by a *Carthaginian* gariſon. Upon his arrival there, he immediately cauſed it to be attacked. For ſome time the gariſon made a vigorous defence; but at laſt the inhabitants declaring in favour of the beſiegers, the town, after a briſk action, was taken; on which occaſion a great number of *Carthaginians* were killed, and above five hundred taken priſoners. In fine, the *Agrigentines* proſecuted this war with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time they wreſted many places of note both out of the hands of *Agathocles* and the *Carthaginians* [w].

The Carthaginians *gain an advantage over the* Syracuſans *by ſea.*

THE *Syracuſans*, in the mean time, being threatened with a famine, and underſtanding, that ſome veſſels laden with corn were coming to the enemy, fitted out twenty galleys to intercept them. As the *Carthaginians* had entertained no ſuſpicion of ſuch an attempt, the *Syracuſans* found an opportunity of ſlipping by them, and for ſome time purſued their courſe in queſt of the tranſports above-mentioned. But the *Carthaginians*, being appriſed of what had happened, purſued them with thirty galleys; and coming up with them off of *Hybla*, immediately attacked them. At firſt the *Syracuſans* ſeemed to prepare themſelves for a warm engagement; but being ſoon driven on ſhore, they abandoned their ſhips, and taking ſhelter in the temple of *Juno*, endeavoured there to defend them againſt the *Carthaginians*. After a ſharp diſpute, the latter, by means of their grappling-irons, carried ten of them off; but the reſt were drawn on ſhore by the aſſiſtance of the gariſon of *Hybla*, who, upon the firſt news of the action, advanced to the relief of the *Syracuſans* [x].

The Carthaginians *greatly dejected at the defeat of their army, and death of their general, in* Sicily.

Agathocles, having forced the *Carthaginians* to raiſe a ſecond time the ſiege of *Tunis*, and reduced all the places ſubject to them, prepared now to beſiege *Carthage* itſelf; and, in order thereto, advanced with his army to a poſt within five miles of that capital. On the other hand, the *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, in order to cover the city, encamped betwixt it and the enemy with a powerful army. This was the face of affairs, when *Agathocles* received advice of the defeat of the *Carthaginian* forces before *Syracuſe*, and the head of *Hamilcar* their general, who being taken priſoner in the action, had been put to death in *Syracuſe*, as above related. Upon receiving this agreeable news, *Agathocles* rode up to the enemy's camp, and ſhewing them the head, gave them an account of the total deſtruction of their army in *Sicily*. This threw the whole army into the utmoſt conſternation, and filled every part of the camp with outcries and lamentations. The barbarians, according to the cuſtom of their country, proſtrated themſelves before the head of their prince; for *Hamilcar*, at the time of his death, according to *Diodorus*, was one of the *Carthaginian* ſuffetes. In ſhort, they were ſo dejected at the firſt publication of this melancholy account, that, in all human probability, *Agathocles* would ſoon have made himſelf maſter of *Carthage*, and put a glorious end to the

[w] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 2. [x] Idem ibid.

(P) That the cities of *Enna* and *Herbeſſus* were of *Phœnician* or *Carthaginian* extraction is apparent from the names themſelves. The former is undoubtedly a *Greek* corruption of *Ennaam* or *Ennam*, which, in *Punic* or *Phœnician*, imports *the fountain of pleaſure*, or *the pleaſant fountain*. The *Greeks*, having no words ending in M, frequently expunged that letter from *Oriental* proper names, in order to accommodate them to their own language, of which *Maria*, *Gehenna*, *&c.* are ſufficient inſtances (11). The authors referred to in the margin evince this etymon (12). The latter ſignifies in *Punic* or *Phœnician*, *the mountain of the cave*, or *the hollow mountain*; and that the town of *Herbeſſus* ſtood upon ſuch a mountain, appears from ſeveral authors (13). We muſt not omit obſerving, that the word begins with an H, ſince *Pliny* (14) enumerates the *Herbeſſenſes* amongſt the inhabitants of thoſe cities, whoſe names begin with that letter; nor that, in confirmation of what has been advanced, the place at this day is called *Le Grotto*, or the *caverns* From *Polyænus* we may infer, that the *Greeks* ſometimes pronounced only one of the words of which this town's name was compoſed, *viz. Beſſa*, or *Veſſa*, which greatly ſtrengthens *Bochart*'s conjecture (15).

(11) *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c* 28. (12) *Ovid. faſt. l.* iv. *Diod. Sic. l.* v. *c.* 1. *Cic. ad Ver.* 4. *Claud. l.* ii. (13) *Bochart. ubi ſupra. Vide & Polyb. l.* i. *Diodor. Sic. l.* xx. *Thucyd. l.* iv. *c.* 6. *& Strab. l.* vi. (14) *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 8. (15) *Cluver. & Fazel. de reb. Sic. Vide & Bochart. ubi ſup. ut & Polyæn. l.* v. *c.* 1. *ex.* 4.

a the war, had not an unexpected incident happened, which had like to have proved fatal to the tyrant himself, and thrown the game once more into the hands of the *Carthaginians* [y].

Lyciscus, an officer of great bravery, being invited by *Agathocles* to supper, and heated with wine, reflected on the tyrant's conduct in the most opprobrious terms, uttering at the same time against him the most bitter imprecations. *Agathocles*, having a personal value for him, on account of his merit, turned all his insolence and scurrility into a jest; but his son *Archagathus*, highly resenting such infamous behaviour, did not fail to recriminate, and to his invectives not a few menaces were added. When the entertainment was over, and every one retired to his tent, *Lyci-*
b *scus* charged *Archagathus* with incest, he being suspected of an illicit commerce with *Alcia*, his father's wife. This incensed *Archagathus* to fury and madness; so that losing all moderation, he snatched a lance out of the hands of one of the guard, and immediately piercing *Lyciscus* with it, laid him dead at his feet. The friends of the deceased, and many other soldiers, enraged at the fact, filled the whole camp by break of day with tumult and confusion. To these many officers, who were justly obnoxious to the tyrant's displeasure for various crimes, thinking this a fair opportunity of delivering themselves from all future apprehensions of punishment, joined in exciting the troops to revolt. The whole army was soon in motion; and deter-
c mined to take vengeance either of *Archagathus* or *Agathocles*, if he refused to deliver up his son into their hands. The troops therefore, electing new officers to command them, soon possessed themselves of the walls of *Tunis*, to which place the tyrant returned after the arrival of the last express, and surrounded him, and his son, with their whole body of guards. The *Carthaginians* apprised of what had happened, dispatched messengers to the *Sicilian* forces, promising them larger pay, and ample rewards, if they would abandon the tyrant, and take on in their service. Hereupon *Agathocles*, seeing himself in the most imminent danger, especially as many of his officers had already closed with the enemy's proposal, and judging it better to fall by the hands of his own soldiers, than to be put to an ignominious death by a cruel
d and insulting enemy, divested himself of his royal robes, and, in the habit of a poor peasant, appeared in the midst of his troops. This strange sight so confounded them, that there was a deep silence all over the camp; which *Agathocles* taking advantage of, made a speech suitable to the occasion, wherein he gave a particular detail of the most memorable events of his past life, and the great actions in which he had been concerned, concluding, that he was determined never to forfeit his honour for the sake of his life, and that therefore he was ready to put a period to his days immediately, if they, his fellow-soldiers, deemed this expedient for the public good. Upon this he drew his sword, as though his intention was to have killed himself upon the spot; but when in all appearance he was upon the point of thrusting it into his
e body, the army cried out aloud to him to forbear; and desiring him to resume his purple robe, and other ensigns of royalty, in a moment returned to their duty. This greatly disappointed the *Carthaginians*, who were in continual expectation of being joined by the most considerable part at least of the tyrant's army, not dreaming of what was really in agitation at that time in the *Sicilian* camp. *Agathocles* therefore surprised a strong body of the enemy, who had posted themselves close by his troops, that they might be at hand to join them, in case the proposal above-mentioned was listened to; and having put them to the rout, forced them back to their camp with great slaughter. Thus *Agathocles* not only extricated himself out of a strange difficulty, in which his son's imprudence had involved him, but likewise defeated
f the enemy, when they looked upon his situation as desperate. However, the ring-leaders of the mutiny, and two hundred others, who bore *Archathus* a grudge, went over in a body to the *Carthaginians* [z].

A mutiny in Agathocles's camp.

But notwithstanding the tyrant's affairs took so happy a turn at this critical juncture, when he seemed to be upon the very brink of destruction, yet the effects of the late mutiny might, in some measure, have been esteemed as fatal to him, since it gave the *Carthaginians* an opportunity of recovering from the consternation, into which the deplorable news of the total ruin of their army in *Sicily*, and the death of their general there, had thrown them. Could *Agathocles* have attacked the *Carthaginian* forces immediately upon his communication of this advice to them, he would,

Which had a bad effect upon his affairs.

in

[y] Idem ibid. Vide & Christ. Hendr. in Carthag. l. ii. sect. 1. p. 168. [z] Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

in all human probability, have eaſily defeated them, and made himſelf maſter of *Carthage*, had he directly followed his blow, without any reſiſtance; but this unfortunate incident gave them time to ſhake off their panic, and make ſuch preparations for their defence, as, in concurrence with other unforeſeen events, baffled all the tyrant's future efforts to reduce that city. In the mean time, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by alliances with the *African* princes, to whom he ſent embaſſadors, inviting them to join in the common cauſe, and aſſiſt him in overturning that imperious republic, which, with ſo much haughtineſs, lorded it over them. This, together with the fame of his victories, had ſuch an effect upon the *Numidians*, that, immediately declaring in his favour, they renounced all allegiance to the *Carthaginians* [a]. a

A drawn battle betwixt Agathocles *and the* Carthaginians.

The next year the people of *Carthage*, notwithſtanding their deplorable circumſtances, ſent an army into *Numidia*, to reduce the revolters; which, in conjunction with the (Q) *Zuphons*, a nation of that country, brought back many of them to their duty. *Agathocles* being informed of this, and fearing to loſe the benefit of ſo ſeaſonable a diverſion, left his ſon *Archagathus* with part of his forces at *Tunis*, and with the reſt, conſiſting of eight thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, all choſen men, together with fifty *African* carriages, for the ſake of the greater expedition, advanced to the relief of the *Numidians*. The *Carthaginians*, receiving advice of his approach, encamped upon an eminence on the oppoſite bank of a deep, and ſeemingly impaſſable, river, in order to prevent a ſurpriſe; from whence they detached a body of light *Numidian* horſe, to obſtruct their march, and haraſs them by continual alarms. To keep theſe in play, *Agathocles* ſent out parties of his ſlingers and archers, and with the main body of his army marched directly towards the enemy's camp, where he found them drawn up in battalia ready to receive him. Upon his firſt attempting to paſs the river, he was charged by a body of the *Carthaginians* with great fury, and loſt a conſiderable number of men; but his troops, notwithſtanding the great reſiſtance they met with, at laſt carried the oppoſite bank, where they warmly attacked the enemy. Moſt of the *Carthaginian* troops were, after an obſtinate fight, defeated, and driven into their camp; but a body of *Greek* auxiliaries, under the command of *Clinon*, for a conſiderable time ſuſtained the ſhock of the whole *Sicilian* army, where they did great execution, though at laſt they thought proper to retire. *Agathocles*, not judging it expedient to purſue ſuch reſolute fellows, fell upon the *Carthaginian* camp in two places at once, but, by reaſon of its being ſtrongly fortified, was vigorouſly repulſed. Notwithſtanding this, he continued his efforts to force it, depending greatly upon his *Numidian* allies; but theſe during the heat of the engagement kept themſelves perfectly neuter, having an eye chiefly to the plunder of both camps. The action happening near that of the *Carthaginians*, they durſt not move that way, and therefore advanced to the camp of *Agathocles*, which was at ſome diſtance, and defended but by a ſmall guard. This they plundered, after having put to the ſword, or taken priſoners, all that defended it; of which *Agathocles* being appriſed, he haſtened thither, and recovered part of the ſpoil. The *Carthaginians*, in the mean time, not only preſerved themſelves by this defection of the *Numidians* from *Agathocles*, but put their affairs in *Numidia* upon the ancient footing [b]. b c d e

Agathocles gains over Ophellas, *prince of the* Cyreneans, *to his intereſt.*

Though the tyrant had been hitherto the favourite of fortune, yet finding himſelf unable to carry on the war alone, he endeavoured to gain *Ophellas*, one of *Alexander*'s captains, then poſſeſſed of *Cyrenaica*, over to his intereſt. In order to this, he ſent *Orthon*, a *Syracuſan*, one of his intimate friends, as embaſſador to that prince. *Ophellas* had at this time a conſiderable army on foot, and was forming a project to inlarge his dominions. *Agathocles* therefore thought proper to flatter his ambition, by

[a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid.

(Q) The *Zuphons* were a hord or canton of thoſe *Numidians*, who either always perſiſted in their fidelity to the *Carthaginians*, or were the firſt who returned to their duty. It ſeems probable, that their capital city, if they had any, muſt have been named *Zuphon*, or *Zupho*, and ſituate not far from the frontiers of *Africa Propria*. It is impoſſible, however, to determine this ſituation with any tolerable degree of preciſion, eſpecially as none of the ancient writers, except *Diodorus* in this place, if our memory fails us not, have taken any notice of them. *Cellarius*, though an accurate author, has paſſed them over in ſilence (16).

(16) *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *c.* 2.

a by promiſing him the ſovereignty of *Africa*, if, by his aſſiſtance, he would enable him to ſubdue the *Carthaginians*. He ſuggeſted, that could he get rid of ſo troubleſome a rival, he ſhould eaſily reduce the whole iſland of *Sicily*, which would abundantly gratify his ambition; that, had he more extenſive views, *Italy* was near at hand, where he could make farther conqueſts; that being ſeparated from *Africa* by a large ſea, he had no intention to ſettle there; and that his laſt expedition did not proceed from a motive of choice, but neceſſity. *Ophellas* was intirely brought over by theſe ſuggeſtions, and, to ſuccour his new ally the more effectually, ſent to *Athens* for a body of troops. As he had married *Eurydice*, the daughter of *Miltiades*, who commanded the *Greeks* at the battle of *Marathon*, and was made free of the city,
b he obtained his requeſt, the *Athenians* not doubting but they ſhould ſhare with him and *Agathocles* all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*. The low condition to which that people, as well as the other ſtates of *Greece*, were then reduced by civil diſſentions, and the immediate proſpect they had of conſiderable gain, made them exert themſelves on this occaſion with the greater alacrity [c]. *

Ophellas, having finiſhed his military preparations, found his army to conſiſt of ten thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, all regular troops, beſides an hundred chariots, and a body of ten thouſand men, attended by their wives and children, as though they had been going to plant a new colony. At the head of theſe forces he continued his march towards *Agathocles* for eighteen days, and then encamped at
c *Automolæ* (R), a city about three thouſand ſtadia diſtant from the capital of his dominions. From thence he advanced through the *Regio Syrtica*, but found himſelf reduced to ſuch extremities, that his army was in danger of periſhing, for want of water, bread, and other proviſions. Beſides, they were greatly annoyed by ſerpents and wild beaſts, with which that deſolate region abounded. The ſerpents made the greateſt havock amongſt the troops; for being of the ſame colour with the earth (S), and

And cuts him off by treachery.

[c] Idem ibid. JUSTIN. & OROS. ubi ſup.

* The battle of *Marathon* was fought in the 490th year before Chriſt, *Ophellas* joined *Agathocles* the 320th year before Chriſt: So that it ſeems improbable *Ophellas* could have married the daughter of *Miltiades*, who died ſoon after that battle. There ſeems to be ſome miſtake or overſight in the authors, there being no leſs than 179 years between the death of *Miltiades* and this battle.

(R) This city ſeems to be the *Automalax* of *Ptolemy*, which, according to that author, was fortified, and undoubtedly a frontier town of *Cyrenaica*. *Apollodorus* and *Strabo* call it *Automala*, *Diodorus* here *Automolæ*, and *Stephanus Automalaca*. It was ſituate, according to *Strabo*, at the bottom of the *Greater Syrtis*, now called the gulf of *Seedra*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Philænorum aræ*, the *Carthaginian* frontier. None of the ancients, except *Diodorus*, have told us how far it was from *Cyrene*, the capital of *Cyrenaica*. This laſt author here gives us to underſtand, that it ſtood on the borders of the *Regio Syrtica*, which agrees with the ſite aſſigned it by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, and that it was three thouſand ſtadia, or about three hundred and ſeventy-five miles from *Cyrene*; which ſeems greatly to exceed the truth (17).

(S) One remarkable circumſtance may be obſerved in the ſhort deſcription *Diodorus* here gives us of theſe ſerpents, or rather of the miſchiefs ariſing from thence to *Ophellas*'s army, *viz.* that they were ſo exactly of the colour of that barren (18) ſoil, that the ſoldiers could not diſtinguiſh them from it. This certainly is a ſtrong preſumptive proof, that their whole ſubſtance muſt in a manner have conſiſted of that ſoil, and conſequently that they muſt have fed intirely upon it. The argument will receive a farther acceſſion of ſtrength from the nature of the region itſelf, which, *Diodorus* ſeems to inſinuate, was void of every other kind of ſuſtenance. Further, it may be remarked, that theſe ſerpents were of a moſt malignant ſpecies of that animal; ſince *Diodorus* (19) here intimates, that they were extremely venomous, and deſtroyed a vaſt number of men; which ſeems to point particularly at the *cherſydrus*, one of the moſt noxious ſpecies of ſerpents, ſubſiſting, according to *Nicander* (20), upon duſt, and found, if *Cicero* and *Ælian* (21) may be credited, in vaſt numbers in the deſerts of *Libya*. *Bochart* has likewiſe proved by irrefragable (22) arguments, that the *ſaraph*, or, according to ſeveral authors, the ſerpent in which the devil beguiled *Eve*, was of this particular ſpecies; and that *Arabia*, as well as the adjacent countries, abounded with them (23); which is alſo evinced by *Herodotus*, *Mela*, *Lucan*, *Solinus*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, together with ſcripture. Let all theſe particulars be admitted, and the literal ſenſe of a paſſage in the *Moſaic* hiſtory, which has been hitherto, for the moſt part, either allegorically taken, or not fully underſtood, will be thereby rendered moſt apparent and inconteſtable, *viz.* (24) *And the LORD GOD ſaid unto the ſerpent, Becauſe thou haſt done this, thou art curſed above all cattle, and above every beaſt of the field: upon thy belly ſhalt thou go,* AND DUST SHALT THOU EAT ALL THE DAYS OF THY LIFE. This (25) ſeems alſo to be confirmed in the ſtrongeſt manner by the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Micah*. To what has been ſaid, we may add, if any thing is requiſite to be added to ſo clear a point, that ſeveral ſorts of animals live upon duſt, when they can meet with nothing elſe to eat, as we learn from *Ariſtotle*,

(17) *Ptol. geogr. l.* iv. *Strab. l.* xvii. *Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *c.* 2. *Apollodor. apud Steph. & Steph. Byzant. de urb.* (18) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.* (19) *Idem ibid.* (20) *Nicand. in Theriac. v.* 372. *Vide & Talmudic. in tract. de ſabbat. & Phil. c.* 50. (21) *Cic. de natur. deor. l.* i. *Joſeph. antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 7. *Ælian. de animal. l.* ii. *c.* 38. *ſub fin.* (22) *Bochart. in hierozoic. part. poſt. l.* iii. *c.* 13. *p.* 422, 423. (23) *Herodot. l.* ii. *& l.* iii. *c* 109. *Mel. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *Lucan. l.* vi. *Solin. c.* 32. *Ammian. Marcel. l.* xxii. *Num. c.* 21. *v.* 6. *Deut. c.* 8. *v.* 5. (24) *Gen. c.* 3. *ver.* 4. *Iſai. c.* 65. *v.* 25. *Mic. c.* 7. *v.* 17. (25) *Phil. c.* 59. *Plaut. in Caſin. act.* 1. *Bardeſau. apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l.* vi. *Plin. l.* x. *Porta Cœli, fol.* 22. *c. Cardan. de variet. l* vii. *c.* 35.

and extremely venomous, many of the ſoldiers trod upon them without ſeeing them, a and were ſtung to death. At laſt, after a very fatiguing march of two months, he approached *Agathocles*, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from him, to the great terror of the *Carthaginians*, who apprehended the moſt fatal conſequences from this junction. *Agathocles* at firſt highly careſſed him, and adviſed him to take all poſſible care of his troops, that had undergone ſo many fatigues (T); but making no ſcruple to commit the moſt enormous crimes, in order to promote his own intereſt, he reſolved upon his deſtruction. Obſerving therefore, that one day the greateſt part of *Ophellas*'s (U) troops were gone out to forage, he thought a proper opportunity now offered of putting his deſign in execution. Accordingly he drew up his forces in order of battle, and acquainted them, that *Ophellas* was guilty of the blackeſt perfidy, ſince under the pretext of aſſiſting him as an ally, he had formed a ſcheme to deliver (X) him up to the enemy. Incenſed at this, the army fell with great ardor upon *Ophellas*, who, being at that juncture too weak to oppoſe them, was killed upon the ſpot; upon which *Agathocles*, by fair words and large promiſes, prevailed upon the *Cyreneans*, now deſtitute of a leader, to ſerve under him, and be intirely at his devotion. *Polyænus* relates this event in a different manner from *Diodorus*; for he tells us, that *Agathocles*, being informed, that *Ophellas* was addicted to an unnatural ſpecies of luſt, decoyed him by means of his ſon *Heraclides*, who yet preſerved himſelf inviolate, and put both him, and the greateſt part of his army, to the ſword [d]. b

A great revolution like to have happened at Carthage.

Whilst theſe things were tranſacting, a great revolution had like to have happened at *Carthage*: *Bomilcar*, then poſſeſſed of the firſt employment in the ſtate, thought this a favourable juncture to obtain the ſovereignty of that city, to which he had long aſpired. In order to facilitate the execution of this his darling deſign, he had ſent away all the moſt eminent citizens, from whom he apprehended any obſtruction, to ſerve in the *Numidian* expedition. At the head therefore of five hundred of his aſſociates, ſupported by a body of a thouſand mercenaries, he advanced from *Neapolis* to *Carthage*, and entered the city without oppoſition. As many citizens as he met with, he cut off, without regard to ſex or age; which ſtruck the whole city with c

[d] Diod. Sic. Justin. & Oros. ubi ſup. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. v. c. 3. ex. 4. Vide & Theophrast. de plant l. iv. c. 4. Plut. in Demet. & Pausan. in Corinth.

(26) *Ariſtotle*, *Bardeſanes* in *Euſebius*, and others; and that though other ſerpents feed upon fiſh, frogs, herbs, *&c.* the *cherſydrus*, or *ſaraph*, lives only in ſuch places as the deſerts of *Libya*, *Arabia*, &c. where there is ſcarce a poſſibility of finding any other food than duſt or ſand to live upon (27).

(T) *Diodorus* (28) relates, that upon *Ophellas*'s approaching the *Regio Syrtica*, he came to a double ridge of mountains, with a valley betwixt them, in which was a cave, wherein queen *Lamia*, a lady celebrated for her beauty, formerly had her reſidence. It is pretended, that this lady, being bereaved of all her children, out of an invidious and vindictive principle, cauſed all thoſe of her ſubjects to be deſtroyed. This gave all the neighbouring *Africans* ſuch a frightful idea of her, that they made uſe of her name as a bugbear to frighten their children with. Being extremely addicted to drunkenneſs, according to our author, ſhe never made an inquiry into any of her ſubjects conduct, but permitted them all to do what they pleaſed. For this reaſon ſhe was feigned to be blind, and for her cruelty above-mentioned had the face of a monſter aſſigned her. That ſhe was an *African* (29), *Euripides* likewiſe aſſerts; we may therefore take further notice of her, when we come to treat of the proper *African* nations.

(U) According to *Diodorus*, *Polyænus*, *Theophraſtus*, and others, this prince's name was *Ophelas*, or *Ophellas*; but *Juſtin* calls him *Aphellas*, and others *Opheltas*. With theſe laſt *Tanaquil Faber* agrees; though the reaſon he aſſigns for this agreement ſeems to us not to have any great force in it, *viz.* becauſe *Opheltas* is a *Lacedæmonian* name, and conſequently more likely than *Ophellas* to be the name of a *Cyrenean*, ſince the *Cyreneans* were a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. Now, this ſuppoſes *Ophellas* to have been a *Cyrenean*, and that *Opheltas* was a proper name peculiar to the *Lacedæmonians*; neither of which ſuppoſitions can be proved, but are both improbable; ſince the *Lacedæmonians* had few, if any, names, that we know of, peculiar to themſelves; and *Ophellas* was one of *Alexander*'s captains, and therefore undoubtedly a native of *Greece* (30), probably of *Macedon*.

(X) *Juſtin* relates, that *Agathocles* endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with *Ophellas*, who frequently ſupped with him, by the moſt fawning addreſs, and the loweſt adulation; that *Ophellas* adopted the *Syracuſan* tyrant's ſon; and that this *Cyrenean* prince was cut off by treachery, not having taken the precaution to guard himſelf againſt a ſurprize. The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that, after this baſe and infamous action, *Agathocles* cajoled the *Cyrenean* army into his ſervice, and overthrew the *Carthaginians* in a pitched battle, with incredible ſlaughter, though at the ſame time he himſelf ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs. This laſt article, however, not agreeing ſo well with *Diodorus*, will hardly engage our aſſent to the truth of it (31).

(26) *Ariſtot. de animal. l.* viii. *c.* 5. *Piſid. in hexaëm.* & *Bochart. in hierozoic. part. prim. l.* i *c.* 4. *p.* 2[illegible]. (27) *Bochart. hierozoic. part. poſt. l.* iii. *c.* 13. *p.* 422, 423. (28) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.* (29) *Eurip. apud Diod. Sic. ibid.* (30) *Plut. in Demet. Pauſan. in Corinth. Theophraſt. de plant. l.* iv. *c.* 4. *Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* iii. *c.* 3. *ex.* 4. *Juſtin. l.* xx. *c.* 7. *Vide etiam Bongarſium,* & *Tan. Fab. in Juſtin. loc. citat.* (31) *Conf. Juſtin. ubi ſup. cum Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *c.* 2, 3.

a with incredible terror, every one imagining, that the town was betrayed to the enemy. Dividing his forces into five bodies, he made five different attacks, carrying every thing before him, till at laſt his troops all met in the forum. However, when it was known that *Bomilcar* had been the occaſion of this diſturbance. and had moreover cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Carthage*, the young men took up arms to repel the tyrant, and, from the tops of the houſes, diſcharged whole vollies of darts and ſtones upon the heads of his ſoldiers. The traitor, finding himſelf not able to carry the city, forced his way through the defiles, and retired to *Neapolis*; but being cloſely purſued by the *Carthaginians*, who by this time had aſſembled a ſufficient force, he retired with his troops to an eminence, there intending
b to make a vigorous defence, and ſell his life at as dear a rate as poſſible. To ſpare the blood of the citizens, a general amneſty was proclaimed for all who would lay down their arms. The rebels ſurrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, except *Bomilcar* their chief; but he, notwithſtanding the general indemnity promiſed on oath, was condemned to die, and fixed to a croſs in the middle of the forum, where he ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments. From the croſs as from the roſtra, he harangued the people, reproaching them for their injuſtice, their ingratitude, and perfidy, which he demonſtrated in an hiſtorical deduction of many illuſtrious generals, whoſe ſervices they had rewarded with an ignominious death. Having thus inſulted both his tortures and the authors of them, he expired,
c by his death delivering the *Carthaginians* from the moſt dangerous domeſtic enemy their ſtate had ever produced [e].

It is worthy obſervation, that *Agathocles* cauſed *Ophellas* to be murdered, and *Bomilcar* made the laſt flagrant attempt upon the liberties of his country, at the ſame inſtant of time, though neither of them was privy to the other's deſign. Had *Agathocles* been appriſed of *Bomilcar*'s ambition, or of the diſorder and confuſion then in the town of *Carthage*, he might eaſily have made himſelf maſter of it; for if the latter could have been ſupported by the former in the critical moment, he would undoubtedly have joined him, in order to avoid falling a victim to the fury of his enraged fellow-citizens. On the other hand, had the *Carthaginians* entertained any
d ſuſpicion of *Ophellas*'s impending danger, by joining him, or at leaſt ſending him a ſtrong reinforcement, they might, without much difficulty, have overthrown *Agathocles*, as in ſome meaſure appeared from the future courſe of this war; but the generals on both ſides being chiefly intent on gratifying their own ambition, which they at that time imagined incompatible with the public welfare, their armies were content not to obſerve one another's motions, and by this means undeſignedly contributed to each other's preſervation.

Agathocles, now finding himſelf at the head of a numerous army, in imitation of *Alexander*'s captains, who took upon them the dignity of crowned heads, aſſumed the title of king of *Africa*, intending ſoon to complete his conqueſts in that country,
e by the reduction of *Carthage*. However, for the preſent, his arms received a conſiderable diverſion from the *Uticans*; which prevented him from putting his deſign in execution. Having received intelligence of their revolt, he advanced with ſuch expedition to their city, that he ſurpriſed three hundred of them in the adjacent fields, and made them all priſoners. Theſe he placed alive in a warlike engine, which he brought to the walls of the town, and expoſed them in ſuch a manner to the darts and arrows of the beſieged, that they could not repel his aſſaults, without deſtroying their own citizens, among whom were ſome of the prime nobility. He then ſummoned the gariſon to ſurrender, imagining they would be induced to this by the ſight of their friends and relations; but finding they valued their liberty more than
f theſe, he began the ſiege, and diſcharged ſuch vollies of ſtones and miſſive weapons from the engine above-mentioned, that the beſieged were thrown into a great conſternation. At firſt they refuſed to defend themſelves for fear of deſtroying their countrymen; but finding the enemy to puſh on the ſiege with incredible fury, and that without a vigorous reſiſtance they muſt ſoon fall into their hands, they betook themſelves to their arms, and in ſeveral aſſaults bravely repulſed them. At laſt *Agathocles*, ſummoning all his courage, made a general aſſault upon the weakeſt part of the wall, and carried it; notwithſtanding which the *Uticans* for ſome time kept their poſts; but the tyrant's whole army forcing itſelf like a torrent into the town, and ſoon driving

Agathocles *aſſumes the title of king of* Africa, *and takes* Utica *by ſtorm*,

[e] Diod. Sic. & Justin. ubi ſup.

driving them, partly into the temples, and partly into their own houſes, they were all either put to the ſword or taken priſoners [f]. a

As likewiſe Hippo Diarrhytus.

The tyrant, having hanged all the priſoners, plundered the town, and left a ſufficient gariſon in it, marched with his army to *Hippouacra*, or *Hippo Diarrhytus*, the *Bizerta* of the moderns, a place naturally fortified by the lake upon which it ſtood. Before he could reduce this city, he was obliged to engage the inhabitants upon the water with his galleys; but having defeated them on that element, and followed his attacks cloſely for ſome days, he at laſt took it by ſtorm. Moſt of the people bordering upon the ſea-coaſts, and even thoſe inhabiting the inland part of the country, after this ſubmitted to him. The *Numidians* he found himſelf not able to ſubdue; however, many of their hords or cantons thought proper to conclude a b treaty of peace with him [g].

Xenodochus *defeated by* Demophilus *and* Leptines.

In the mean time, *Xenodochus*, general of the *Agrigentines*, having reſtored many of the cities in *Sicily* to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges, the ſubjects both of the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans* entertained hopes of a revolution throughout the iſland in favour of liberty. Animated by theſe hopes, great numbers of them took up arms, and entered into an aſſociation, in order to extirpate tyranny. *Agathocles*, receiving advice of this from *Demophilus* and *Leptines*, the commanders of his troops in *Sicily*, was (Y) greatly alarmed, and therefore reſolved to return home; which, he thought, he might ſafely do for a while, as his affairs on the continent were in a very flouriſhing condition. Having therefore built ſome open veſſels, with c

Agathocles *returns to* Sicily.

fifty oars a-piece, and put two thouſand men on board, he ſet ſail for *Sicily*, leaving his ſon *Archagathus* governor of the conqueſts in *Africa*, and commander in chief of the forces there. Upon his arrival at *Selinus*, he found, that *Demophilus* and *Leptines* had not only aſſembled a powerful army, but likewiſe defeated *Xenodochus* in a pitched battle, and forced him to fly to *Agrigentum*, with the loſs of fifteen hundred men. After this victory, *Agathocles* advanced to *Therma*, a city poſſeſſed by a *Carthaginian* gariſon; which immediately ſubmitted to him. *Cephalœdium*, *Heraclea*, and other places, that had regained their liberty, he likewiſe reduced; but could not make himſelf maſter of the principal cities belonging to the *Carthaginians* [h].

Archagathus *meets with great ſucceſs in* Africa.

Archagathus, after his father's departure, greatly extended the conqueſts in *Africa*. d He ſent *Eumachus*, at the head of a large detachment, to invade ſome of the neighbouring provinces, whilſt he himſelf, with the groſs of his army, obſerved the motions of the *Carthaginians*. *Eumachus*, falling into *Numidia*, firſt took the great city of *Tocas*, and conquered ſeveral of the *Numidian* cantons, that would not come into a ſtate of amity with *Agathocles*. Afterwards he laid ſiege to *Phellina*, and carried it; which was attended with the ſubmiſſion of the *Aſphodelodians*, a nation, according to *Diodorus*, as black as the *Ethiopians*. From hence he marched to *Maſchala*, a city of great importance, built by the *Greeks* in their return from *Troy*, and inhabited by their poſterity for ſeveral ſucceeding ages, which opened its gates to him. Then he moved to *Hippouacra*, which, ſince its ſurrender to *Agathocles*, had revolted to the e enemy, and made himſelf maſter of it. Laſtly, he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Acris* (Z), a free

[f] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid. & Justin. ubi ſup. c. 8.

(Y) *Juſtin* affirms, that not *Xenodochus*, but the *Carthaginians*, obliged *Agathocles* to return to *Sicily*; and that the latter, after the death of *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Giſco* above-mentioned, ſent another army to that iſland; nay, he farther ſeems to hint, that they had laid ſiege to that metropolis, before *Agathocles*'s arrival there; and that this was the immediate cauſe of the tyrant's abandoning *Africa* in ſo precipitate a manner. But as this fragment of hiſtory is not taken the leaſt notice of by *Diodorus*, and even inconſiſtent with what *Juſtin* had himſelf before related, we are not diſpoſed to give over-much credit to it (32).

The ſame author likewiſe tells us, that *Agathocles*, after his arrival in *Sicily*, expelled the *Carthaginians* from thence, and made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. But as this directly contradicts *Diodorus Siculus*, we have not thought proper to inſert it in the body of the hiſtory (33).

(Z) Neither the city of *Tocas*, nor thoſe of *Phellina*, *Maſchala*, *Acris*, nor yet the nation of the *Aſphodelodians*, though, according to our author, a very remarkable people, have been mentioned by *Cellarius*, whoſe work is yet held in the higheſt repute. They all ſeem to have had their ſituation in that part of *Numidia* contiguous to *Africa Propria*, and not far from *Hippo Diarrhytus*. It is probable thoſe auxiliary troops taken priſoners by *Gelon* in his engagement with the *Carthaginians*, which *Frontinus* calls *Nigerrimi*, were of this nation, the *Melanogætuli*, and even of the *Nigritæ* themſelves; for that they all were not only known to, but likewiſe had an intercourſe with, the *Carthaginians*, cannot well be doubted. As not only the cities above-mentioned, but a vaſt number of others, taken notice of by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Pauſanias*, *Appian*, &c have been omitted by *Cellarius*, it were to be wiſhed ſome learned man would give us a new edition of that author, which he might eaſily do, with very large additions (34).

(32) *Juſtin. l.* xxii. *c.* 8. *ſub init.* (33) *Conf. Juſt. ubi ſup. cum Diod. Sic. l.* xx. *c.* 2, 3.
(34) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. c.* 3. *S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l.* i. *c.* 11. *ex.* 18.

a free city, of great opulence, which he gave up to the ſoldiers to be plundered, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves; after which he returned to the camp, loaden with the immenſe booty he had got in this ſucceſsful expedition [i].

His general Eumachus *penetrates into the more remote parts of* Africa; *but is ſoon obliged to retire with precipitation.*

ELATED with ſuch a run of good fortune, *Eumachus* reſolved next to penetrate into the more remote parts of *Africa* on the ſide of *Numidia*; in order to which, having traverſed the countries invaded laſt, and continuing his march, he arrived at a city called *Miltine*, and, at the firſt attempt, forced his way into it. But notwithſtanding this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, the barbarians, immediately collecting their whole force, attacked him in the ſtreets with ſuch fury, that they obliged him to retire out of the town in great confuſion, after he had loſt a vaſt number of men. b From hence he advanced to a high mountain, above two hundred ſtadia over, full of wild cats, but deſtitute of all kinds of birds, on account of the rapaciouſneſs of theſe animals. Having paſſed this mountain with great difficulty, he came to three cities, called in the *Greek* language *Pithecuſæ*, from the apes (A), with which all the adjacent country abounded. One of theſe he took by aſſault, and levelled it with the ground; which ſo terrified the other two, that they immediately ſurrendered; but receiving intelligence, that all the neighbouring nations were marching in a formidable body to give him battle, he abandoned his conqueſts, and retreated with the utmoſt precipitation towards the ſea-coaſts [k].

The diſpoſitions of Archagathus *and the* Carthaginians.

HITHERTO *Archagathus* had been the favourite of fortune; but this laſt unhappy c expedition of *Eumachus* occaſioned a very conſiderable alteration in the face of affairs. The *Carthaginians*, being informed of that general's ill ſucceſs, took courage, and reſolved to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner to recover their former loſſes. In order to this, they divided their forces into three bodies: one of theſe they ſent to the ſea-coaſts, to keep the towns there in awe; another they diſpatched into the *Mediterranean* parts, to preſerve the inhabitants there in their allegiance; and the laſt body they ordered to the *Upper Africa*, to ſupport their confederates in that country. They had other motives likewiſe for this conduct: by ſending ſuch a number of mouths out of the city, they ſuppoſed they ſhould, in ſome meaſure, reſtore plenty to the citizens, who began to be in want of proviſions: the city was ſo d ſtrongly fortified, and lay ſo near the ſea, that it was in no danger of being taken by force; and therefore all ſuperfluous hands were rather troubleſome than uſeful: by ſending a powerful army to the relief of their allies, they believed they ſhould not only confirm them in their fidelity, and prevent their joining the enemy, but likewiſe encourage the neighbouring neutral princes to declare in their favour; and laſtly, they had reaſon to imagine, that, by ſuch a various diverſion, they ſhould draw the enemy's forces at a greater diſtance from the city, and conſequently give themſelves a little time to breath. They were not deceived in their views; for upon the departure of thirty thouſand ſoldiers out of the city, proviſions returned to their former price; their confederates abandoned the ſide through compulſion they had been e obliged to take; and the enemy were forced to draw their troops off from the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. *Archagathus*, being appriſed of the motions of the *Carthaginians*, divided his forces likewiſe into three bodies: one of which he ſent to obſerve the *Carthaginian* troops on the ſea-coaſts, with orders afterwards to advance into the *Upper Africa*; another, under the command of *Æſchrion*, one of his generals, he poſted at a proper diſtance in the heart of the country, to have an eye both upon the enemy

[i] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 3. JUSTIN. l. xxii. [k] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup.

(A) *Diodorus* tells us, that the inhabitants of this tract had cuſtoms far different from thoſe of the *Greeks*; that the apes here mentioned were very familiar with them, had admiſſion into their houſes, and received divine honours from them, in the ſame manner that dogs did from the *Egyptians*. He adds, that when theſe creatures were hungry, they took meat out of the cellars, butteries, &c. without any diſturbance; that parents named their children after them, as the *Greeks* did after the gods; that whoever killed one of them, was ſure to ſuffer death, as a notorious atheiſt; and that for this reaſon, when any perſon behaved himſelf amongſt them with unuſual haughtineſs and inſolence, it was a proverbial expreſſion, *Thou haſt drunk the blood of an ape.* This proverb *Eraſmus* applies to thoſe who die a violent death. Two things may be inferred from *Diodorus*'s relation: firſt, that the *African* gave theſe apes names, probably terms of honour and diſtinction, ſuch as the *Egyptians* and other nations conferred upon their gods; and ſecondly, that the *Greeks* applied the names of their gods to themſelves, particularly, as there is reaſon to believe, to their kings and heroes, as the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, &c. did. We ſhall treat more amply of this people, and their cuſtoms, in a proper place (35).

(35) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Eraſm. in adag. p.* 492.

enemy there and the barbarous nations; and with the laſt, which he led in perſon, a
he kept nearer *Carthage*, preſerving a communication with the other two, in order to
ſend them ſuccours, or recal them, as the exigency of affairs ſhould require. Things
being in this ſituation, *Archagathus* kept himſelf quiet in his camp, well pleaſed with
the diſpoſition he had made, and with great impatience expecting the event[l].

The Syracuſans *defeated by the* Carthaginians.

The *Carthaginian* troops ſent into the heart of the country were commanded by
Hanno, a general of great experience, who, being informed of *Æſchrion*'s approach
that way, laid an ambuſcade for him, into which being drawn, he was cut off him-
ſelf, with four thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. The reſt were either taken
priſoners, or fled to *Archagathus*, who lay encamped about five hundred ſtadia from
the place where this action happened. *Himilco*, who commanded the *Carthaginian* b
forces in the *Upper Africa*, having advice of *Eumachus*'s march, immediately put
himſelf in motion, and at laſt took poſt in a town near that general's camp, with a
reſolution to engage him. The *Greeks*, tho' much incommoded by the ſpoils taken
out of ſeveral cities, which they carried with them, drew up their army in battalia,
and prepared to attack the enemy. *Himilco* left part of his army in the town, with
orders to ſally out upon the *Greeks* as ſoon as they ſaw them purſue him. Advancing
then at the head of his other forces, he fell upon them with great fury: but ſoon after
his men betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, as tho' they were in the utmoſt con-
ſternation. *Eumachus*, puffed up with this ſuppoſed advantage, permitted his troops
to purſue them with ſo much eagerneſs, that they fell into diſorder; which being c
obſerved by the forces in the place, they ruſhed out in an inſtant upon them, and at
the ſame time the other body facing about, the *Greeks* were ſo diſheartened, that they
endeavoured to retire to their camp; but finding their retreat cut off by the body that
iſſued out of the town, they fled to a neighbouring eminence. Here being ſurrounded
by the *Carthaginians*, and in great want of water, they were almoſt totally deſtroyed;
for of eight thouſand foot only thirty, and of eight hundred horſe only forty, had the
good fortune to eſcape, the reſt either periſhing of thirſt, or being put to the ſword[m].

Agathocles, *upon receiving this bad news, leaves* Sicily.

Archagathus, receiving the melancholy advice of theſe two defeats, and being re-
joined by the remains of *Æſchrion*'s army, ordered the detachments, he had ſent out
to haraſs the enemy, to return with all ſpeed to the camp. This was a very neceſſary d
precaution; for after the defeat of *Eumachus*, *Himilco* moved with great expedition
towards *Archagathus*, blocking up the paſſes, and ſecuring the country, all along as
he advanced, from the enemy's incurſions; ſo that had not the above-mentioned
detachments retired in time, purſuant to the order received, they muſt undoubtedly
have been all cut to pieces. *Himilco* therefore cutting off all communication betwixt
the *Syracuſan* army and the fruitful country of *Africa* on one ſide, and *Atarbas*,
another *Carthaginian* commander, who lay encamped within forty ſtadia of *Tunis*,
preventing any ſupplies coming to them by ſea on the other, the *Greeks* in a ſhort
time were reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions. Many of their con-
federates, being ſtruck with terror at ſo diſmal a proſpect, deſerted them and went e
over to the enemy, who now hemmed them in on all ſides, and ſeemed ready to
ſwallow them up every moment. Whilſt things remained in this melancholy ſitua-
tion, *Agathocles* received an expreſs from *Archagathus*, acquainting him with the
great loſſes he had ſuſtained, and the extreme ſcarcity of proviſions the troops
laboured under. Upon which *Agathocles*, leaving the management of the war in
Sicily to *Leptines*, by a ſtratagem got eighteen ſail of *Etruſcan* ſhips, that came to his
aſſiſtance, out of the harbour of *Syracuſe*; and then engaging the *Carthaginian* ſqua-
dron lying off of that harbour, took five of their ſhips and made all the men therein
priſoners. By this action he became maſter of the port, and ſecured the paſſage into
it for the merchants of all nations; which ſoon produced a plenty of all things in f
Syracuſe, where famine before began to make great havock. Supplying himſelf
therefore with a ſufficient quantity of neceſſaries for the voyage he was going to
undertake, he immediately looſed from *Syracuſe*, and ſet ſail for *Africa*[n].

Upon his arrival here, he took a review of his forces (B), and found them to
conſiſt

[l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

(B) *Juſtin* relates, that *Agathocles*, upon his arrival in *Africa*, found a mutiny in the army, which aroſe from a want of payment of the arrears due to the troops. In order to bring them back to their duty, he made them a florid ſpeech, wherein he told them, *That they ought to ſeek their pay from the enemy; that as they would all of them have a hand in obtaining the victory, ſo they ſhould all partake*

a consist of six thousand *Greeks*, as many *Celtes*, *Samnites*, and *Etruscans* (C), besides ten thousand *Africans*, who had persevered in their fidelity to him, notwithstanding the disasters that had befallen him, and fifteen hundred horse. As he found his troops reduced almost to a state of desperation, and consequently prepared for any attempt, he thought this a proper juncture to offer the enemy battle; which he did accordingly. The *Carthaginians*, though they had the advantage of numbers, having collected all their forces into one body, and were encamped upon an eminence that was almost inaccessible, thought proper to decline the challenge, not being willing to put all to the issue of a battle with men who were grown desperate, but believing, that by lying still in their camp, where they had plenty of every thing, and protracting b the time, they could starve the enemy to a surrender, and consequently make themselves masters of their camp without striking a stroke [o].

And, upon his arrival in Africa, *offers the enemy battle.*

Agathocles, perceiving the enemy's design, and finding he could not long continue in that camp, resolved at all events to force them to a battle. Moving therefore at the head of his forces to their camp, he attacked it with such bravery, that he made a considerable impression upon it, and might possibly have carried it, had not his mercenaries basely deserted him, and taken to their heels almost upon the first onset. The *Carthaginians*, as much animated by this cowardice as the *Greeks* were dismayed, redoubling their efforts, soon forced the tyrant to retreat with great precipitation to his camp; whither they pursued him very closely, doing great execution in the pur- c suit. The *Carthaginians* spared the *Africans* in this action, in order to win the affections of that people; but bearing an implacable hatred to the *Greeks*, besides the prisoners they took, they put above three thousand of them to the sword [p].

He attacks the Carthaginian *camp, but is intirely defeated.*

The next night, the *Carthaginians* sacrificed all the prisoners of distinction, as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods for the victory they had given them. Whilst they were in the midst of this solemnity, the wind, suddenly rising, carried the flames to the sacred tabernacle, near the altar, which they intirely consumed, as well as the general's tent, and those of the principal officers adjoining to it. This occasioned a dreadful alarm throughout the whole camp, which was heightened by the great progress the fire ma..e; for the soldiers tents consisting of very combustible materials, d and the wind blowing in a most violent manner, the whole camp was almost intirely laid in ashes; and many of the soldiers, endeavouring to carry off their arms and the rich baggage of their officers, were burnt to death. Some of those who made their escape out of the flames, met with as unhappy a fate; for after *Agathocles* had received the last blow, the *Africans*, as in all reverses of fortune that people closed with the strongest side, deserted him, and were at that very instant coming over in a body to the *Carthaginians*. These the persons above-mentioned took to be the whole *Syracusan* army advancing in order of battle to attack their camp; which being soon noised through the *Carthaginian* army, a dreadful confusion ensued: some betook themselves to their heels; others fell down in heaps one upon another, imagine- e ing the enemy was at that instant coming upon them; and lastly, others engaged their comrades, mistaking them for the enemy. In fine, five thousand men lost their lives in this nocturnal encounter, and the rest thought proper to shelter themselves within the walls of *Carthage*; neither could the appearance of the day itself, for some time, dissipate those terrible apprehensions they were under [q].

A disaster happens in the Carthaginian *camp.*

At the same time an accident, something resembling this, happened in the *Greek* camp. The *African* deserters, observing the great confusion the *Carthaginians* were in, and not understanding the meaning of it, were so terrified, that they thought proper to return to the place from whence they came. The *Syracusans*, seeing a body

And another in that of Agathocles.

[o] Idem ibid. & Justin. l. xxii. c. 8. [p] Diod. Sic. ubi sup. [q] Idem ibid.

take of the spoil; that if they would but exert themselves vigorously for a short time, the war might be brought to a happy conclusion, and Carthage *reduced; in which case there would be riches enough to satisfy their most avaricious desires.* The same author adds, that by this speech having appeased all commotions, and calmed the minds of the soldiery, he soon after gave the enemy battle; but being defeated, the troops again grew very clamorous for their pay; which, together with the bad state of his affairs, obliged him, and his son *Archagathus*, by night to abandon *Africa* (36).

(C) From this passage, as well as from many more that might be produced, it appears, that the *Etruscans* at this time made some figure by sea; and that they, as well as many other nations of *Italy*, were afraid of the *Carthaginian* power, which induced them frequently to assist the *Greeks* of *Sicily* against that nation, both by sea and land.

(36) *Justin. l.* xxii. *c.* 8.

body of troops advancing towards them in good order, immediately concluded, that a the enemy were marching to attack them, and therefore in an inſtant cried out, *To arms.* The flames aſcending out of the *Carthaginian* camp into the air, and the lamentable outcries proceeding from thence, confirmed them in this opinion, and greatly contributed towards heightening their confuſion. The conſequence of this panic was much the ſame with that above-mentioned; for coming to blows one with another inſtead of the enemy, they ſcarce recovered their ſenſes upon the return of the light. This inteſtine fray was ſo bloody, that it coſt *Agathocles* four thouſand men [r].

Who ſoon after abandons Africa.

The laſt diſaſter, though of no advantage to the enemy, who had themſelves ſuffered more than the *Syracuſans* on the like occaſion, quite diſheartened *Agathocles*. b His mind being now filled with melancholy reflections, he conſidered himſelf as deſerted by the *Africans*; as not having a ſufficient number of troops to contend with the *Carthaginians*; and laſtly, as in danger of being aſſaſſinated by his own ſon, and therefore reſolved to quit *Africa*. As he knew the *Carthaginians* were maſters at ſea, and was perſuaded they would never make peace with him upon any terms conſiſtent with his ſafety, but take ample vengeance of him for the ravages he had made in their country, he concluded, it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape in a public manner, and therefore ſet his head to work to find out ſome method of ſlipping away privately. This he at laſt, though with great difficulty, effected. But as the manner of his eſcape, which more properly appertains to the hiſtory of *Sicily*, than that c of *Carthage*, has been already related by us at large, we muſt refer our readers for farther ſatisfaction on this head to a former part of this hiſtory [s].

Agathocles's *troops cut off his two ſons, and conclude a peace with the* Carthaginians

After *Agathocles*'s departure, his two ſons fell a ſacrifice to the wild fury (D) of the ſoldiers, who immediately put them to death; and chuſing leaders from amongſt themſelves, concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians* upon the following terms: Firſt, that the *Greeks* ſhould deliver up all the places they held in *Africa*, receiving from them three hundred talents. Secondly, that ſuch of them as were willing to ſerve under the *Carthaginians*, ſhould be kindly treated, and receive the uſual pay. And thirdly, that the reſt ſhould be tranſported to *Sicily*, and have the city of *Selinus* for their habitation. Theſe articles were agreed to, and punctually obſerved by the d *Carthaginians*; in conſequence of which, all thoſe troops that adhered to the treaty they had concluded, met with a moſt kind reception; but the cities, which, in hopes of relief from *Agathocles*, refuſed to ſubmit, were reduced by force of arms, their governors crucified, and the gariſons obliged to cultivate thoſe parts of the country they had before laid waſte and deſtroyed. This war, after various turns and revolutions, ended to the advantage of the *Carthaginians*, who, by the laſt treaty, ſettled their affairs upon the ancient footing, notwithſtanding the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, and notwithſtanding the *Syracuſan* army had brought them to the very brink of deſtruction [t].

Our hiſtorian here finely obſerves, that ſeveral moſt remarkable traces of a divine e Providence appeared through the whole courſe, and at the concluſion, of this war: *Agathocles* was routed in *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians*, and loſt the greateſt part of his army; his affairs there were almoſt deſperate, and his capital upon the point of ſurrendering to the enemy: notwithſtanding which, with a very inconſiderable body of men, he, at this perilous juncture, invaded *Africa*, defeated the *Carthaginians*, and reduced them almoſt to the ſame unhappy circumſtances his own troops laboured under at *Syracuſe*. In *Sicily* he loſt every thing, but his metropolis, which the enemy thought themſelves ſure of; but in *Africa* he poſſeſſed himſelf of all places, except *Carthage*, which, for ſome time, he cloſely beſieged. By which remarkable ſteps, Pro-

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Diod. Sic. & Justin. ubi ſup. Vide & Univerſ. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 86. [t] Diod. Sic. l. xx. c. 3. Just. l. xxii. c. 8. ſub fin. Univerſ. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 86, 87, 88, &c.

(D) *Juſtin* ſays, that the *Syracuſan* troops, being appriſed of *Agathocles*'s flight, were in as great a conſternation, as if they had all been actually ſurpriſed by the enemy; that *Archagathus*, being ſeparated from his father, and loſing his way by the darkneſs of the night, was taken by a *Sicilian* party, and carried to the camp; that he was put to death by *Arceſilaus*, one of his father's intimate friends; and that, before the fatal ſtroke was given, *Archagathus* aſked him, How he thought *Agathocles* would treat the children of *Arceſilaus*, who bereaved him of his children? To whom the other replied, that it was enough for him, that his children ſurvived thoſe of *Agathocles*. In other points, this author almoſt intirely agrees with *Diodorus Siculus* (37).

(37) *Juſtin. l.* xxviii. *c.* 8. *ſub fin.*

a Providence made it apparent, that it is equally eaſy for the Supreme Being in a moment to elevate the moſt afflicted ſtates, and depreſs the moſt powerful. After the tyrant, in the height of his proſperity, had murdered *Ophellas*, in violation of all the laws of friendſhip and hoſpitality, Providence diſtinguiſhed itſelf likewiſe in a moſt extraordinary manner: his affairs in *Africa* from that inſtant began to decline; the very month, and day of the month, on which he treacherouſly murdered *Ophellas*, and brought over his army, he loſt both his ſons and his army; and laſtly, as he had moſt perfidiouſly aſſaſſinated his friend, the very troops this friend commanded, afterwards cut off his two ſons. As *Diodorus* made theſe obſervations for the ſake of thoſe perſons, who are too apt to ſlight, or not duly attend to, ſuch uncommon
b inſtances of an over-ruling power, we thought we could not properly omit them [u].

NOTWITHSTANDING peace was concluded betwixt the *Syracuſan* troops in *Africa* and the *Carthaginians*, yet the treaty was not ratified by *Agathocles* till the year following. That prince, being reduced to great ſtraits by *Dinocrates*, who began to aſpire to the ſovereignty of *Syracuſe*, found it neceſſary to court the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*. This obliged him to purchaſe a peace with them at a very dear rate; for he not only ratified the former treaty, but conſented to have an additional article inſerted in it much to the advantage of the *Carthaginians*, *viz.* that all the cities they formerly poſſeſſed in *Sicily* ſhould be reſtored to them; which being immediately executed, the *Carthaginians* left him at liberty to purſue his deſigns in
c *Sicily*; and, to facilitate the accompliſhment of them, ſent him three hundred, or, as *Timæus Siculus* will have it, an hundred and fifty, talents of gold, beſides two hundred thouſand *medimni*, or five hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat [w].

Which is ratified by Agathocles.

Agathocles, having defeated *Dinocrates*, and re-eſtabliſhed his affairs at *Syracuſe*, paſſed over into *Italy*, where he ſubdued the *Brutii*, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From hence he paſſed over to the *Lipari* iſlands, in order to raiſe contributions; which he did to the value of an hundred talents of gold, plundered the ſacred treaſure, ſtripped the temples, and then ſet ſail for *Syracuſe*, with eleven ſhips laden with the gold and ſpoils of the temples. *Diodorus* ſeems to intimate, that *Sicily*, for a conſiderable time after this, enjoyed the ſweets of peace, but
d that at laſt the implacable hatred *Agathocles* bore the *Carthaginians* prevailed upon him to make preparations for a new war with that nation. As the *Carthaginians*, by the laſt war, had made themſelves maſters of the ſea, they were abundantly ſupplied with all the neceſſaries and elegancies of life, and eaſily ſecured their country from all foreign invaſions. *Agathocles* therefore fitted out a ſquadron of two hundred galleys, in order firſt to prevent the exportation of corn and other proviſions from *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to *Africa*, and afterwards to tranſport a large body of forces into that country, to attempt a ſecond time the conqueſt of it. But this, as well as the other projects he had formed, fell to the ground by his death, an account of which we have already given in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe* [x].

Agathocles *meditates another war with* Carthage.

And dies.

c AFTER the death of *Agathocles*, *Mænon*, who had poiſoned him, uſurped the ſupreme authority at *Syracuſe*. This he did by murdering *Archagathus*, and bringing over the army to his intereſt. The *Syracuſans*, however, reſolved to have a ſtruggle for their liberty, and therefore raiſed another army, giving the command of it to *Icetas*, with orders to attack *Mænon*. In the mean time, *Mænon*, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to engage *Icetas*, induſtriouſly avoided fighting, and applied to the *Carthaginians* for aſſiſtance. That people, always intent upon fomenting diviſions in *Sicily*, in order to inlarge their own acquiſitions there, readily granted his requeſt; and joining him with a ſtrong body of troops, obliged the *Syracuſans* to conclude a peace with them upon their own terms, to recal the exiles, and, as a ſecurity for
f their punctual obſervation of the treaty, to deliver them four hundred hoſtages. Soon after, *Icetas* ſeized upon the government at *Syracuſe*, and ruled there with an abſolute ſway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himſelf with that of prætor. In the mean time, the rebels and *Syracuſan* exiles, in conjunction with the *Agrigentines*, who, in the ninth year of his command, revolted from him, advanced, under the conduct of *Phintias*, to *Hybla*, where they were attacked and defeated by *Icetas*. That general, greatly puffed up with this victory, engaged the *Carthaginian* army upon the banks of the river *Teria*, but was overthrown with incredible

The Syracuſans, *being much agitated by civil diſſenſions, and invaded by the* Carthaginians, *call* Pyrrhus, *king of* Epirus, *to their aſſiſtance.*

[u] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. [w] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. c. 4. [x] Univ. hiſt. ubi. ſup. DIOD. SIC. l. xxi. in excerptis Rhodomani. ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. ii. OROS. l. vii. c. 6.

incredible ſlaughter, and forced to fly to *Syracuſe*. In *Icetas*'s abſence, one *Thynion* a had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign power there; but being oppoſed by *Soſiſtratus*, who had the ſame aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city. *Thynion* maintained himſelf in the iſland with a body of ten thouſand men, and his rival held the other quarters of the city with the like number of forces; ſo that for ſome time *Syracuſe* was nothing but a ſcene of blood and ſlaughter. The *Carthaginians*, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, reduced moſt of the cities ſubject to *Syracuſe*, and inveſted the capital itſelf with a fleet of an hundred ſail, and an army of fifty thouſand men. *Thynion* and *Soſiſtratus*, finding the *Carthaginians* to puſh on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that, in all probability, they would ſoon make themſelves maſters of the city, unleſs ſpeedily relieved, united their forces againſt the common b enemy, and diſpatched meſſengers to *Pyrrhus*, then at *Tarentum*, intreating him to come over to *Sicily*, and deliver the *Greeks* there from the barbarians, who threatened them with utter deſtruction. That prince received theſe meſſengers very favourably, and, ſending *Cyneas* (E) before-hand to conclude a treaty with *Thynion* and *Soſiſtratus*, after having left a ſtrong gariſon in *Tarentum*, under the conduct of *Milo*, embarqued with his army for *Sicily*. He took with him a conſiderable number of elephants, and a vaſt quantity of proviſions, and the tenth day after he had looſed from *Tarentum*, arrived at *Locri*; from whence ſteering his courſe for *Sicily*, he in a few days landed at *Taurominium*, and, upon his arrival, was joined by *Tyndarion*, tyrant of that city. With this reinforcement he advanced to *Catana*, and from thence marched c to *Syracuſe* at the head of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, all his own troops, beſides the *Sicilian* auxiliaries that joined him, attended by a fleet of two hundred ſail. The *Carthaginians*, then carrying on the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, having detached thirty of their beſt veſſels to bring in a freſh ſupply of proviſions, did not think themſelves ſtrong enough to venture an engagement with *Pyrrhus*'s fleet, and therefore judged it not proper to wait his approach; ſo that he entered *Syracuſe* without oppoſition. Soon after he had poſſeſſed himſelf of that important place, embaſſadors arrived from the *Leontini*, who had joined with *Thynion* and *Soſiſtratus* in preſſing the king of *Epirus* to come and take upon him the defence of their reſpective ſtates, offering to deliver up their city into his hands, and to join his d forces with a body of four thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. Many other cities followed the example of *Syracuſe* and *Leontium*. In ſhort, *Pyrrhus*, partly by the terror of his name, and partly by his inſinuating and affable behaviour, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the *Sicilians* in general, that he doubted not ſoon having them all intirely at his devotion, and conſequently flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſpeedily diveſting the *Carthaginians* of all their acquiſitions in *Sicily*[y].

The Carthaginians *offer the* Romans *aſſiſtance, when attacked by* Pyrrhus, *in conſequence of a treaty juſt concluded between them; which the* Romans *decline accepting of. They afterwards offer their mediation for accommodating all differences between the two powers.*

We muſt not omit obſerving, that before *Pyrrhus* landed in *Italy*, the *Romans* were not unacquainted with the deſigns of that ambitious prince. In order therefore to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt any attempts he might make, or at leaſt to deter him from making any ſuch attempts, they renewed their treaties with the *Carthaginians*, e who, on their ſide, likewiſe were under ſome apprehenſions of his invading *Sicily*. To the articles of the preceding treaties one was added, which contained an engagement of mutual aſſiſtance, in caſe either of the contracting powers ſhould be attacked by *Pyrrhus*. As it was particularly ſpecified therein, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould ſend a ſufficient naval force to the relief of the *Romans*, upon the firſt notice of a rupture with the king of *Epirus*, as ſoon as they heard he had made a deſcent in *Italy*, they ordered for that purpoſe a fleet (F) of an hundred and twenty ſail, under the command

y Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. & l. xxii. apud Laur. Rhodoman. Plut. in Pyrrh. Pausan. l. i. Justin. l. xviii. Dionys. Halicar. ant. Rom. l. xii. in excerptis Valeſii.

(E) *Cyneas* was a famous orator, and a hearer of *Demoſthenes*. According to *Plutarch*, *Pyrrhus* looked upon himſelf as more obliged to *Cyneas*'s eloquence for many of his conqueſts, than to the force of his arms. The author laſt mentioned calls him *Cineas*; but we chuſe rather to follow *Juſtin*, who calls him *Cyneas*. *Pauſanias* countenances us herein; for he takes notice of one *Philabrus*, an *Eretrian* traitor, the ſon of *Cyneas*. This, together with the word κύνεη, an *helmet*, from whence the proper name itſelf is apparently derived, ſeems to put the point beyond diſpute. *Tanaquil Faber* himſelf was of our opinion (37).

(F) *Valerius Maximus*, in the place cited, makes this ſquadron to have conſiſted of an hundred and thirty ſail. Poſſibly the particular number of ſhips, with which the *Carthaginians* were to aſſiſt the *Romans*, might be ſpecified in a ſubſequent treaty, ſince the epitomizer of *Livy* mentions a fourth treaty concluded between the two republics after the battle of *Aſculum* (38).

(37) *Plut. in Pyrrh. c.* 28. *Liv. l.* xxxiv. *Pauſan. Achaic. p.* 415. *Bern. & Tan. Fab. in Juſt. l.* xviii *c.* 2. (38) *Val. Max. in loc. citat. Liv. epit. l.* xiii.

a command of *Mago*. That officer, in an audience he had of the ſenate, upon his arrival at *Rome*, told the conſcript fathers, that his principals had heard with great concern of the hoſtilities *Pyrrhus* committed in *Italy*; adding, that he was ſent by his republic to offer them a foreign force, to enable them to repel this foreign invader. The ſenate, after receiving him with proper marks of diſtinction, returned thanks for this obliging offer of the *Carthaginians*, but at the ſame time thought proper to decline accepting it. *Diodorus* tells us, that, notwithſtanding this, the *Carthaginian* fleet, having a body of land-forces on board, ſailed to *Rhegium*; which place they battered for ſome time with incredible fury, but were at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege. They deſtroyed, according to this author, a vaſt quantity of timber, and other
b materials for ſhipping, in that port, and then put to ſea with their ſquadron, to obſerve the motions of *Pyrrhus*. *Mago*, ſome days after his departure from *Rome*, repaired to *Pyrrhus*'s camp, under pretence of offering the mediation of *Carthage* for accommodating all differences betwixt him and the *Romans*, but in reality to ſound him, and diſcover, if poſſible, his deſigns with regard to *Sicily*, which common fame reported he was going to invade. The *Carthaginians* at that time were afraid, leſt either *Pyrrhus*, or the *Romans*, ſhould concern themſelves with the affairs of that iſland, and tranſport forces thither for the conqueſt of it. And indeed this ſeems to have been the real motive for their ſending a fleet to aſſiſt the *Romans*, rather than a deſire to be punctual in the obſervance of their engagements, which they were never
c famous for, this being inconſiſtent with that ſubtle and intriguing genius, which diſcovered itſelf in every remarkable point of conduct of the *African* republic [z].

As ſoon as *Pyrrhus* had ſettled his affairs at *Syracuſe*, *Leontium*, and the other places that had ſubmitted to him, he began to move with his army towards *Agrigentum*, which was then poſſeſſed by a *Carthaginian* gariſon, under the command of *Phintias*. Upon his march he received intelligence, that the inhabitants had expelled the *Carthaginians*, and were come to a reſolution to admit him into their city, and join him with a good body of troops. Accordingly, upon his arrival on their frontiers, he was met by *Soſiſtratus*, at the head of eight thouſand *Agrigentine* foot, and
d eight hundred horſe, nothing at all inferior in military ſkill and bravery to the *Epirots* themſelves. *Soſiſtratus* likewiſe prevailed upon him to take thirty towns of the neighbouring country under his protection. Being abundantly ſupplied with darts, arrows, all other kinds of arms, and engines of battery, from *Syracuſe*, he advanced into the *Carthaginian* territories, and reduced *Heraclea*, which was for ſome time defended by a party of *Carthaginians*. After this, the *Azones*, *Selinuntines*, *Halicyæans*, *Egeſtines*, and others, made their ſubmiſſion to him; in fine, the *Carthaginians* found, that this conqueror ſoon deprived them of all their allies, made himſelf maſter of many of their towns without the leaſt oppoſition, and was determined to make the *Libyan* ſea, on the ſide of *Greece*, the boundary of their dominions [a].

Pyrrhus in the margin: *Pyrrhus's great progreſs in Sicily.*

Pyrrhus, in conformity to the plan he had laid down, advanced to *Eryx*, a fortreſs
e defended by a numerous *Carthaginian* gariſon, and of ſuch natural ſtrength, that it was almoſt inacceſſible. This place, with ſome difficulty, he inveſted, and, after bringing his battering rams to the walls, formed the ſiege of it. The gariſon for ſome time made a vigorous defence; but at laſt *Pyrrhus*, making a general aſſault, entered the breach his rams had opened, and bore down all before him. In order to render his name famous to all poſterity, after the example of *Hercules*, he was the firſt who mounted the walls, after having killed many of the *Africans*, with his own hand. However, he met with ſuch a reſiſtance, that his ſucceſs was dubious, till a freſh reinforcement of his troops ſupported him in the attack, and then he eaſily carried the town. *Panormus*, *Erƈta*, and moſt other places of note, were either
f taken by ſtorm, or opened their gates to the victor upon the firſt ſummons; ſo that now the *Carthaginians* had no town left in *Sicily* but *Lilybæum*, to which *Pyrrhus* laid ſiege with all his forces [b].

Takes Eryx by ſtorm, and lays ſiege to Lilybæum.

Lilybæum was a maritime city of great ſtrength, eſteemed by the *Carthaginians* as one of the keys of *Sicily*. They had therefore raiſed many outworks for its defence, drawn a trench to prevent any approaches on the land-ſide, and fortified it in the beſt manner poſſible. The *Carthaginians*, being maſters of the ſea, landed a ſtrong body of troops here, juſt as *Pyrrhus* was going to form the ſiege of the place; but being

But is obliged to raiſe it.

[z] Justin. ubi ſup. c. 2. Polyb. l. iii. c. 25. Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchelii. Valer. Max. l. ii. vii. [a] Diod. Sic. Plut. Dion. Hal. Justin. ubi ſup. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 89, 90, &c. [b] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

being greatly alarmed at the rapidity of his conquests, they sent embassadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantagious terms, offering him either a large sum of money, or to abandon all their conquests in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*. But he, puffed up with his great success, and spirited up by the *Sicilians*, who were sensible, that they could enjoy no tranquillity, as long as the *Carthaginians* had any footing in the island, answered them, that the only means to obtain what they desired, was to leave *Sicily* intirely to the *Greeks*. Upon this the *Carthaginians* broke off the negotiation, and *Pyrrhus* repeated his assaults with the utmost fury; but the town being well furnished with all sorts of provisions and military stores, situated upon a rock, and defended by a numerous garison, the *Carthaginians* repulsed him in every attack, and, at the end of two months, obliged him shamefully to raise the siege [c]. a b

Notwithstanding which, he entertained thoughts of invading Africa, *but is obliged to drop that design.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this repulse, *Pyrrhus* began to entertain thoughts of attacking the *Carthaginians* in the very heart of their dominions, and therefore made all the necessary preparations to transfer the war into *Africa*. As he wanted seamen for this expedition, he obliged the maritime cities in his interest to furnish him with sailors and mariners, and even forced into the service persons of rank, who had any experience in naval affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard to their complaints. This, with some other arbitrary proceedings, so disgusted the *Sicilians*, that they began to look upon him as a tyrant, and the cities in general conceived such an aversion to him, that some of them entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines*, his avowed enemies. In consequence of this, there was such a general desertion amongst the *Sicilian* troops in his service, most of whom went over to the *Carthaginians*, that he soon found himself attended only by his *Epirot* phalanx; which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of any farther military operations, either in *Sicily* or *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*, being informed of this sudden revolution, sent a strong reinforcement to their army in *Sicily*, in order to recover their ancient conquests there, whilst a mighty fleet cruised round the island to prevent *Pyrrhus* from making his escape [d] (G). c

He returns to Italy.

THAT prince therefore, meditating a return to *Italy*, embarqued with the remains of his troops on the vessels he brought to *Sicily*, being attended by a large additional number of *Sicilian* transports, with a considerable treasure on board, according to *Appian*. With his fleet he set sail for *Rhegium*, but was met at sea by the *Carthaginian* squadron, and obliged to venture an engagement; wherein being defeated, he had seventy of his ships sunk, and most of the rest so shattered, that they were rendered intirely unfit for service; so that he arrived at *Locri*, with only ten vessels, and from thence with great difficulty marched to *Tarentum*. The *Carthaginians* after this reduced the *Sicilian* towns before in their possession with as much celerity as *Pyrrhus* had conquered them, and settled their affairs in *Sicily* upon a firmer footing than ever. It is said, that *Pyrrhus*, when he was on the point of setting sail, cried out to his men, at the sight of that wealthy country he was going to abandon, *What a fine field of battle do we leave to the* Carthaginians *and* Romans! a prediction which was soon afterwards verified. What happened to this prince after his arrival in *Italy*, it is unnecessary to touch upon here, since an ample relation of this has been already given in other parts of our history [e]. d e

Hiero *declared general of the* Syracusan *army, and prætor of* Syracuse.

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Carthaginians* so easily dislodged the *Epirots* from their part of *Sicily*, yet they had two powerful enemies still to contend with in that island, the *Syracusans* and the *Mamertines*. After *Pyrrhus*'s departure, the former, being destitute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. Whilst their army lay encamped near *Mergana*, a quarrel arose betwixt the soldiers and the citizens, which had like to have been attended with fatal effects. Upon this, the soldiers elected *Artemidorus* and *Hiero* for their leaders, and vested them with an almost absolute authority. *Hiero*, tho' then very young, had all the good qualities to be wished for in any prince; and having, f

[c] Idem ibid. & PLUT. in Pyrrh. [d] Idem ibid. & DION. HAL. apud Valef. Vide & LIV. epit. l. xiii. [e] APPIAN. Samnit. in excerptis Valesii. PLUT. in Pyrrh. JUSTIN. l. xxiii. c. 3. Univer. hist. vol. iii. p. 90, 91, 816, 817, &c. Vide & FLOR. l. i. c. 18. & in eum. SALMAS. atq; FRIENSHEM. EUTROP. Rom. hist. brev. l. ii. LUCIUM AMPELIUM in lib. mem. c. 28. aliosq; plur.

(G) *Justin* will have it, that *Pyrrhus* defeated the *Carthaginians* in several pitched battles whilst in *Sicily*, and gave them a notable overthrow just before his departure out of the island; but as *Diodorus* seems to clash with this account, no great stress is to be laid upon it (39).

(39) *Justin. l.* xxiii. *c.* 3.

a having, by the address and management of his friends, got possession of the city, soon suppressed the contrary faction. Far from being elated with his good fortune, he held the reins of government in so gentle and slack a manner, that he gained the hearts of all men; insomuch, that the *Syracusans*, though highly dissatisfied with the soldiery for assuming the right of chusing their own generals, received him as prætor, without the least contest; nay, according to *Justin*, they unanimously confirmed him in the command the army had conferred upon him, investing him with all the civil and military power during the inter-regnum. He is represented by the ancient historians as a consummate hero and most amiable prince; as one who, by the arts of insinuation and address, without shedding of blood or hurting one single citizen,
b calmed the minds of the people of *Syracuse*, and reconciled the different factions, which then miserably distracted that unhappy state. He made his first campaign under *Pyrrhus*, and so improved in the art of war by the direction of that great general, that he was looked upon as the best commander in his army. The *Syracusan* forces under his command, destined to act against the *Carthaginians*, after the departure of *Pyrrhus*, being most excellently disciplined, obtained several considerable advantages over them, and even in a short time grew formidable to them [f].

A brief account of the Mamertines.

As for the *Mamertines* (H), the other enemy the *Carthaginians* had to deal with in *Sicily*, they were originally a body of *Campanian* mercenaries, that *Agathocles* took into his service. Being tempted with the beauty and opulence of *Messana*, they
c formed a design to make themselves masters of it by surprize, which took effect in the following manner: These troops, being denied by the *Syracusans* the right of giving their votes at the election of magistrates, immediately had recourse to arms; which threw the city into great confusion; but some persons of distinction interposing, it was at last agreed, that the *Campanians* should evacuate *Sicily* within a limited time, and carry off all their effects along with them. Upon the expiration of this term they retired to *Messana*, in order to embarque for their native country. Here they met with a most friendly and kind reception from the citizens; in return for which favour, they in the night either expelled or assassinated all the men, took the women to their own use, and seized upon the city. After they had divided the
d lands and riches of the unhappy *Messanians* amongst themselves, they called the city *Mamertina*, and assumed to themselves the name of *Mamertini*, that is, martial or warlike people, from *Mamers*, a word, which, in their language, being a dialect of the *Oscan*, signified *Mars*, the (I) god of war. As they were a bold and resolute nation, they in a short time reduced many of the neighbouring states, and extended their conquests to the middle of the island. By the assistance of the *Roman* garison at *Rhegium*, which, under the command of one *Decius* a *Campanian*, had seized upon that

[f] Polyb. l. i. Justin. ubi sup. c. 4.

(H) *Alsius* gives us the following short history of the *Mamertines*: The whole country of the *Samnites* having been visited with a terrible pestilence, *Sthenius Mettius*, prince of that people, assembled all his subjects, and told them, that *Apollo* in a dream had assured him, that they should be delivered from the plague, provided they would make a vow to offer up to him all the produce of the next spring; which they immediately complying with, the plague ceased. Some time after it broke out again amongst them, and made great havock; upon which consulting *Apollo*, they were informed by him, that the return of the pestilence was owing to the non-observance of their vow, since they had not sacrificed to him the children born in the spring above-mentioned; but that if they would banish all of them that were then living, and grown up, they should be delivered a second time from that dreadful evil. They immediately followed this advice of the god; and the men thus banished retiring to *Sicily*, came into that part of the island called *Taurominitana*, or *Regio Taurominitana*. The *Messanians*, being at that time engaged in a bloody war, desired their assistance; which having obtained, they overcame all their enemies, and, as a grateful acknowledgment for the service done them, made them free of their city. As the republic of *Messana* was now grown more powerful by the coalition of two different nations, the *Messanians* proposed assuming a new name, and, in order to this, cast the names of twelve of the gods into an urn, by way of lots, resolving to take that which came out first. This happened to be *Mamers*; so that they were from that time called *Mamertines* (40).

(I) We are informed by *Festus*, that, in the *Oscan* tongue, *Mamers* signified *Mars*, the god of war. *Scaliger* observes, that *Mamers*, *Mavors*, and *Mars*, amongst that people, denoted *valiant*. It has likewise been supposed, that the word *Mars* comes from *amarus*, or the *Hebrew* מָרָר *amaritudo*; and this notion is countenanced by the epithets πικρὸς, δεινὸς, ἄγριος, βλοσυρὸς, δήϊος, φέτλιος, λυγρὸς, ἀμείλιχος, *durus*, *torvus*, *rigidus*, &c. which are frequently applied to him. *Scaliger*, in his notes upon *Varro*, thinks, that *Mars*, by reduplication, becomes *Mamers* (41).

(40) *Alsius in lib. de prim. bel. Pun. apud Sext. Pomp. Fest. in voce* Mamertini. *Strab. l.* vi. *Vide & Jos. Scalig. castigat. in Sext. Pomp. Fest. p.* 82. *edit. Par.* 1593. (41) *Sext. Pomp. Fest. in voce* Mamers. *Jos. Scalig. de caus. ling. Lat. c.* 69. *Idem in not. ad Var. de ling. Lat. Vide & Isidor. Hispalens. orig. l.* viii.

that city in the ſame infamous manner that the *Mamertines* had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Meſſana*, they ſoon became very powerful, and made frequent incurſions both into the *Syracuſan* and *Carthaginian* territories, plundering the country, and laying moſt of the towns and villages under contribution. The *Romans*, thinking their honour concerned in making an example of *Decius* and his accomplices, for the flagrant violation of public faith they had been guilty of, attacked the city of *Rhegium*, took it by ſtorm, and put to the ſword all the gariſon, except three hundred men, whom they carried to *Rome*; and after having ſcourged them with rods, in conformity to the *Roman* cuſtom, beheaded them publicly in the forum. The *Mamertines*, being thus deprived of their main ſupport, could not long defend themſelves againſt the attacks of *Hiero*, who, on account of their repeated depredations, and for ſeveral other weighty reaſons, declared war againſt them. As that prince's troops were always ready to enter upon action, he immediately advanced to the frontiers, and cutting off all communication betwixt the *Mamertines* and the neighbouring ſtates, encamped on (K) the river *Longanus*, where he put himſelf in a poſture to receive the enemy, in caſe they ſhould think proper to venture an engagement with him[g].

They are attacked and defeated by Hiero, *who, after this action, is proclaimed king of* Syracuſe.

The *Mamertines*, finding all the avenues leading to their capital city guarded by the enemy's detachments, and themſelves reduced to great ſtreights by *Hiero*'s poſſeſſing himſelf of ſo commodious a camp, were obliged to run the riſque of a battle; and therefore drawing their forces, which conſiſted of eight thouſand foot and ſome horſe, out of *Meſſana*, under the command of *Cios*, they encamped on the oppoſite bank, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to paſs the river. In the mean time, *Hiero* ſent a choice detachment, conſiſting of two hundred *Meſſanians* and four hundred picked ſoldiers of his own troops, with orders to take poſt on the hill *Thorax*, and then wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear, whilſt he himſelf, with the groſs of his army, charged them in front. The action for ſome time was ſharp and bloody, both ſides behaving with undaunted reſolution; but at laſt *Hiero* having gained an eminence near the river, which, being a very advantagious poſt, enabled him terribly to gall the enemy, the detachment poſted upon the hill falling with great fury upon their rear, and they having with much difficulty already ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the *Syracuſan* army, the *Mamertines* immediately gave ground, and ſoon after betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. The *Syracuſans* purſued them ſo cloſely, that they put every man of them to the ſword, except *Cios* (L), who having received many wounds in the engagement, fainted through loſs of blood, and being taken priſoner, was brought half-dead into *Hiero*'s camp. *Hiero*, being a prince of ſingular humanity, ordered all poſſible care to be taken of that general, and his wounds to be dreſſed by the moſt ſkilful ſurgeons in his army; but *Cios*, ſoon after ſeeing his ſon's horſe brought into the camp by a party of *Syracuſans*, immediately concluded he was killed, which threw him into ſuch an exceſs of grief, that he refuſed all comfort, tore in pieces the ligatures of his wounds, and choſe rather to fall by his own hand, than ſurvive a perſon ſo dear to him. This defeat, which *Hiero* gave the *Mamertines* in the plains of *Mylæ*, was the greateſt blow that people ever received; neither did they ever afterwards find it poſſible to re-eſtabliſh their broken affairs. The troops were ſo highly pleaſed with *Hiero*'s conduct in this battle, that they proclaimed him king of *Syracuſe* upon his arrival at that metropolis[h].

The

[g] Polyb. l. i. Appian. Samnit. & Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerptis Valeſii. [h] Diod. Sic. l. xxii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchel. Polyb. ubi ſup.

(K) *Diodorus Siculus* calls this river *Loitanus*; but we apprehend this to be a corruption of *Longanus*, the name given it by *Polybius*. We own, the generality of MSS. of the former author have ΛΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ; but this cannot ſtand in competition with the great authority of *Polybius*. Beſides, upon viewing the words ΛΟΙΤΑΝΟΣ and ΛΟΓΓΑΝΟΣ together, we ſhall find, that nothing can be conceived more eaſy than ſuch a corruption; for ΓΓ ΙΤ in the middle of theſe words, the letters on which the true reading depends, reſemble one another ſo nearly, that it is the eaſieſt thing in nature to miſtake the former for the latter. *Cellarius*, by taking notice only of *Polybius*'s name, ſeems to have been intirely of our opinion (42).

(L) *Diodorus* tells us, that *Cios* aſſembled his ſoothſayers, and conſulted them, before he joined battle with *Hiero*. Upon viewing the ſacrifices narrowly, they unanimouſly declared, that he ſhould lodge that night in the enemy's camp. This prediction of the entrails he took as an infallible token of victory, and therefore engaged the *Syracuſan* army with great alacrity and courage, but had the misfortune to meet with the fate here mentioned. However, being brought a priſoner into *Hiero*'s camp, the prediction was undoubtedly looked upon as fulfilled, though not in the ſenſe in which he underſtood it. By ſuch ambiguous anſwers both the oracles and haruſpices frequently impoſed upon thoſe who conſulted them (43).

(42) *Polyb. l.* i. *Vide & Cellar. in Sicil.* (43) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.*

a THE *Carthaginians*, being appriſed of the great victory *Hiero* had gained over the *Mamertines*, began to be uneaſy at the progreſs of that prince's arms; but their uneaſineſs was much heightened, upon receiving intelligence, that the *Mamertines* had made ſome overtures to him for an accommodation, the principal of which was, that they ſhould put the city of *Meſſana* into his hands, provided he would engage to maintain the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their ancient rights and privileges, and protect them againſt any foreign invaſion. The *Carthaginians* endeavoured to traverſe this negotiation; but finding themſelves unable to prevent its taking effect, they formed a ſcheme to keep *Meſſana* out of the hands of the *Syracuſans*. In order to this, *Hannibal*, who at that time commanded the *Carthaginian* forces in *Sicily*, b amuſed *Hiero*, till ſome troops, which he had kept concealed in the *Lipari* iſlands, drew near *Meſſana*. The cunning *African* came to *Hiero*, advancing to take poſſeſſion of the place, as it were to congratulate him on his late victory, but in reality with an intention to retard the march of his troops to *Meſſana*. In the mean time, an officer being ſent, at the head of a detachment, into the town, aſſured the *Mamertines*, that he came as a friend, and that his only deſign was to aſſiſt them againſt the *Syracuſans*, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemy's hands. The *Mamertines*, being greatly weakened by the late overthrow, readily admitted the *Carthaginian* detachment, and by that means preſerved themſelves ſtill independent both of the *Syracuſans* and *Carthaginians*. Theſe two laſt powers, finding they c had purſued wrong meaſures, afterwards entered into an alliance, and aſſembled their joint forces to form the ſiege of *Meſſana*. This obliged the *Mamertines* to call in the *Romans* to their aid; which gave riſe to the firſt *Punic* war, a particular account of which will be found in the following ſection [i].

And is overreached by the Carthaginians.

[i] DIOD. SIC. & POLYB. ibid.

SECT. VI.

The hiſtory of the Carthaginians, *from the firſt to the ſecond* Punic *war.*

d THOUGH the *Carthaginians* had entered into an alliance with the *Romans* a little before *Pyrrhus* landed in *Italy*, and offered them powerful ſuccours againſt that prince, yet, even at this time, there reigned a mutual jealouſy and diffidence between the two ſtates. As their power was very extenſive, their political views and intereſts diametrically oppoſite, and both of them ſeemed acted by the ſame ſpirit of ambition, it was morally impoſſible but that, ſooner or later, a bloody quarrel muſt commence betwixt them. The *Romans*, proving ſuperior to *Pyrrhus*, as has been related, obliged him to abandon his *Italian* allies, whom, ſoon after his departure, they eaſily reduced [a]. The *Samnites* received ſo terrible an overthrow from the conſuls *L. Papirius Curſor* and *Sp. Corvilius*, ſurnamed *Maximus*, that, from this time, e they ceaſed to be a nation [b]. The *Brutians* and *Lucanians* were next obliged to ſubmit; ſo that only *Tarentum* remained to be chaſtiſed for incurring the diſpleaſure of the *Romans*. As that city had not only embroiled the *Romans* with their neighbours, but likewiſe deſtroyed one of their fleets, inſulted their embaſſadors, invited *Pyrrhus* over into *Italy*, and greatly exerted itſelf in aſſiſting him to execute the project he had formed againſt the *Roman* republic, they were reſolved to make it feel the effects of their reſentment; and therefore the conſuls, immediately after they had conquered the *Brutians* and *Lucanians*, cauſed it to be inveſted [c]. *Milo* at this time commanded the *Epirot* gariſon in the citadel, and the *Tarentines* had poſſeſſion of the town. Theſe two parf ties, being then at variance, inſtead of taking proper meaſures for the defence of the place, ſeemed to be under-hand contriving how they might deliver it up to a foreign power [d]. As the *Carthaginians* lay at that time with a ſtrong ſquadron of galleys, and a body of land-forces on board, before the town, and affected to treat only the *Epirots* as enemies, it was ſuſpected, that the *Tarentines* had implored their aſſiſtance; and on the other hand *Milo* entered into a negotiation with the *Romans*, in order to put both the town

The Carthaginians *advance with a powerful fleet to* Tarentum, *when beſieged by the* Romans; *which gives great umbrage to that nation.*

[a] FLOR. l. i. c. 18. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 647. POLYB. l. i. [b] FLOR. ubi ſup. ZONAR. in annal. l. xiii. c. 6. p. 377, 378, 379. [c] Idem ibid. & LIV. epit. l. xii. xiv. xv. &c OROS. l. iv. ZONAR, ubi ſup. [d] LIV. epit. & OROS. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 648. ZONAR. ubi ſup.

town and citadel into their hands; which at last he did, and that even by the consent of the *Tarentines* themselves [e]. The *Carthaginians*, being disappointed of their aim, retired to their own coasts; but the *Romans* were not a little chagrined at this step, since they thereby discovered, not only that the *Carthaginians* intended to rob their republic of a city, which, by right of conquest, belonged to it, but likewise that they meditated the conquest even of *Italy* itself. Besides, could the design have been carried into execution, it would have been a notorious infraction of the treaty lately concluded between the two states. This therefore convinced the *Romans*, that the *Carthaginians* paid little regard to the faith of treaties, and consequently that they could not be too much upon their guard against the attempts of so perfidious, as well as enterprising a nation. That the *Romans* drew such a conclusion from the conduct b of the *Carthaginians* at this juncture, seems not only probable from the nature of the thing itself, but likewise from an observation of *Cato* [f] and *Gellius*; and therefore we may look upon it as a remote or pretended cause at least of the first *Punic* war; and indeed this is allowed by *Zonaras*, as well as *Lucius Ampelius*, one of their own later historians [g].

The Carthaginians *jealous of the growing power of the* Romans.

The *Romans*, soon after the reduction of *Tarentum*, made themselves masters of all the countries in *Italy*, from the remotest part of *Etruria* to the *Ionian* sea, and from the *Tyrrhenian* sea to the *Adriatic*. This rapid progress of their arms gave a fresh alarm to the *Carthaginians*, who now considered, that the *Romans* had a very short passage over to *Sicily*, and that the continent of *Italy* could not limit their ambition. c They therefore began to look upon all their possessions in that island as very precarious, unless they could speedily reduce the exorbitant power of their rival within narrower bounds. Such a consideration as this must undoubtedly have increased the jealousy, and heightened the disgust already conceived in the breasts of the *Carthaginians*, and had most certainly its proper influence in pushing them on to a rupture with the *Romans* [h].

Decius Jubellius, *with a legion of* Campanians, *seizes on* Rhegium.

The inhabitants of *Rhegium*, being exposed to the attempts of *Pyrrhus*, as well as the insults of the *Carthaginians*, who, soon after the arrival of that prince in *Italy*, infested all the *Ionian* sea, applied to the *Romans* for a garison to defend them from an invasion. In compliance with their request, a legion of *Campanians* was raised, the d *Romans* at that time not being able to spare any of their own troops, on account of the war with *Pyrrhus*, and sent under the command of one *Decius Jubellius*, a native of *Campania*, to garison that city. These troops, for some time, did their duty perfectly well; but at last, in imitation of the *Mamertines*, who had possessed themselves of *Messana* in a most perfidious manner, and, being of the same nation, assisted these *Campanians* with a body of forces to accomplish their design, they began to entertain thoughts of rendering themselves independent at *Rhegium*. To this they were strongly excited by the beauty and opulence of the place, and the elegancies the citizens abounded with. As the *Romans* at that time had their hands full of the war with *Pyrrhus*, they thought this a favourable juncture to bring their project to bear, since nothing but e the opposition which might be apprehended from that quarter could possibly obstruct the execution of it. *Decius* therefore, to colour his proceedings, pretended to have advice, that the *Rhegians* had entered into a conspiracy to deliver up the place to *Pyrrhus*, and betray the garison into his hands. In order to prevent this, he suggested there was a necessity of taking possession of the town, and making an example of the conspirators. To support what he advanced, forged letters were produced, which he pretended to have intercepted, wherein all the particulars of the conspiracy were related at large. This, together with a set speech on the occasion, made such an impression upon the troops, that they were prepared for any attempt, and ready at an instant to execute their general's orders. In the mean time, a person privy to f the design, appearing, pretended to have certain news, that *Pyrrhus* had already made a descent on the territories of *Rhegium*, and was advancing towards the city, in order to have a conference with the principals of the conspiracy. This serving as a signal to the *Campanians*, the train being already laid, they immediately took possession of the city, divided amongst themselves all the plunder found therein, and put most of the men to the sword [i].

Not

[e] Univers. hist. ubi sup. Zonar. annal. l. viii. c. 6. p. 379. [f] Cat. in orig. quart. apud Aul. Gel. in noct. Attic. l. x. c. 1. [g] Lucius Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. Vide & Zonar. ubi sup. c. 8. p. 382. [h] Liv. epit. Oros. Univers. hist. &c. ubi sup. [i] Polyb. & Val. Max. ubi sup. Diod. Sic. l. xxii. apud Vales. Liv. epit. l. xii.

Not long after the perpetration of this horrid fact, *Decius* was expelled by the soldiery, and obliged to fly to *Messana*. There being seized by a violent pain in his eyes, he applied to a *Rhegian* physician for relief; who, resenting the injuries offered his country, prescribed him a plaister of *cantharides*, which totally deprived him of his sight, and then made his escape. This we learn from *Diodorus*. But *Appian* intimates, that he was attacked by this disorder at *Rhegium*, and sent to *Messana* for a physician, not caring to trust any of those in the place where he resided. The *Mamertines* sent him one, eminent for his skill in the art of medicine; whom the last author insinuates to have been a *Rhegian*; who, applying caustics to his eyes, advised him to keep them on till his return, which never happened; so that in a short time he became stark-blind. Neither *Polybius* nor *Dio* take notice of any of these circumstances; and therefore give us reason to believe, which is likewise consonant to the fragment of *Appian* just referred to, that he did not depart from *Rhegium*, as *Diodorus* suggests, but met with the fate he deserved either in that place or *Rome*, with his accomplices and companions. Be this as it will, as soon as the *Roman* republic was in a condition to take vengeance of this perfidious legion, she ordered *L. Genucius Clepsina* to besiege *Rhegium* with a powerful army. The *Campanians*, being reinforced by a strong body of *Mamertines*, whom they had likewise assisted in their wars with the *Syracusans* and *Carthaginians*, made a vigorous defence; but the consul, redoubling his attacks, at last took the place, and put all the garison to the sword, except three hundred men, who were carried to *Rome*, and there punished with exemplary severity. They were whipped with rods in the middle of the forum, had their heads struck off, and their bodies remained, by the senate's order, unburied. *Appian* relates, that *Decius*, being detained in close custody, grew impatient of his confinement, and laid violent hands on himself; but whether this happened at *Rome* or *Rhegium*, he says not. In the mean time, the *Mamertines*, having sustained a prodigious loss, not only by the slaughter of their troops sent to the assistance of the *Campanians*, but likewise by the destruction of their faithful ally, who had hitherto greatly contributed to support them against all their enemies, and receiving about the same time the terrible defeat from *Hiero* above-mentioned, found themselves upon the point of submitting to the *Syracusans*. Some of the principal citizens, to prevent this, applied to the *Romans* for succours, who, for certain reasons, not being disposed to support them at that conjuncture, the *Carthaginian* faction in *Messana* admitted a *Carthaginian* detachment into the town, which immediately took possession of the citadel. The *Roman* party, highly incensed at such a point of conduct, hereupon resolved to send a second time to their friends for speedy relief. This step of the *Carthaginians* therefore must be allowed to have been the immediate cause of the first *Punic* war [k].

The Romans *retake* Rhegium; *and either put to the sword, or behead, all the* Campanians; *which, together with the defeat given the* Mamertines *by* Hiero, *obliges this last people to receive a* Carthaginian *detachment into* Messana.

As for the motives which prompted the *Carthaginians* to this war, we have just hinted at them: a desire of securing and inlarging their acquisitions in *Sicily*; the necessity of humbling a proud rival, whose interests in every respect clashed with theirs; a resolution to preserve the dominion of the (A) sea, and that extensive trade they

Some of the principal motives, which induced both the Carthaginians *and* Romans *to undertake the first* Punic *war.*

[k] Diod. Sic. l. xxii. Appian. & Dio Cass. in excerptis Vales. Vide & Diod. Sic. in excerpt. Rhodom. Polyb. ubi sup. &c. Zonar. ubi sup. p. 382, 383. Oros. l. ii. c. 3. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7.

(A) That the *Carthaginians* were, for several centuries, extremely powerful by sea, cannot be disputed; nay, if *John Tzetzes* may be credited, they came as far with their fleets as the *Thracian Bosporus*, where they carried on a naval war with the *Byzantines*. However, this we cannot believe, as being intirely unsupported by any other author. That scholiast's words are, Ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ καὶ Βυζάντιοι, διὰ πλοιαρίου σκαλμῶ τινῶ διενεχθέντες, δεινῶς ἐναυμάχησαν ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ. *Tzetzes*, in the place referred to, observes how common a thing it is for neighbouring states to quarrel, and that even about trifles; and, amongst others, brings the dispute betwixt the ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ and the Βυζάντιοι,, in the passage before us, as an instance of it. As therefore the *Carthaginians* and *Byzantines* could never have been looked upon as neighbours, the passage under consideration wants undoubtedly to be emended; which will be done to satisfaction, if for ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ we read ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ; since the people of *Chalcedon* or *Calchedon* were most certainly neighbours to the *Byzantines*, and sometimes embroiled with them. That the people of *Chalcedon* were neighbours to the *Byzantines*, is evident from the situation assigned that city by *Stephanus*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*; since, according to these authors, it stood over-against *Byzantium*, on the opposite shore. In order to support our emendation farther, it may not be improper to observe, that tho', in printed books, for the most part, we find the name of this city to be ΧΑΛΚΗΔΩΝ, yet, in ancient coins, which are of much greater authority, it is always exhibited ΚΑΛΧΗΔΩΝ, and the people named ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ, or, in the *Doric* dialect, ΚΑΛΧΑΔΟΝΙΟΙ. This is so strong a proof of the error of the printed books, and many MSS. in this particular, that *Hardouin* has corrected the MSS. and printed editions of *Pliny* and *Seguin*

they then enjoyed; theſe, we ſay, were undoubtedly the principal motives, which a prevailed upon them to engage in this famous quarrel. The *Romans* likewiſe, in all probability, were influenced by reaſons of much the ſame kind: a thirſt after empire, an abhorrence of the *Carthaginian* genius, a fear that ſo falſe a friend would get a footing in *Italy*; in fine, a notion, that their political views were intirely repugnant to thoſe of the *Carthaginians*, diſpoſed them to a rupture with that people. That the poſſeſſion alſo of the fertile iſlands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which, they imagined, muſt of courſe fall to the victor, had great weight with the *Romans*, in determining them to enter upon a war with *Carthage*, is extremely probable, and even acknowledged by ſome of their own writers [l]. The firſt *Punic* war, according to *Polybius*, laſted twenty-four years [m], and was carried on chiefly by ſea, both ſides ſtruggling b hard for the dominion of that element. As *Sicily*, the object of this diſpute, was an iſland, ſuch a contention was very natural. We ſhall now proceed to give a brief account of the principal tranſactions of every campaign, in order of time as they happened [n].

The Roman *faction in* Meſſana *ſend to* Rome *for ſuccours againſt the* Carthaginians.

THE *Roman* faction in *Meſſana*, upon the admiſſion of a *Carthaginian* gariſon into the citadel, diſpatched freſh deputies to *Rome*, to ſollicit aſſiſtance from the republic. Upon their arrival, in the name of their principals, they offered the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana* to the *Romans*, and, in the moſt moving terms, implored their protection. The conſcript fathers, imagining that a compliance with this requeſt would deſtroy the uniformity of their conduct, and make them loſe the high character they had gained by the ſevere puniſhment lately inflicted upon the perfidious *Campanian* legion, c were for ſome time in ſuſpenſe what courſe to take; but afterwards conſidering what vaſt territories the *Carthaginians* poſſeſſed in *Africa* and *Spain*; that they were maſters of a great part of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other iſlands lying on the coaſt of *Italy*; that they had a deſign on *Italy* itſelf, which they would moſt certainly put in execution, if they could intirely reduce *Meſſana*, and ſeize upon the whole iſland of *Sicily*; they either really were, or pretended to be, under great apprehenſions for their own ſafety, and therefore appeared diſpoſed to ſupport the *Mamertines*. This diſpoſition was ſoon turned into a reſolution by the unanimous voice of the people, who, having been greatly impoveriſhed by the late wars, and propoſing to themſelves no ſmall advantage from an invaſion of *Sicily*, to which likewiſe they were ſtrongly excited by d thoſe who expected the command of the armies deſtined for that ſervice, were very eager from the beginning for an attempt to deliver *Meſſana*. The ſenate therefore decreed, that this enterpriſe ſhould be undertaken; and in conſequence of this decree, which was likewiſe confirmed by an ordinance of the people, *Appius Claudius*, one of the conſuls, received orders to attempt a paſſage to *Sicily*, at the head of a powerful army.

The conſul ſends C. Claudius, *a legionary tribune, to act in his ſtead.*

THE conſul, being obliged to ſtay ſome time longer in *Rome*, where his preſence was then neceſſary, on account of ſome affairs of moment, commanded one *Caius Claudius*, a legionary tribune, and a perſon of great intrepidity and reſolution, to advance with a few (B) veſſels to *Rhegium*. *Claudius*, upon his arrival there, obſerve- e ing

[l] FLOR. & LUCIUS AMPEL. ubi ſup. Vide etiam DIONYS. HALICAR. ant. Rom. l. ii. & POLYB. ubi ſupra. [m] POLYB. ubi ſup. [n] Vide ZONAR. ubi ſup. LIV. epit. EUTROP. l. ii. OROS. l. iv. AUGUST. de civ. Dei, 3, 18. Auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. 37. & ſeq. POLYB. ubi ſup. SIL. ITAL. l. vi. FLOR. l. ii. c. 2. APPIAN. in Libyc. VAL. MAX. paſſ. alioſq; ſcript. plurim.

Seguin thoſe of *Strabo*, by the help of theſe coins. *Spanheim* likewiſe looks upon ΚΑΛΧΗΔΩΝ to be indiſputably the true name; which, together with the authority of *Memnon* in *Photius*, *Juſtellus*, &c. fixes the point we are inſiſting on beyond contradiction (1).

(B) *Zonaras* calls theſe veſſels *triremes*; but in this he not only contradicts *Polybius*, but himſelf. For *Polybius* aſſerts, that neither quinqueremes nor triremes were in uſe amongſt the *Italians* before the firſt *Punic* war; and as for *Zonaras* himſelf, he aſſures us, that the *Romans* were intirely ignorant of every thing relating to the building and equipping of fleets before the commencement of their firſt quarrel with *Carthage*. We are told by ſome writers, that a *Carthaginian* galley, venturing too near the ſhore, was ſtranded, and taken by the *Romans*; and that, after the model of this galley, the *Romans* built many of thoſe veſſels, of which their firſt fleet was compoſed. This muſt have been a trireme; ſince, according to *Polybius*, their firſt fleet conſiſted both of quinqueremes and triremes. And *Aurelius Victor* gives us to underſtand, that the firſt *Carthaginian* quinquereme, which fell into the hands of the *Romans*, was taken by *Appius Claudius*, in his paſſage from *Meſſana* to *Rhegium* (2).

(1) *Joh. Tzetz. ſchol. in Heſiod.* Ἔργ. καὶ ἡμέρ. *a. p.* 83. *ed. Dan. Heinſii, ex officin. Plantin. Raphelengii*, 1603. *Plin. l.* v. *Steph. Byzant. de urb. Tacit. l.* xii *c.* 63. *Strab. l.* vii. *p.* 221. & *l.* xii. *p.* 387. *Appian. in bell. Mithrid. p.* 367. *Eutrop. l.* vi. *c.* 5. *Claudian. ver.* 176. *Pet. Seguin. p.* 145. *Jo. Hard. in Plin. Ez. Spanhem. de uſ. & præſt. numiſm. ant. & in orb. Rom. exercit.* ii. *c.* 18. *p.* 459, 469. *Memn. apud Phot. in biblioth. cod.* ccxxiv *p.* 381. *edit. Hœſchelii. Juſtel. in cod. can. eccleſ. &c. Vide & Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* vi. *c.* 25. (2) *Zonar. in annal. l.* viii. *c.* 8. *p.* 381. *edit. Car. du Freſne, Pariſ.* 1686. *Polyb. l.* i. *Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vit. vir. illuſtr.* 37. *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* iv. *p.* 657.

a ing the *Carthaginian* ſquadron to be infinitely ſuperior to his own, and abſolute maſters of the ſtraits, thought it would be little inferior to madneſs to attempt at that time tranſporting any forces to *Sicily*; and therefore contented himſelf, for the preſent, with watching the enemy's motions. However, he ſoon after, in a ſmall boat, boldly croſſed the ſtraits himſelf, and had a conference with the *Mamertines*; but finding that people awed by the *Carthaginian* gariſon in the citadel, he returned to *Rhegium*, without having been able to prevail upon them to accept of the *Roman* protection. Notwithſtanding which, in a little time, he received advice, that the *Mamertines*, being deſirous of expelling the *Carthaginians*, and recovering their former abſolute independency, were in motion; upon which he ventured a ſecond time
b to *Meſſana*, and aſſured the *Mamertines*, that the ſole view of his republic was, to reſtore them to the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and preſerve them in that ſituation. Then addreſſing himſelf to the *Carthaginian* officers there preſent, he, with an air of dignity, told them, that they either ought immediately to abandon the place, or aſſign a reaſon for their continuance in it. The *Mamertines*, being under ſome reſtraint, by reaſon of the *Carthaginian* troops, which had taken poſt amongſt them, were ſilent; and the *Carthaginians*, being, in effect, maſters of the place, would not vouchſafe him an anſwer. Directing himſelf therefore to the latter, he told them, they had reaſon to be ſilent, ſince the iniquity of their conduct would not admit of a vindication. And as for you, *Mamertines*, added he, your
c ſilence I take to be a full proof of your paſſion for liberty; ſince, if you were diſpoſed to be ſlaves to ſuch imperious maſters, nothing could hinder you from declaring for them. The *Mamertines*, animated by the tribune's boldneſs, applauded his ſpeech, and ſhewed their readineſs to receive the *Roman* ſuccours. *Claudius*, having thus happily gained his point, departed to the oppoſite ſhore, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to tranſport a body of forces to *Meſſana* without delay °.

The *Carthaginians*, being informed of the reſolution taken at *Rome* to aſſiſt the *Mamertines*, ſent a body of forces and a ſtrong ſquadron of galleys, under the command of *Hanno*, to *Sicily*. That general, receiving intelligence, that *Claudius* had ſet ſail from *Rhegium* with a (C) ſmall *Roman* fleet, and was ſteering towards *Meſſana*;

The Romans land in Sicily, and poſſeſs themſelves of Meſſana.

° Polyb l. i. Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vir. illuſtr. 37. Liv. epit. l. xvi. Univ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 93, 94. & vol. iv. p 652. Zonar. l. viii. c. 8, 9. Oros. ubi ſup. c. 7.

(C) That the *Romans* were not intirely unacquainted with the art of navigation before the time of the firſt *Punic* war, is apparent from hence, that they were contiguous to the *Etruſcans*, a nation (3) very powerful by ſea many centuries before this war, from whom they muſt undoubtedly have received ſome knowledge of ſea-affairs; nay, they had conquered *Etruria*, and conſequently made themſelves maſters of the *Etruſcan* power both by ſea and land, before the commencement of the firſt *Punic* war. It is true, the *Etruſcan* power, particularly by ſea, had been declining many years before the *Romans* reduced *Etruria*; but conſidering how celebrated the *Etruſcans* had been (4) for the figure they made by ſea in former ages, we cannot ſuppoſe them intirely void of ſhipping, when conquered by the *Romans*. Beſides, ſeveral very ancient *Roman* coins, prior to the firſt *Punic* war, if not as old as the regal government, plainly prove the *Romans* not to have been abſolute ſtrangers to the art of conſtructing ſhips in earlier ages, ſince different parts of ſhips are viſible on the reverſes of theſe (5) coins. On the other hand, it muſt be allowed, that, till the period above-mentioned, the *Romans* were much more intent upon rendering themſelves formidable by land, than by ſea; neither is it at all natural to believe, that they ſhould have entertained any thoughts of building and equipping a fleet of any force, before they had formed a deſign of attacking the dominions of ſome rival ſtate, ſeparated from their own by the watry element; and ſo we find, in fact, it happened. After having premiſed this, we think we may venture to allow a poſſibility of reconciling *Polybius* with himſelf, in his relation of the manner and period, wherein the *Romans* firſt endeavoured to fit out a fleet. That the *Romans* applied themſelves to commerce long before the times we are now ſpeaking of, is evident from the two firſt treaties they concluded with the *Carthaginians*, and from ſeveral other incidents taken notice of in the *Roman* hiſtory, as we have elſewhere obſerved; but then it is probable, that, for the moſt part at leaſt, they traded in *Italian* bottoms, making uſe of the ſhips of their allies, who are expreſly mentioned in thoſe treaties, on ſuch occaſions. Be this as it will, it is certain, that they generally, if not always, as we are inclined to believe they did, applied to their allies for ſhips of war and naval ſuccours, whenever they wanted them. This is evident from *Juſtin* and *Polybius*, to omit other authors, from whom it appears, that, in the treaty concluded with *Carthage* near the time of *Pyrrhus*'s coming

(3) *Diod. Sic. l.* v. & *l.* xi. *Palæphat. n.* 21. *Strab. l.* v. *Athen. deipnoſoph. l.* vii. *p.* 296. *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 56. *Iſidor. l.* xviii. *c.* 4. *l.* & xix. *c.* 1. *Draco Corcyrcus & Menodatus Samius apud Athen. in deipnoſoph. l* xv. *Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. l.* iii. *c.* 81, 82, 83, 84. *edit. Florent.* 1723. *Vide & Phil. Bonarot explic. & conject. ad mon. op. Dempſt. addit. p.* 51. *edit. Florent.* 1726, (4) *Herodot. l.* i. *Thucyd. l.* i. *ſub init. & auctor. jam citat.* (5) *Plin. nat. hiſt. l.* xiii. *c.* 3. *Anton. Auguſtin. archiepiſc. Tarracon. antiquit. Roman. & Hiſpanar. in num. vet. dial.* i. *p.* 5. *B. Latine edit. ab And. Schotto, Antwerp.* 1617. *Vide & Voluſium Metianum in lib. de aſſe.*

Messana, in order to throw a body of troops into that place, immediately went in a queſt of him; and coming up with him near the coaſt of *Sicily*, attacked him with great fury. He had ſcarce begun the attack, when a violent ſtorm aroſe, which daſhed many of the *Roman* veſſels in pieces againſt the rocks, they not being ſo capable of riding out a ſtorm as the *Carthaginian*, and did their ſquadron infinite prejudice; inſomuch, that *Claudius*, finding himſelf engaged with two enemies at once, was forced to give way. He was therefore totally defeated, moſt of his ſhips taken, others deſtroyed, and he himſelf obliged to retire with great difficulty to *Rhegium*. *Hanno*, either to pique the *Romans* in point of honour, or to divert them from ſending ſuccours to *Meſſana*, reſtored all the veſſels he had taken from *Claudius*, who, when the *Carthaginian* deputies arrived, was refitting his fleet. Theſe deputies, b upon their arrival, propoſed a treaty of peace to the tribune; which being rejected, they had ſome warm expoſtulations with the *Romans*, whom they accuſed of a violation of former treaties, declaring, that the *Carthaginians* would never ſuffer the *Romans* to be maſters of the ſtraits betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, nor even to waſh their hands in them. This, for the preſent, cut off all hopes of a pacification, ſo that *Claudius* reſumed his military preparations with the utmoſt vigour; which having completed, and narrowly obſerved when the wind and tide favoured him, he weighed anchor a ſecond time, and, eluding the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron poſted to intercept them, got ſafe into the port of *Meſſana*. The *Mamertines* having ſurrendered the town to him, *Hanno* thought proper to retire into the citadel; but at a the deſire of *Claudius*, and the heads of the *Mamertines*, he had a conference with them, when he was perfidiouſly arreſted by one of the legionaries, at the command of the *Roman* general, and detained a conſiderable time priſoner. This ſtep greatly intimidated the *Carthaginian* gariſon, and, with ſome ſucceeding perſuaſions and menaces intermixed, induced them to ſurrender the citadel to *Claudius*. *Hanno*, being afterwards releaſed, went to *Carthage*, to juſtify his conduct; which having the misfortune not to do to the ſatisfaction of the ſenate, he was, by their order, immediately crucified. *Polybius* tells us, that his countrymen ſuſpected him guilty either of cowardice or treachery; but that he really deſerved ſuch an imputation, does not appear from any point of his conduct. On the contrary, the cowardice of the *Carthaginian* gariſon, when deprived of their commandant, and the perfidiouſneſs of *Claudius*, ſeem to have been the true cauſes of the loſs of the citadel. Nothing can be inferred to his prejudice from the cruel and ignominious death he met with, ſince that was a fate common to the moſt famous *Carthaginian* generals when unſucceſsful[p]. d

The Carthaginians *and* Syracuſans *lay ſiege to* Meſſana.

THE *Carthaginians*, being determined at all events to diſlodge the *Romans* from *Meſſana*, raiſed a formidable army, and equipped a powerful fleet, for that purpoſe, appointing another *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hannibal*, commander in chief of theſe forces. This general, landing his troops at *Lilybæum*, invited *Hiero*, king of *Syracuſe*, to enter into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, and then marched to *Selinus*, near which city he encamped; from whence, at the head of a conſiderable detachment, he e advanced to *Agrigentum*, and repaired the fortifications of the citadel there. The *Agrigentines* were eaſily prevailed upon to declare for the *Carthaginians*; and *Hanno*, upon his return to the camp at *Selinus*, found embaſſadors from *Hiero*, who had orders

[p] POLYB. ubi ſup. VAL. MAX. l ii. c. 7. Vide & JUSTIN. atq; DIODOR. paſſ.

coming to *Italy*, it was ſtipulated, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould aſſiſt the *Romans* with a ſquadron, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by that prince; and that, in the beginning of the firſt *Punic* war, *Claudius* could not paſs over to *Sicily*, till he was ſupplied with ſhips by the *Tarentines*, *Locrians*, and *Neapolitans*. That the *Romans* never equipped a fleet of any conſequence before this war, or had even any quinqueremes or triremes amongſt them, likewiſe farther appears from their being totally ignorant of the art of rowing and navigating thoſe veſſels, which they found themſelves obliged to learn firſt upon land; nor indeed is it poſſible to conceive, that they ſhould have had any ſquadron of note before they had theſe galleys, ſince the chief ſtrength of fleets, in the age we are now upon at leaſt, conſiſted in ſuch galleys. The *Romans* therefore might have had a few coaſting veſſels, and rude galleys or biremes, of their own, in the times preceding the firſt *Punic* war; but they never croſſed the ſeas with any ſquadron of quinqueremes or triremes till now, as appears from *Polybius*, *Livy*, and others. *Polybius* therefore, in his account of the firſt fleet the *Romans* fitted out, muſt be underſtood as ſpeaking of *theſe ſhips only*. And indeed that the *Romans* were totally ignorant of the conſtruction of *this ſort* of veſſels, and that *they* were not uſed in any part of *Italy* before the firſt rupture of the *Romans* with the *Carthaginians*, may be certainly inferred from the expreſs words of that excellent hiſtorian (6).

(6) *Polyb. l.* i. & *l.* iii. *Juſtin. l.* xviii. *Liv. epit. l.* xvi. & *Flor. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *&c.*

a orders to concert with him the proper measures for driving the *Romans* out of *Sicily*. Pursuant to the plan of operations *Hanno* and *Hiero* had laid down, those two generals marched with their united forces to *Messana*, and immediately invested the town. Before they besieged the place in form, they summoned the *Roman* garison to surrender; which they refusing to do, *Hanno* put all the *Italian* soldiers in the *Carthaginian* service to the sword, and thereby rendered an accommodation with the *Romans*, on the part of his nation, impracticable. The *Carthaginians* pitched their tents at *Senes* (D), a town in the neighbourhood of *Messana*, and posted their fleet near the promontory (E) *Pelorus*, to prevent any supplies coming by sea; whilst *Hiero* encamped on the hill *Chalcidicus*, in order to cut off all communication betwixt the
b besieged and the neighbouring country. The *Romans*, being apprised of these motions, dispatched the consul *Appius Claudius* himself, at the head of a powerful army to *Rhegium*; who, upon his arrival there, sent embassadors to *Hiero*, conjureing him, by the antient friendship betwixt the *Romans* and him, to desist from the siege he had undertaken, promising at the same time, that not the least damage should be offered to his territories. *Hiero* answered, that the *Mamertines* had possessed themselves of *Messana* in the most villainous manner; that they had razed the cities of *Gela* and *Camarina*, and treated the inhabitants with unheard-of cruelty; that therefore such a nest of banditti ought to be intirely extirpated; that the *Romans* could not, without a manifest deviation from their pretended equity, take them
c under their protection; and that in case, contrary to expectation, this should happen, the world would naturally conclude, that they were not influenced by the maxims of rigid probity and justice, as they would have mankind believe, but swayed by ambition, their aim being not to succour the distressed, but to make themselves masters of the island of *Sicily* [q].

And are defeated by the consul Appius Claudius.

The consul, having received this answer, resolved to pass over into *Sicily* with all possible expedition; but, to conceal his design, gave out, that he could not venture upon that enterprize, before he had consulted the senate. This stratagem was of signal service to him, since the *Carthaginian* squadron posted to oppose his passage would undoubtedly have been too strong for him, had they been apprised of his reso-
d lution; but this report reaching their ears, they guarded the streights with less care and vigilance. In the mean time, *Appius*, going on board a (F) galley, built unskilfully and in great haste, pretended to coast along the shore in his way to *Rome*; but, as soon as he was out of sight, he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night,

[q] Polyb. ubi sup. Diodor. Sic. in. excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœschelii. Georg. Syncel. in chronograph. p. 275. edit. Par. 1652.

(D) The *Greek* name of this place in *Polybius* is ΣΗΝΕΙΣ, in *Diodorus* ΕΥΝΕΙΣ, which *Rhodomanus* translates *cubilia*. Whether the word is a proper name, or an appellative emphatically used, cannot now be determined, since none of the old geographers have taken any notice of a place known by this name in the neighbourhood of *Messana*. However this may be, it is probable, that the words used by *Polybius* and *Diodorus* (7) were originally the same, though afterwards rendered different by the carelessness and inattention of transcribers. The great affinity betwixt the letters [ΣΗΝΕΙΣ, ΕΥΝΕΙΣ] of which they consist, since H is often written in MSS. Η, one side of which might be easily defaced by length of time, and the letter thereby mistaken for a Υ, and the two initial letters in many MSS. being nearly the same, gives good ground for such a supposition.

(E) It is something surprising, that so learned a man as *Rhodomanus*, in his *Latin* version of *Diodorus*, should translate the word ΑΚΡΑ here *arx*, which signifies a fort or citadal; whereas it ought to have been rendered *promontorium*, a cape or promontory. It is true, ΑΚΡΑ answers to both the significations of *arx* and *promontorium*; but that, in this place, it should be confined to the latter, is evident from *Polybius*, who intimates, that the *Carthaginian* fleet lay near cape *Pelorus* or *Peloris*, and lined the coast. That this cape or promontory was called *Pelorias*, the name *Diodorus* here uses, appears from *Ovid* and *Solinus*; which proves *Diodorus* exactly to correspond with *Polybius*. It must therefore be allowed, that here is a second instance produced, to which many others might be added, of *Rhodomanus*'s inaccuracy in his above-mentioned version (8).

(F) *Aurelius Victor* intimates, that this *Claudius*, who was surnamed *Caudex*, and the brother of *Appius Claudius Cæcus*, or *the blind*, crossed the streights first in a small fisher-boat, with a few transports attending him, in order to discover the disposition of the *Mamertines*, and reconnoitre the enemy; which having done, he returned to *Rhegium* in the same vessel, and had the good luck to take a *Carthaginian* quinquereme, with a body of foot, in his passage, on board of which he soon after transported a *Roman* legion to *Messana*, following himself with his whole fleet, and the rest of the land-forces. This general likewise is said by the same author to have distinguished himself against the *Volsinians*; which doubtless induced the senate to give him the command of the army destined to act against the *Carthaginians* and their allies in *Sicily* (9).

(7) *Polyb. & Diod. Sic. in loc. citat.* (8) *Idem ibid. Solin. c. 5. Ovid. fast. ver. 479. See likewise this vol. p. 764. not.* (M). (9) *Aurel. Vict. sive auct. vit. vir. illustr. 37.*

night, reached, with ſome tranſports, the neareſt coaſts of *Sicily*, and landed his a
forces, without being perceived by the enemy. He had no ſooner landed, but he
took a view of both the enemies armies and their fleet; and finding them vaſtly ſupe-
rior to his own, that they puſhed on the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour, and that, in all
probability, the town muſt ſoon capitulate, unleſs their camps could be forced,
which could not be done without a great effuſion of blood, he reſolved to make
another effort to bring about an accommodation between the contending parties. In
order to this, he diſpatched miniſters a ſecond time both to *Hiero* and the *Carthagi-*
nians, with freſh propoſals for a peace, purely, as it ſhould ſeem, to amuſe them,
till he had received a reinforcement from *Rome*, and was able to attack them with a
better proſpect of ſucceſs; but the negotiation proving ineffectual, and finding, not- b
withſtanding the inequality of numbers, that he muſt either conquer or die, he firſt
attacked the *Syracuſans*, and that with ſuch intrepidity, that tho' for ſome time they
defended themſelves with great bravery, putting the *Roman* cavalry into diſorder,
he defeated them, and entered *Meſſana* in a triumphant manner, loaden with their
ſpoils. Following his blow, he fell immediately upon the *Carthaginians*, whoſe camp
was at ſome diſtance from that of the *Syracuſans*, as has been before obſerved; who,
being ſurpriſed by the ſuddenneſs of the attack, were put to the rout, and, for the
moſt part, either cut to pieces, or diſperſed. The *Romans*, however, in all proba-
bility, would not have bought theſe advantages at ſo cheap a rate, had *Hanno* and
Hiero oppoſed them with their united forces, as in good policy they ought to have c
done; but *Hiero*, finding that the *Romans* landed their troops without any obſtruction
from the *Carthaginian* fleet, immediately concluded, that *Hanno* kept a ſecret corre-
ſpondence with the enemy, and therefore was afraid of repoſing too great a confi-
dence in him; in conſequence of which diſtruſt, *Hiero* decamped haſtily in the night,
after the late advantage *Claudius* had obtained over him, though he was not in the
leaſt obliged to it, ſince the *Romans* could not force his camp. The enemy had
hereby thrown into their hands an opportunity of attacking the *Carthaginians* with
their whole ſtrength, and gaining a moſt ſignal victory over them. This is the
account given us by *Polybius*; but *Zonaras* relates that event differently. According
to him, the *Carthaginian* camp was ſo ſecured by the ſea and a moraſs, that it was d
acceſſible only by one avenue, which, being a narrow paſſage, and fortified by a
ſtrong wall, the *Romans* found it impoſſible to enter. After a furious aſſault, they
were beaten off by a ſhower of darts, and forced to retire with great loſs. The *Car-*
thaginians, thinking themſelves now ſure of victory, purſued the legionaries to the
walls of the town; but the latter, having drawn the enemy out of their impregnable
camp, faced about with great bravery, and in their turn repulſed them with ſuch
ſlaughter, that they never durſt appear afterwards, as long as *Claudius* continued in
Meſſana. *Claudius* afterwards, finding no enemy to make head againſt him in the
field, ravaged the enemy's territories in a dreadful manner, making excurſions to
the very gates of *Syracuſe*; nay, if *Zonaras* may be credited, he laid ſiege to that e
place, though the *Syracuſans* defended themſelves with ſuch valour, that he had no
proſpect of reducing it. They cut off abundance of his men in the ſallies they made,
and in one of them had taken him priſoner, had he not luckily juſt before propoſed
ſome terms of peace to *Hiero*, which prevented the garriſon from puſhing matters to
the laſt extremity. As *Hiero* was inwardly a well-wiſher to the *Romans*, he did not
ſhew himſelf diſpleaſed at the conſul's overtures; but the campaign being almoſt at
an end, and *Claudius* leaving the iſland ſoon after, the negotiation was ſuſpended till
the following year. Thus the *Carthaginians* not only loſt *Meſſana*, but almoſt all
poſſibility of recovering it. Thoſe of them that eſcaped the late carnage took ſhelter
in the neighbouring fortified towns, expecting to be put into a condition of acting f
offenſively the following ſpring. As for *Claudius*, having left a ſtrong garriſon in
Meſſana, the ſeaſon being far advanced, he paſſed over to *Rhegium*, and from thence
purſued his journey to *Rome*[r].

The Romans *detach* Hiero *from the* Carthaginian *intereſt, and enter into a negotiation with him.*

AFTER the conſul's departure, *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*, drawing together a
body of regular troops, reduced many towns that had fallen to the enemy. But the
ſucceeding conſuls, *Manius Octacilius Craſſus* and *Manius Valerius Flaccus*, tranſport-
ing to *Sicily* two conſular armies, conſiſting each of eight thouſand legionaries and
ſix

[r] POLYB. & DIODOR. ubi ſup. Auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. ex. 37, & ſeq. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 9. SEX. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. i. c. 4. ex. 11. Vide etiam EUTROP. l. ii. OROS. ubi ſup. & SIL. ITAL. l. vi.

a six hundred horſe, with a great number of auxiliaries, upon their arrival recovered moſt of thoſe places. They firſt laid ſiege to *Adranum*, and took it by ſtorm. Afterwards they advanced to *Centuripe*, and encamped before it. While they were making preparations for an attack, there arrived embaſſadors in the camp from the *Alæſinians* (G), who deſired to be taken under the protection of the *Romans*; and about ſixty-ſeven other towns followed their example. The conſuls, animated by ſuch a rapid progreſs, moved with all their forces towards *Syracuſe*, the capital of the iſland, with an intention to form the ſiege of that city. Their approach ſcattered terror throughout the iſland, and ſo intimidated *Hiero*, who now plainly diſcovered the great ſuperiority of the *Romans* in this war, that he began to entertain thoughts
b of renewing the negotiation, which *Claudius*'s ſudden departure out of *Sicily* had broken off towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign. As the treaty concluded betwixt the *Romans* and *Hiero* did not a little contribute to the declenſion of the *Carthaginian* power, we ſhall beg leave here to touch upon a few particulars relating to that remarkable event, as well as to *Hiero* himſelf, which have been omitted in all former parts of this work [s].

Hiero *comes to an accommodation with the* Romans.

After *Pyrrhus*'s precipitate retreat, the *Carthaginians* became on a ſudden ſo powerful in *Sicily*, that the *Greek* cities there thought themſelves in danger of being ſpeedily over-run by that nation; nay, *Polyænus* intimates, that there was an actual war betwixt theſe two powers, and that the *Carthaginian* admiral, by a ſtratagem,
c gained a conſiderable advantage over *Hiero*. This induced *Hiero* to court the friendſhip of the *Romans*, looking upon them as the only power that could give a check to the towering projects of the *Carthaginians*, and defeat their ambitious deſigns. He therefore ſent a ſupply of troops and proviſions to the *Roman* forces then employed in the ſiege of *Rhegium*, which enabled them to reduce that place, and conſequently rendered them more capable of ſupporting him, whenever he ſhould ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. This was the baſis of that good underſtanding, which ſubſiſted for ſo long a time between the two powers, though it at firſt met with a ſhort interruption. The *Carthaginians*, ever jealous of the neighbouring ſtates, and now particularly ſo of the *Romans*, took umbrage at this harmony, as plainly diſcovering
d the drift of it. In order therefore to traverſe it, they prevented *Hiero* from poſſeſſing himſelf of *Meſſana*, made it a pretext for a quarrel with the *Romans*, and pretended to take the *Mamertines* under their protection. *Hiero*, finding the *Romans* not willing to act in favour of the *Mamertines*, upon the firſt application of that people to them, and that the *Carthaginians*, at the ſame time they entered the citadel of *Meſſana*, expreſſed a deſire of being upon good terms with him, thought it agreeable to his intereſt to enter into an alliance with the latter; which he accordingly did, and, in conjunction with them, declared war againſt the *Romans*. This brought on the action above-mentioned between *Hiero* and *Claudius*, wherein the former being defeated, fled to *Syracuſe*, looking upon himſelf as betrayed by the *Carthaginians*,
e becauſe their fleet had not hindered *Claudius* from landing his troops in *Sicily*. The *Carthaginians* could never afterwards make a friend of that prince; ſo great an averſion did he, from this period, conceive to them. *Claudius*, purſuing *Hiero* to his capital city, beſieged him therein; which ſtill made him more deſirous of abandoning the *Carthaginians*, and which he undoubtedly then had done, ſince *Claudius* propoſed an accommodation to him, had not the plague broke out in the *Roman* army, which, together with a famine and the vigorous defence of the beſieged, obliged the conſul to draw off, and, as ſhould ſeem, precipitately to leave the iſland. However, the next year matters took another turn: the *Romans*, in the beginning of the campaign, conquered a good part of *Sicily* almoſt without oppoſition, advanced, at
f the head of their legions, to the gates of *Syracuſe*, and inveſted the town. At the ſame time, according to *Philinus* (H), they beſieged *Echetla*, a fortreſs in the dependency

[s] Zonar. annal. l. viii. c. 9. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Polyb. ubi ſup. Liv. epit. l. xvi. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Rhodoman. l. xxiii. Oros. ubi ſup.

(G) The *Greek* word, in all the printed and manuſcript copies of *Polybius*, is ΑΑΙΣΙΝΟΙ, in which, through the neglect or ignorance of tranſcribers,[A] has been omitted. This is ſo apparent, that we think it ſufficient juſt to have taken notice of it.

(H) This *Philinus* we have already had occaſion to mention as a very partial hiſtorian; but *Polybius* likewiſe repreſents him as one abſolutely inconſiſtent with himſelf, and guilty of the greateſt abſurdities. A certain author, whom we have before taken notice of, thinks, from the corrupted proper name *Philænius*, that he was the ſame perſon *Cornelius Nepos* tells us wrote the hiſtory of *Hannibal*. From hence, and ſome MSS. of *Nepos*, it ſeems to follow, that

ency of *Syracuſe*. The *Syracuſan* nobility, having now a proſpect of nothing but a long train of calamities, intreated their ſovereign to make overtures for a peace to the *Roman* generals, and thereby prevent the ruin that threatened them. Such a deſire falling in with *Hiero*'s natural ſentiments, he readily complied with it; ſo that diſpatching embaſſadors immediately to the *Roman* camp, a treaty of friendſhip and alliance was concluded to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Many things concurred to diſpoſe the *Romans* to facilitate ſo ſalutary a work; but it will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that, by the concluſion of this treaty, they got, according to *Eutropius*, two hundred talents of ſilver, or, as *Diodorus* will have it, an hundred and forty thouſand drachmas, a plentiful ſupply of proviſions through the future courſe of this war, and found themſelves enabled to reduce their army in *Sicily* to two legions. For an account of the particular articles of this treaty, we muſt refer our readers to the hiſtory of *Syracuſe* [t] (I).

Which the Carthaginians *endeavour to obſtruct, but in vain.*

The intereſt both of *Hiero* and the *Romans* rendered an accommodation neceſſary: the *Romans* could not have carried on the war with any tolerable proſpect of ſucceſs for want of proviſions, ſince the *Carthaginians*, being maſters at ſea, could eaſily have intercepted their convoys, and cut off all ſupplies, that might have come from the coaſts of *Italy*, as they actually did the laſt year, which reduced the *Romans* to the extremities hinted at above. And, on the other hand, *Hiero* found the *Carthaginians* not able to protect his dominions, nor himſelf in a capacity to make head againſt the conſuls. If *Livy*, *Zonaras*, *Eutropius*, and *Syncellus*, may be credited, he received ſeveral overthrows from the *Romans* ſince the breaking out of this war, which, in all probability, muſt have intirely exhauſted him. The peace concluded at firſt was not perpetual, but only for a term of fourteen years. The *Carthaginians* endeavoured by all poſſible means to obſtruct the negotiation, but without any effect. With this view it was, that *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* general, advanced with a ſtrong body of troops to *Xiphonia*, giving *Hiero* to underſtand, that he was in a condition to ſupport him; but hearing that every thing was ſettled, he thought proper to retire [u].

The Romans *reduce ſeveral towns in* Sicily.

The *Carthaginians*, being thus deſerted by their ally, found themſelves obliged to bear the whole burden of the war, which yet they believed themſelves capable of doing. They were ſo far from being diſpirited on this occaſion, that they reſolved to exert themſelves in an extraordinary manner, to drive the *Romans* out of *Sicily*, and even to oblige king *Hiero* to renounce his new alliance. They placed numerous gariſons in all their frontiers, perfected the works of their fortified towns, and ſent officers, with large ſums of money, to make levies in *Liguria*, *Gaul*, and *Iberia*. The *Romans* in the mean time, marching into the *Carthaginian* territories, laid ſiege to *Adranon* and *Macella*, which they carried on with great vigour, but were repulſed in all their aſſaults, and at laſt forced to riſe from before them. However, they met with better ſucceſs at *Segeſta* (K), which, having been founded by *Æneas*, or at leaſt

[t] Zonar. ubi ſup. p. 379, 380 Eutrop. hiſt. Rom. l. ii. Polyæn. ſtrat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 4. Liv. Flor. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Philinus apud Polyb. l. i. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iii. p. 96, 97, &c.
[u] Liv. Eutrop. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Geor. Syncel. in chronogr. p. 275. Polyb. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.

that he was called by *Cicero*, *Silenus*. But both theſe notions are overthrown by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in agreement with *Polybius*, calls him *Philinus*; and tells us, that he was an *Agrigentine*, and wrote the hiſtory of the firſt *Punic* war, without entering at all into his character. Had this been duly attended to, it might have prevented ſome miſtakes in *Hendreich*, *Voſſius*, and others (10).

(I) *Eutropius* intimates, that *Hiero* concluded a treaty of peace with the *Romans* in the third year of this war. But the other authors we have cited, or at leaſt the majority and beſt of them, have placed that treaty in the ſecond campaign, and therefore we have choſen to follow them (11).

(K) According to *Servius*, this city received its name from one *Aceſtes*, a *Trojan*, whom *Æneas* left in poſſeſſion of it at his departure from *Sicily*. *Ennius* calls this *Aceſtes Æneas*'s hoſt, and conſequently intimates him to have been one of the *Aborigines* of *Sicily*. The inhabitants of it, from their firſt acquaintance with the *Romans*, looked upon them as their kindred and relations, and always moſt heartily eſpouſed their intereſt. Before that time, it is probable, they had an averſion to the *Greeks*, as being of *Trojan* extraction; and therefore might very naturally court the aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians* on all occaſions, as we find ſometimes they did. Afterwards, when they became ſubject to *Carthage*, they undoubtedly were very faithful to that ſtate; but, at the commencement of this war, preferred the *Romans* to that nation, for the reaſon above aſſigned. That cities frequently, in antient times, were denominated after great men, is a truth obvious to all perſons moderately verſed in the knowledge of antiquity (12).

(10) *Univ. hiſt. vol.* vi. *p.* 709. & 710. *in not.* (N). *ſub. fin. Polyb. l.* i. *Diod. Sic. l.* xxiii. *in excerpt. Hæſch. Cic. de. divin. l.* i. *Voſſ. de hiſt. Græc. Hendr. in catal. auctor. Vide & Boſium, atq; not. var. ad Corn. Nep. de Hannib. p.* 604. *edit. Lugd. Bat.* 1734. (11) *Eutrop. l.* ii. (12) *Virg. Æn.* v. *ver.* 718. & *Serv. in loc. Cic. in Ver.* 4. *de ſign. c.* 33. *Ennius apud Lactant. l.* i. *c.* 22. *Dio, l.* liv. *Vide & Velſer antiquit. l.* v.

a one of his *Trojan* companions, and consequently related to the *Romans*, opened its gates to the consul, after having massacred the *Carthaginian* garison. The people of *Aliena* did the like. *Hilara*, *Tyrita*, and *Ascela*, were carried sword in hand. As for the *Tyndarites*, they proposed submitting upon the first appearance of the *Roman* army, had they not been prevented by the *Carthaginians*, who, upon the first intelligence of their design, carried off the principal citizens as hostages, and conveyed all the provisions and military stores in the place to *Lilybæum*. After this, the consuls retired to *Rhegium*, where they took up their winter-quarters [w].

They defeat the Carthaginians, *and take* Agrigentum.

The next campaign, the *Carthaginians* appointed *Hanno* commander in chief of all their forces, who made *Agrigentum*, as being the most commodious for that purpose b by its situation, a place of arms, and fixed there his principal magazine. The consuls *L. Posthumius Megellus* and *Q. Mamilius Vitulus*, being apprised of this, advanced with a powerful army into the neighbourhood of that city, and, after having blocked it up for some months, besieged it in form. As this siege happened in the middle of harvest, the *Carthaginian* garison, observing great numbers of the enemy dispersed in the fields, in order to carry off the corn to their camp, made a vigorous sally, cut many of them to pieces, and had almost forced their intrenchments; but were at last beat back into the town. In the mean time, *Hannibal*, the son of *Gisco*, who commanded in the place, finding the *Romans* to push on the siege with such vigour, that he must be obliged to capitulate, unless speedily relieved, dispatched reiterated c expresses to *Carthage*, with an account of his distress. Hereupon *Hanno* received orders to attempt raising the siege; in order to which, he first marched to *Heraclea*, within twenty miles of *Agrigentum*, and from thence to *Erbessa*, where posting himself, he so streightened the *Roman* army, that they were in great danger of perishing for want of provisions, as having no prospect of any supply. Though that army at first, according to *Diodorus*, consisted of an hundred thousand men, most of whom were *Sicilians*, not a fourth part of them now remained fit for service; and the plague at the same time breaking out amongst them, they found themselves in a very melancholy situation. This induced the consuls now to think of attacking *Hanno*, though they had before declined an engagement, when that general had made a motion, as d though he intended to offer them battle, and even defeated their cavalry. Having then plenty of provisions, and being strongly intrenched, they imagined themselves able to starve the garison to a surrender; and therefore, as their army, through the great fatigues they had undergone during the siege, was not near so numerous as the *Carthaginian*, they judged it prudent to avoid a battle; but being now reduced to great distress, they braved the enemy; who, suspecting some ambuscade, did not shew the same disposition to fight. The *Romans*, however, reaped considerable advantage from this conduct; for *Hiero*, finding the *Carthaginians* superior to his new allies, had delayed supporting them in the manner he was obliged to by the last treaty; whereas at this time, seeing the tables turned, he supplied them in great abundance with all kinds of provisions. Many *Sicilian* cities likewise, animated by the same e event, sent deputations to the *Romans*, and joined them with a good body of forces. *Hanno*, observing this, and believing *Hannibal*, sallying out of the town in the heat of the action, would fall upon the rear of the enemy, advanced some time after into a plain near the *Roman* camy, and drew up his army in order of battle. In the mean time, the *Roman* generals, by way of precaution, had posted proper detachments to repulse any sally the besieged might make, and, upon *Hanno*'s approach, sent privately another body to attack the *Carthaginian* rear. As soon as this disposition was made, the *Roman* army, moving out of their trenches into the plain, faced the enemy, and towards evening a bloody engagement ensued. But the *Ro*f *mans* behaved with such bravery, that, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance they met with, they carried the day, and intirely routed the *Carthaginians*, putting to the sword vast numbers of their men, and killing some of their elephants. *Hannibal*, dureing the engagement, sallied out with the best part of the garison; but being repulsed by the troops the consuls had posted at all the avenues to the city, he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Immediately afterwards making his escape, he abandoned the place to the *Romans*; and *Hanno* fled, with the broken remains of his army, to *Heraclea*. The siege of *Agrigentum* continued seven months, the *Romans* loosing thirty thousand foot and five hundred and forty horse before the town [x].

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[w] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Oros. & Zonar. ubi sup. Vide & Pomp. Fest. in voc. *Segesta*. [x] Zonar. ubi supra.

Proceedings of the Romans *and* Carthaginians *in* Sicily *the beginning of this campaign.*

The *Carthaginians*, greatly chagrined at the ill ſucceſs of their arms the preceding campaign, attributed it as uſual, to the bad conduct of their general; and therefore not only exacted an immenſe ſum of money from *Hanno*, by way of fine, but likewiſe deprived him of his commiſſion, appointing *Hamilcar* to command the forces in his room. *Hannibal*, an officer of good repute, took upon him the command of the fleet, and received orders from *Hamilcar* to ravage the coaſts of *Italy*, that he might draw the conſuls that way, and, by ſuch a diverſion, enable the land-forces to attack more ſucceſsfully the *Roman* conqueſts in *Sicily*. But the *Romans* had taken ſuch care to guard their coaſts, by poſting detachments in proper places, to prevent the enemy from making a deſcent, that this deſign was rendered abortive, and the conſul *C. Duilius* landed two legions in *Sicily* without oppoſition. Upon his arrival there, he advanced to *Myttiſtratum* (L), and laid ſiege to that forteſs; but, notwithſtanding the large train of battering-engines he had with him, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with great loſs. In the mean time, *Hamilcar*, ſuſpecting a body of *Gallic* mercenaries in his army of a deſign to deſert to the enemy, becauſe they had lately mutinied for want of their pay, commanded them to ſtorm a town defended by a *Roman* gariſon, of which, by means of his ſpies, he gave the *Romans* private intelligence, that they might receive them in a proper manner. The *Romans*, thus informed of their approach, laid an ambuſcade for the *Gauls*; into which falling, and not being ſupported by *Hamilcar*, they were all cut off to a man. *Frontinus* ſeems to relate this event differently, intimating, that the *Gauls*, amounting to four thouſand men, were ſent to pillage the country, and that they ſold their lives at a dear rate. The conſul, being ignorant of *Hamilcar*'s view in this point of conduct, looked upon the action as a ſignal advantage gained over the enemy, and, animated thereby, made preparations with great vigour for a freſh attack upon the *Carthaginian* territories. But the *Romans* receiving now a blow by ſea, he was recalled to command the fleet, and conſequently, for ſome time, obliged to ſuſpend the operations by land[y].

Boodes *takes a* Roman *ſquadron of galleys; and the* Romans *in their turn, beat* Hannibal, *the* Carthaginian *admiral.*

The *Romans*, obſerving that the coaſts of *Italy* lay expoſed to the depredations of the *Carthaginian* fleets, which made frequent deſcents upon them, whilſt *Africa* enjoyed all the ſweets of peace, were reſolved to attack the enemy in the moſt ſenſible part, and, in order to this, to equip a fleet capable of coping with any the *Carthaginians* could fit out againſt them. This was a bold undertaking in a nation, who were almoſt totally ignorant of ſea-affairs, and ſuch a ſtrange phænomenon, that it induced *Polybius*, according to his own relation, to write the hiſtory of the firſt *Punic* war. We ſhall therefore make it our buſineſs here to touch upon all the moſt material circumſtances relative to ſuch an extraordinary attempt, that have hitherto eſcaped us. *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, being deſirous of deſtroying the *Roman* navy in its infancy, by his emiſſaries found means to decoy *Cneius*, or, as *Polybius* calls him, *Caius*, *Cornelius Scipio*, with ſeventeen new-built galleys, to the port of *Lipara*. Upon his arrival there, the *Carthaginians*, who had ſent before a ſquadron into that harbour under the command of *Boodes*, begged for peace in the moſt ſuppliant manner, pretending to ſubmit to whatever conditions the *Romans* ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. At the ſame time they acquainted him, that the *Carthaginian* commodore was ſo extremely indiſpoſed, that he could not poſſibly come on board his galley, or that otherwiſe he would have waited upon him, and made the overture in perſon; and therefore intreated him to honour *Boodes* with his company, in order to ſettle a firm and laſting peace between the two nations. The credulous *Roman*, giving ear to this propoſal, was detained priſoner by the perfidious *Carthaginian*, and his whole ſquadron taken after a faint reſiſtance. This *Roman* ſquadron was ſent from the reſt of the ſhips to *Meſſana*, to reconnoitre the coaſts, and give directions there for the reception and ſecurity of the grand fleet; of which *Hannibal*, who was then at *Panormus*, receiving intelligence, immediately detached twenty galleys,

[y] Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ubi ſupra. Zonar. l. viii. c. 10. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Liv. in epit. 17. Frontin. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 16. ex. 3.

(L) This town *Diodorus* calls *Myſtratus*, *Polybius* *Myttiſtratum*, *Zonaras Mutiſtratus*, *Stephanus Byzantinus Ameſtratus*, and *Silius Italicus Amaſtra*. *Pliny* mentions the *Mutuſtratini*, which were undoubtedly the inhabitants of it. Both from the name and the ſituation aſſigned it by ſome of the above-mentioned authors, the *Sicilian* town at preſent called *Miſtretta* ſeems to anſwer to it (13).

(13) *Diod. Sic. l.* xxiii. *in excerpt. Rhodoman. Polyb. l.* i. *Zonar. l.* viii. *c.* 11. *Steph. Byzant. de urb. in voc. Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 8. *Sil. Ital. l.* xiv. *ver.* 267.

a galleys, under the command of *Boodes*, who made themſelves maſters of the *Roman* veſſels in the manner above-mentioned. *Zonaras* tells us, that the *Carthaginian* commodore at firſt made the proper diſpoſitions to attack the *Romans*; but finding them in a poſture to give him a warm reception, he judged it more convenient to have recourſe to the artifice already related. The ſame author adds, that the legionary tribunes on board the *Roman* fleet, attending the conſul, were likewiſe taken, and all of them ſent priſoners to *Carthage*; and that, after this, the ſeventeen galleys ſurrendered, without ſtriking a ſtroke. Soon after *Hannibal* himſelf committed great ravages on the coaſts of *Italy*, whither he had advanced at the head of fifty galleys, to take a view of the *Roman* naval forces there; but was attacked in his turn, loſt the

b beſt part of his ſhips, and with great difficulty made his eſcape. This ſomething raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the *Romans*, who were not a little dejected at the loſs they had before ſuſtained [z].

Duilius *the conſul gains another moſt ſignal victory over him.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this defeat, the *Carthaginians*, being one of the moſt powerful nations of the world by ſea, entertained ſtill a very contemptible opinion of the *Roman* fleet, which was but in its infancy. The *Romans*, on the other hand, dreaded the naval force of the *Carthaginians*, though they had gained an advantage over *Hannibal*, eſpecially as they had loſt one of their conſuls, who was an able and brave commander. In order therefore to make head againſt the enemy upon the watery element, the ſenate ordered the remaining conſul, *C. Duilius*, immediately to leave

c *Sicily*, and take upon him the command of the ſquadron then in the ſtreights of *Rhegium*. This he did, and engaging the *Carthaginians*, by the help of the *corvus*, a machine which we have already deſcribed at large from *Polybius*, intirely defeated them [a]. Some authors intimate, that the *manus ferreæ*, or *harpagones*, a grappling inſtrument, were a machine different from the *corvi* [b] (M), and of great ſervice to the *Romans* in this action. Others maintain, that they were ſame, or at leaſt, that the former appertained to the latter [c]. For our part, we think it evident from *Curtius*, *Pliny*, and others, that the *manus ferreæ* (N) were more antient than the *corvi*, and of *Tyrian* extraction, and conſequently known to the [d] *Carthaginians* themſelves; though at the ſame time we believe they were much improved by the *corvi*. As the

d *Roman* veſſels were vaſtly inferior to the *Carthaginian* in lightneſs and activity, the *corvus* was invented to remedy that defect. *Hannibal*, though he performed the part of a gallant commander in this action, was obliged to abandon his ſeptireme, or admiral galley, to the enemy, and got off in a ſmall boat. The reſt of the *Carthaginian* galleys ſoon after came up with the *Romans*, but met with the ſame fate the others had done before. The loſs of the *Carthaginians* in this double engagement is variouſly related by the *Roman* hiſtorians; but the moſt authentic account of it is the inſcription on the baſis of the *columna roſtrata* (O) of *Duilius*, ſtill preſerved at *Rome*,

z DIOD. SIC. LIV. POLYB. & ZONAR. ubi ſup. POLYÆN. ſtrat. l. vi. c. 16. ex. 5. Vide & ENNIUM in
c annal. 6, 7. cum not. HIERON. COLUMN. accurat. Heſſel. Amſt. 1707. a POLYB. LIV. & FLOR. ubi ſup. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 11. LUC. AMPEL. in lib. memorial. c. 46. AUREL. VICT. ſive auct. vit. vir. illuſt. 38. EUTROP. l. ii. b PLIN. l. vii. c. 56. CURT. l. iv. paſſ. Vide & FREINSHEM. in Flor. l. ii. c. 2. atq; LIV. l. xxx. c. 10. c FLOR. & auct. vit. vir. illuſt. ubi ſup. S. JUL. FRONTIN. l. ii. c. 3. ex. 24.
d LIV. ubi ſup. Vide & SCHEFFER. in Mil. nav. l. xi. c. 7.

(M) To what has been already ſaid of the *corvus*, we ſhall only add, that the chevalier *Folard* has obliged the world with a learned and curious diſſertation upon it. *Dominicus Machanæus*, in his ſcholia upon *Cornelius Nepos*, likewiſe has given us a minute deſcription of it, which is extracted chiefly
f from *Polybius*. This we mention purely for the ſake of our curious and inquiſitive readers.

(N) *Zonaras* intimates, that the *manus ferreæ*, or *harpagones*, were fixed to the ends of long poles, and that with them the *Romans* grappled and brought-to the enemies ſhips. *Livy* gives us much the ſame account of them, and tells us, that the *Carthaginians* likewiſe made uſe of them in their naval engagements with the *Romans*; which ſeems a ſufficient proof, that they were not the *corvus*, ſince this was invented by *Duilius*. *Scheffer* thinks that theſe *manus ferreæ*, or *harpagones*, were iron hooks fixed in the heads of poles, which, by the aſſiſtance of a chain faſtened to the maſt, were thrown down with great force upon the enemies veſſels; which they penetrated in ſuch a manner, that nothing could diſengage them; ſo that they hoiſted them up into the air, and then daſhed them upon the water with ſo great violence, that they were frequently ſunk. The *Greeks* called this machine ἁρπάγη, according to *Heſychius* (14).

(O) The *naves roſtratæ* from whence *Duilius*'s pillar was called *columna roſtrata*, were veſſels ſo denominated from the *Latin* word *roſtra*, ſignifying the beaks of ſhips. Theſe beaks, in figure reſembling thoſe of birds, conſiſted of braſs, and ſerved not only to cut the water in ſailing, but likewiſe to damage the enemies ſhips in an engagement. This is not only apparent from the figure of theſe veſſels in the *columna roſtrata* of *Duilius*, and on antient coins, but likewiſe from *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*. The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* both made

(14) *Zonar. l.* viii. *c.* 10. *Liv. l.* xxx. *c.* 10. *Scheffer. ubi ſup. Heſych. in voc.* ἁρπάγη.

Rome, and which may be ſeen in a former part of this work. As for *Hannibal*, having before fled from *Agrigentum*, he would moſt certainly have been crucified upon his arrival at *Carthage*, had he not, by an inſtance of *Punic* ſubtilty, avoided the impending danger. However, the ſenate thought proper to remove him from the command of the ſea-forces. This we learn from *Oroſius* and *Zonaras*; but, according to *Polybius*, he was continued in that poſt, and the ſame campaign crucified by his own men, upon their receiving another diſgrace from the *Romans* [e]. a

Hamilcar *ſurpriſes the* Syracuſians, *and reduces ſeveral towns in* Sicily.

Fortune, however, did not intirely abandon the *Carthaginians*. Their arms in *Sicily* were attended with a good run of ſucceſs after the departure of *Duilius*; for though the *Romans*, in conſequence of their late victory, obliged the *Carthaginians* to raiſe the ſiege of *Segeſta*, which a body of their troops had formed, and carried b the town of *Macella* by aſſault; yet *Hamilcar*, whoſe head-quarters were then at *Panormus*, only waited for a favourable opportunity to attack them. In the mean time, a diſpute aroſe in the *Roman* camp between the auxiliary troops and the legionaries, which came to ſuch a height, that a ſeparation ſeemed inevitable, the former having actually marked out a camp for themſelves between *Paropus* and *Thermæ* (P). A general, much leſs vigilant than *Hamilcar*, would naturally have taken advantage of ſuch a diſſenſion; the *Carthaginians* therefore, ſurpriſing them near the ſpot of ground they had choſen to encamp upon, before they could intrench themſelves, put four thouſand, according to *Polybius*, or, as *Diodorus* will have it, ſix thouſand, of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. After this blow, *Hamilcar* made himſelf c maſter of *Camarina* and *Enna*, and fortified *Drepanum*, ſurrounding it with a wall. Here he likewiſe depoſited the moſt valuable part of his baggage and other effects. Then advancing to *Eryx*, he almoſt razed that antient city, leaving only a ſmall part of it ſtanding to cover the famous temple of *Venus Erycina*, ſuppoſed to have been built by *Æneas*; and carried the inhabitants to *Drepanum*. This he did to prevent the *Romans* from taking poſt in that fortreſs, in caſe the citizens ſhould be diſpoſed to invite them thither. In ſhort, he reduced many cities, partly by force, and partly by treachery; and had made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, had not *Florus*, the *Roman* general, after *Duilius* was gone to *Rome*, behaved with great vigilance and bravery. However, this ſucceſs was not laſting, as we ſhall ſee imme- d diately [f].

Hannibal *ſurpriſed by the* Romans, *and crucified by his own men.*

Hannibal, according to *Polybius*, after the defeat off of *Mylæ*, returned to *Carthage*; where being reinforced by a good number of galleys, and attended by many officers of great merit, he put to ſea again, ſteering his courſe for the coaſt of *Sardinia*. He had not been long in one of the harbours of that iſland, probably *Calaris*, now *Cagliari*, but he was ſurpriſed by the *Romans*, who carried off many of his ſhips, and took great numbers of his men priſoners. This ſo incenſed the reſt, that they ſeized their admiral, and crucified him; but who was his immediate ſucceſſor, does not appear. The *Romans*, however, reaped no other advantage from this action, than ſhewing their activity, encouraging their allies, and a little diminiſhing the e naval power of their rival. Had *Hannibal* eſcaped death for the preſent, it is probable he would have met with it at *Carthage*; ſince it was looked upon there as the higheſt crime in a general to be unſucceſsful. Nothing further material happened either this campaign, or the following, if we will give credit to *Polybius* [g].

Towards

e Aurel. Vict. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Polyb. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 654. not. (F). Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Hœſchel. f Diod. Sic. & Polyb. ubi ſup. g Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſupra.

made uſe of ſuch veſſels. It is likely they were of eaſtern extraction. The *Carthaginians*, as *Silius* ſeems to intimate, had them from their anceſtors the *Tyrians* and they from the *Sidonians* (15).

(P) *Salmaſius*, depending upon the authority of *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, places the city here mentioned by *Diodorus* in the ſouthern, or rather ſouth-weſtern, part of the iſland, in the neighbourhood of *Selinus*. Beſides this, there was another of the ſame name, founded by the *Carthaginians* upon the ruins of *Himera*, which we have already given a deſcription of. That the *Termini* of the modern *Sicilians* ſtands upon the ſame ſpot of ground, which the antient *Thermæ Himerenſes*, or, as *Diodorus* calls it, *Therma*, occupied, is evident from *Gruter* and *Marius Aretius*. *Cicero* likewiſe, and *Pindar*'s ſcholiaſt, both take notice of this laſt city; which we could not intirely paſs over in ſilence, as being of *Carthaginian* extraction (16).

(15) *Iſidor. l.* xix. *c.* 1. *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. *Polyb. l.* i. *c.* 50. *Sil. Italic. l.* xiv. (16) *Strab. l.* vi. *p.* 189. *P. Mel. l.* ii. *c.* 7. *Plin. l.* iii. *c.* 8. *Salmaſ. in Solin. c.* 5. *p.* 80. *Cic. in Ver.* ii. *c.* 35. *Schol. in Pind. Olymp.* xvii. *ſub fin. Diod. Sic. l.* xiii. *Marius Aretius in chorograph. Sicil. & inſcript. apud Gruter. p.* 433. *n.* 6. *Apollodor. apud Strab. ubi ſup p.* 188. *Thucyd. l.* vi. *ſub init.*

a Towards the close of the following campaign, *Hamilcar* put his troops into winter-quarters at *Panormus*, posting proper detachments at the principal avenues to the city, to prevent a surprize. In the mean time, *C. Aquilius Florus*, the *Roman* general, having received a reinforcement, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Panormus*, and offered the enemy battle; but finding that they would not stir out of the town, and that he was not strong enough to undertake the siege of the place, especially as the season was so far advanced, he moved with his army to *Hippana*, and took it by assault. From thence he marched to *Myttistratum*, a fortress which the *Romans* had twice ineffectually besieged, and sat down before it. *Florus* here made his approaches so slowly, either through the bad disposition of the ground, or b the bravery of the *Carthaginian* garison, that he could not reduce the city before the expiration of his office. However, early the next spring, his successor, *A. Attilius Collatinus*, or, as *Zonaras* calls him, *A. Attilius Latinus*, joining the army before *Myttistratum* with a strong body of forces, pushed on the siege with such vigour, that the *Carthaginian* garison abandoned the town in the night, and the wives and children of the citizens, by their outcries and lamentations, obliged them to open the gates to the *Romans*. The soldiers, enraged at the obstinate defence they had made, and their attachment to the *Carthaginians*, at first put all they met, without distinction, to the sword; but the consul causing a proclamation to be made, that every *Roman* soldier should possess all the persons and effects of those he took prisonc ers, the slaughter ceased. However, the city itself was levelled with the ground, and the remaining part of the inhabitants sold for slaves. The consul next attacked *Camarina*, and, in his march thither, was near being cut off, with his whole army, by a stratagem of *Hamilcar*, as has been already related; but found it so strong, and defended by so numerous a garison, that he could not make himself master of it, till he received a large train of battering-engines and other supplies from king *Hiero*. After these arrived, the *Romans* soon carried the town, and treated the inhabitants in the same manner they had done those of *Myttistratum*. The consul afterwards seized upon *Enna* by treachery, and massacred the *Carthaginian* garison. *Sittana* he took by storm; and *Camicus*, a castle belonging to the *Agrigentines*, was betrayed to him. d Other places, of less importance, surrendered of course; so that the *Carthaginians* began to lose ground considerably, notwithstanding their late successes. The *Romans*, looking upon *Camicus* as a post of consequence, left a considerable party of men to defend it; and having possessed themselves of *Erbessus*, which was deserted by its inhabitants, made preparations to sit down before *Lipara* with all their forces [h].

The progress of the Romans *in* Sicily.

In the mean time *L. Cornelius Scipio*, *Florus*'s collegue, sailed, with the squadron under his command, towards *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, two islands in the *Tyrrhenian* sea, subject to *Carthage*, and so near one another, that, at a great distance, they seemed to be but one island. The consul first made a descent in *Corsica*, and took *Aleria*, or, as *Zonaras* calls it, *Valeria*, by storm; upon (Q) which the other towns submitted, that

As likewise in Sardinia *and* Corsica.

h Polyb. ubi sup. Zonar. l. viii. c. 11. p. 387. Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. Aurel. Vict. sive auct. vit. vir. illustr. in Attil. Collatin. 38. Liv. epit. l. xvii. Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. l. iv. c. 7.

(Q) About the year 1615. a stone was dug up near the *Porta Capena* in *Rome*, with the following inscription upon it, commemorating the event here mentioned. This stone is five palms four inches long, and two palms ten inches broad.

HONCOINO.PLOIRVMEICOSENTIONT.R
DVONORO.OPTVMO.FVISE.VIRO
LVCIOM.SCIPIONE.FILIOS.BARBATI
CONSOL.CENSOR.AIDILIS.HIC.FVET.A
HEC.CEPIT.CORSICA.ALERIAQVE.VRBE
DEDET.TEMPESTATEBVS.AIDE.MERETO

Hunc plurimi consentiunt Romæ
Bonorum optimum fuisse virum
LUCIUM SCIPIONEM. Filius Barbati,
Consul, censor, ædilis hic fuit
Hic cepit Corsicam, Aleriamque urbem;
Dedit Tempestatibus ædem merito.

Most people agree, that of all the good men in Rome *this* Lucius Scipio *was the best. He was the son of* Scipio *surnamed* Barbatus, *as likewise consul, censor, and ædile. He took the city of* Aleria, *and conquered* Corsica; *and built a temple for the* Tempests, *as he had great reason to do.*

From this most remarkable inscription, which, in point of antiquity, is scarce inferior to that on the base of the *columna rostrata* of *Duilius*, since the action here referred to happened in the year of *Rome* 494. the year after *Duilius* got his naval victory, may be drawn the following observations:

1. That the *L. Scipio* mentioned here was not the *L. Scipio* said by *Livy* to have been made consul in *Etruria*, but another, the son of *Barbatus*, who subdued *Corsica*, A. U. C. 494.

2. That he was the same person with him, who, according to the *Capitoline Tables*, triumphed over the *Corsi*, *Sardi*, and *Carthaginians*.

3. That either the MSS. of *Livy*, or the *Fasti Capitolini*, must be out, when the first affirm, that *Scipio Barbatus*'s prænomen was *Publius*, and the last, that *Lucius Scipio*, who triumphed over the

that being the only place of ſtrength in the whole iſland. As the *Carthaginians* had a
a ſtrong fleet of galleys on the coaſt of *Sardinia*, they were in no great pain for that iſland. Upon *Scipio*'s moving that way, they detached one part of it to reconnoitre him; which immediately retired upon his approach. But, upon his entering the port of *Olbia*, the appearance of the whole *Carthaginiau* ſquadron, then riding at anchor there, was ſo terrible, that he thought proper to ſheer off, without putting his deſign in execution. A further inducement to him not to undertake the conqueſt of *Sardinia* at this preſent juncture, was his not having a ſufficient body of legionaries on board to attack the *Carthaginians* by land. As he had not received proper intelligence of the enemy's ſtrength on that ſide, he had not taken the neceſſary meaſures
b
to render that expedition ſucceſsful, and therefore found himſelf obliged to retreat in a precipitate manner; but ſome authors give us to underſtand, that ſoon after, having been furniſhed with a larger body of land-forces, he returned, and (R) reduced *Olbia*. Other places of leſs note, upon the reduction of that town, fell to him; but he could not make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. However, according to *Eutropius*, he carried off with him a vaſt number both of the *Corſi* and *Sardi* priſoners [i].

The Romans *by a ſtratagem, give the* Carthaginians *a blow in* Sardinia.

Hamilcar being informed the year following, that the *Romans* had a deſign upon *Lipara*, threw a body of forces into that town by night, unknown to the conſul. This was done in ſo private and unexpected a manner, that the citizens, though ſtrongly inclined to the *Romans*, found themſelves incapable of making any reſiſtance. The conſul, arriving before the place, made a vigorous attack; but was
c
repulſed by *Hamilcar*, at the head of the gariſon, with the ſlaughter of a great number of men. At the ſame time *Sulpicius*, who then acted as admiral, after having hovered ſeveral days about the coaſt of *Sardinia*, made a deſcent there, and completed the reduction of that iſland. According to *Florus*, by razing the city of *Caralis*, or *Carala*, the capital of the iſland, he ſo terrified the *Sardi*, that they ſubmitted

[i] POLYB. LIV. ZONAR. ubi ſup. FLOR. l. ii. c. 2. OROS. l. iv. c. 7. EUTROP. l. ii. Univ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 660.

Corſi, *Sardi*, and *Carthaginians*, at the time aforeſaid, was the ſon of *L. Scipio*.

4. That a vacancy or *hiatus* in the *Capitoline Tables* may be from hence ſupplied; ſince from the inſcription it appears, that this *L. Scipio* muſt have been, in all probability, *Duilius*'s collegue in the cenſorſhip A. U. C. 495. From whence it follows, that *Onuphrinus Panvinius* is guilty of a miſtake, when he makes *Cn Scipio Aſina* to have been *Duilius*'s collegue in the cenſorſhip the year abovementioned.

5. That a paſſage in *Ovid* may be hereby explained, which, before the diſcovery of this inſcription, was not underſtood:

Te quoque, Tempeſtas, *meritam delubra fatemur*,
Cum pæne eſt Corſis *obruta claſſis aquis.*

Some authors imagined this to point at the tempeſt *Claudius Nero* the conſul met with in the year of *Rome* 551. in which, according to *Livy*, his fleet was near being deſtroyed; others, to one that attacked *Marcellus*; and laſtly, others, to one in which *Metellus*'s ſquadron was almoſt loſt; whereas it undoubtedly alludes to one, that *L. Scipio*, at the time we are ſpeaking of, met with on the coaſt of *Corſica*, wherein he very narrowly eſcaped deſtruction.

6. That of courſe *L. Scipio* was attacked by ſuch a tempeſt on the coaſt of *Corſica*, in which his whole fleet was in the moſt imminent danger of being loſt; and that, upon account of his deliverance therefrom, he built a temple, which he dedicated to the *Tempeſts*, i. e. to the deities preſiding over them.

7. That the *Romans* looked upon tempeſts as deities, or at leaſt imagined they had deities preſiding over them, and therefore paid them divine honours.

8. That the name of the principal fortreſs in *Corſia* was *Aleria*, and not *Valeria*, as we find it in all the MSS. of *Zonaras*; and that therefore theſe MSS. may be emended by this inſcription.

9. That many obſervations relating to the antient language of the *Romans* and *Latins*, laid down by *Feſtus*, *Quintilian*, and others, are confirmed by the words it contains.

10. That, in antient times, ſome letters of the *Roman* and *Latin* alphabet, at leaſt, were borrowed from the *Etruſcans*, ſince ⅃ and Ꙅ apparently belong to that nation; at leaſt, that the *Etruſcans* had letters in their alphabet, which, in figure, correſponded with ſome of the *Roman* and *Latin* letters. This is confirmed by the legends on ſeveral conſular coins.

Many other concluſions might be drawn from hence, which we have not time at preſent to touch upon. It is not improbable, that the ſtone, on which this inſcription was found, belonged to *Scipio*'s tomb, and that he was buried not far from the *Porta Capena* (17).

(R) *Hanno*, who had behaved with ſo much bravery in *Sicily*, commanded in *Olbia*, and was killed in one of the attacks. We muſt own ourſelves, guilty of a miſtake in a former part of this work when we cite *Valerius Maximus* to prove, that the *Roman* conſul honoured *Hanno*'s body with a noble funeral; ſince that author, in the place referred to, ſpeaks of *Hannibal* in the ſecond *Punic* war, who ſhewed great humanity on ſuch an occaſion to the body of *Tiberius Gracchus* (18).

(17) *Liv. l.* x. *l.* xxx. *& alib. paſſ. Ovid. faſt. l.* vi. *Feſt. Pomp. in voc.* Duonum, *& voc.* Topper, *ut & Carm. Saliar. in qu. videre eſt* Duonus Ceruſus, *i. e.* Bonus Creator. *M. Fab. Quinctil. l.* i. *c.* 4. *& 7. l.* ix. *c.* 4. *& alib. Vide & Joſ. Scalig. in Sext. Pomp. Feſt. lib. de verb. ſign. caſtigat. p.* 209, 210. *Tab. Eugubin.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *apud Dempſt. de Etrur. regal. vol.* i. *edit. Florent.* 1723. *Phil. Bonarot. ad monum. Etruſc. op. Demſt. addit. explic. & conject. ſect.* 41. *p.* 85—88. *ed. Florent*, 1726. *Anton. Fran. Gorii muſeum Etruſcum, paſſ. ed. Florent.* 1737. (18) *Univerſ. hiſt. vol.* iv. *p.* 660. *Val. Max l.* v. *c.* 1.

a mitted to him. *Zonaras* informs us, that the contrary winds prevented an engagement between *Sulpicius* and the *Carthaginians*; but that afterwards *Attilius*, who commanded the land-forces, found an opportunity of impoſing upon the *Carthaginian* admiral, by means of ſome deſerters, whom he bribed to aſſure him, that the *Romans* intended to land in *Africa*. Upon this, according to the ſame author, the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, having been before driven by ſtreſs of weather into one of the ports of *Sardinia*, looſed immediately, though in the night, and ſet ſail for *Africa*; but were attacked by *Sulpicius*, who, being appriſed of the intelligence given them, had poſted himſelf in a proper place to intercept them, and either took or ſunk, by favour of the night, moſt of their ſhips. The good ſucceſs of this ſtra-
b tagem encouraged the *Romans* now in good earneſt to prepare for an expedition to *Africa*, as the only means to oblige the enemy to evacuate *Sicily*, and procure them a peace upon their own terms [k] (S).

The Romans *and* Carthaginians *both meet with diſaſters in this maritime war*

THE next year, from *Zonaras* it ſeems probable, that the *Roman* forces in *Sicily*, under the command of *A. Attilius Collatinus*, or, as *Livy* will have it, *Calatinus*, who, on account of his great ſervices, was continued general there, with the title of proconſul, beſieged *Lipara* a ſecond time, though they had been routed by the *Carthaginians* towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign. *C. Attilius Regulus*, one of the new conſuls, who had the command of the fleet allotted to him, had two naval engagements with the enemy off the coaſts of *Sicily*, in the firſt of which he loſt nine
c galleys; but in the other routed the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, ſinking ten, and taking eight of their veſſels, with all their crews. The other conſul, about the ſame time, laid waſte the iſland of *Malta*; which is a good proof, that the *Carthaginians* were then in poſſeſſion of it. Theſe advantages ſtill farther excited the *Romans* to attack the *African* republic in the very heart of its dominions [l].

They both prepare for a deciſive engagement.

As neither of the late actions had been deciſive, both parties made ſuch vaſt and expeditious preparations, that the enſuing ſummer, the ninth year of this war, they had collected their whole naval force, in order to determine the fate of *Sicily*, as well as the dominion of the ſea, and, in conſequence thereof, that of *Carthage* itſelf. The conſuls, *L. Manlius Vulſo* and *C. Attilius Regulus*, who were elected purely on
d account of their diſtinguiſhed merit, with the *Roman* fleet under their command, conſiſting of three hundred and thirty galleys of different ſizes, had their rendezvous at *Meſſana*. From thence, ſtretching their line along the coaſt towards cape *Pachynum*, after having doubled that cape, they ſailed directly to *Ecnomus*, where they took their land-forces on board. About the ſame time, the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, compoſed of three hundred and fifty ſail, arrived at *Lilybæum*, the only place they had left in *Sicily*, except *Panormus*, and a few towns of leſs note in that neighbourhood. They did not ſtay long here, but, purſuing their projected courſe, took up their ſtation at *Heraclea Minoa*, where they made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to give the enemy battle [m].

The diſpoſition of their fleet.

e THE *Romans*, in order either to engage the enemy by ſea, or make a deſcent upon their territories in *Africa*, had taken care to put on board the galleys the very flower of their land-forces. The grand ſquadron conſiſted of four diviſions, the firſt of which was called the firſt legion, and the firſt fleet; the ſecond and third in like manner received a denomination from their order; but the fourth went by the name of *triarians*, a term

[k] ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 12, 13. POLYB. LIV. & FLOR. ubi ſup. [l] POLYB. LIV. ZONAR. DIOD. SIC. OROS. l. iv. ubi ſup. [m] POLYB. & EUTROP. ubi ſup. DIO CASS. in excerptis Valeſii.

(S) *Zonaras* and *Oroſius* make *Hannibal* to have been the *Carthaginian* admiral at this time, and, if we remember right, are the only authors who tell us, that he had his commiſſion taken from him for the ill ſucceſs he met with in his engagement with *Duilius*. *Aurelius Victor* indeed agrees with them in relation to *Hannibal*'s eſcaping puniſhment by a ſtratagem; but ſays not a word of his being deprived of his command. *Zonaras* and *Oroſius* therefore being modern, in compariſon of *Polybius*, whom they contradict in this particular, and unſupported by any antient writer in what they advance as to the point before us, we have choſen to follow the laſt hiſtorian, when he affirms, that *Hannibal* was continued in his command of the fleet, and crucified ſoon after by his own men. Beſides, it ſeems improbable, that, if he had been diſcarded on account of his ill conduct, or ill ſucceſs, which the ſuperſtitious *Carthaginians* looked upon as very ominous, the ſenate of *Carthage* ſhould have afterwards employed him, eſpecially as they might naturally have ſome apprehenſions of his conduct's being influenced by his reſentment. *Zonaras* and *Oroſius* therefore ought to give way to *Polybius* in the preſent caſe. *Oroſius* intimates, that he was ſtoned to death by his troops (19).

(19) *Aurel. Vict. ſive auct. vit. vir. illuſtr. in Duil.* 37. *Polyb. l.* i. & *Zonar. in loc. citat. Oroſ. l.* iv. *Vide Liv. epit. l.* xvii. *alioſq*; *Roman. hiſtoric.*

a term peculiarly applied to a certain order of ſoldiers, who were always the choiceſt troops, and formed the corps *de reſerve* amongſt the *Romans*. Each galley contained three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty ſoldiers; ſo that the whole united force on board amounted to near an hundred and forty thouſand men. The firſt diviſion was poſted on the right, the ſecond on the left, and the third in the rear of the other two, in ſuch a manner, as with them to form a triangle, the vertex of which was the two admiral-galleys, wherein were the two conſuls, placed in the front of their reſpective ſquadrons. The *triarians* were drawn up in the rear of the whole fleet, parallel to the third legion, the baſe of the aforeſaid triangle, but extended beyond the two angles there. The tranſports, with the horſes and baggage on board, lay between the two laſt-mentioned lines, that is, between the third diviſion and the *triarians*, this being judged the beſt ſituation for them to be covered from any irruptions of the enemy. The combined naval and land-force of the *Carthaginians* muſt, according to *Polybius*, have exceeded that of the *Romans*; ſince he ſeems to inſinuate, that their troops, including the ſeamen, could not have been leſs than an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong. When the *Carthaginians* had obſerved the diſpoſition of the *Roman* ſquadron, they immediately ranged their own in order of battle. They divided it into four ſmaller ſquadrons, which they drew up into one line. The three firſt diviſions, poſted to the right, ſtretched out far into the ſea, as though they had an intention to ſurround the *Romans*, pointing their prows directly upon them; the fourth, lying to the left, kept cloſe under the ſhore, being diſpoſed in the form of an outwork or tenaille. *Hanno*, who had met with ſuch bad ſucceſs at *Agrigentum*, commanded on the right with the light veſſels, that could attack and retreat with great ſwiftneſs, and row nimbly round the galleys of the *Romans*. *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral in the late action off of *Tyndaris*, had the left wing committed to his conduct, who, though he had the misfortune to be defeated, gave ſufficient proofs of his merit and experience in this engagement [n].

The Carthaginians *intirely defeated*

The conſul, obſerving the *Carthaginian* line to be very thin in the middle, cauſed it to be vigorouſly attacked in that part by their firſt and ſecond diviſions. The *Carthaginians*, at the firſt onſet, purſuant to the orders received from *Hamilcar*, retired with precipitation, hoping by this means to ſeparate that part of the *Roman* fleet, with which they were engaged, from the other, not doubting but the *Romans* would purſue them with great ardor, and thereby give the groſs of their fleet an opportunity of charging the remaining *Roman* diviſions with great advantage. Accordingly the *Romans*, by their eagerneſs in the purſuit, left their comrades expoſed to the efforts of the enemy. The *Carthaginians*, that fled, perceiving this, immediately, upon a ſignal given from *Hamilcar*'s galley, tacked about, and, with great bravery, made head againſt their purſuers; but, after a warm diſpute, the *Romans*, notwithſtanding the lightneſs and activity of the *Carthaginian* veſſels, by the aſſiſtance of their *corvi* and other grappling inſtruments, coming to a cloſe engagement with them, and being animated by the example of their officers, who expoſed themſelves as much as the meaneſt ſoldiers, worſted the enemy, obliging them to ſheer off. In the mean time, *Hanno* fell with great fury upon the *triarians*, whilſt that part of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron poſted on the left under the ſhore, attacked the tranſports and the third legion. Here were three ſea-fights at once, which continued for ſome hours with a vaſt effuſion of blood. In fine, *Hanno* on one ſide, and the fourth *Carthaginian* diviſion on the other, reduced the *triarians*, tranſports, and third legion, to the laſt extremity, forced many of them on ſhore, and had totally ruined them, had they not been kept in awe by the *corvi*. But at laſt *Manlius* returning from the chace of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron already routed, and *Regalus*, with the ſecond legion, advancing to the relief of the *triarians*, the enemy were intirely defeated. The *Romans* loſt only twenty-four galleys in this action; but the *Carthaginians* had thirty ſunk, and ſixty-three taken by the victors. After this battle, which happened off of *Heraclea Minoa*, *Hamilcar* ſent *Hanno* to make propoſals of peace to the *Romans*, chiefly with a deſign to amuſe the conſuls, and divert them from the *African* expedition they had in view. But the *Romons* rejecting theſe propoſals, the war continued with as much fierceneſs as ever; and the conſuls, ſoon after ſetting ſail for *Africa* with their whole fleet, and a powerful army on board, landed at *Clypea* without oppoſition [o].

No

[n] Polyb. & Zonar. in annal. ubi ſup. Ampel. ubi ſup. Oros. l. iv. c. 7.

[o] Polyb. Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Zonar. Lucius

a No words can expreſs the conſternation the *Carthaginians* were in, upon advice of the *Roman* army's landing in *Africa*. They very well knew, that the conſuls might march to *Carthage* without any obſtruction, and lay waſte all the fertile country as they advanced, which could not but reduce them to the greateſt ſtreights. *Zonaras* tells us, that the inhabitants of *Clypea* or *Clupea* were ſeized with ſuch impreſſions of terror, that they abandoned the city at the approach of the *Romans*; but, according to *Polybius*, it ſtood a ſiege, though the *Carthaginians* not being in a condition to relieve it, the conſuls, without much bloodſhed, made themſelves maſters of it. *Appian* repreſents the *Roman* navy employed in this invaſion as very formidable, telling us, that it included no leſs than three hundred and fifty ſail. From b cape *Hermea*, where it lay for a ſhort time, it coaſted along to *Clypea*, or, as the *Greeks* call it, *Aſpis*, where there was a very commodious harbour. The *Romans*, having left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, to ſecure their ſhipping, and keep the adjacent territory in awe, moved with the reſt of their army nearer *Carthage*, and reduced a great number of towns, partly by force, and partly by compoſition. They likewiſe plundered an infinity of villages, laid vaſt numbers of noblemens ſeats in aſhes, took above twenty thouſand (*Eutropius* ſays twenty-ſeven thouſand) priſoners, amongſt whom were many *Romans*, that had fallen into the enemy's hands ſince the beginning of this war, with ſeveral deſerters; and having ſcoured all the country almoſt to the gates of *Carthage*, they returned to *Clypea*, loaden with the immenſe c booty got in this expedition [p].

The Romans *commit great ravages in* Africa.

The *Carthaginians*, ſoon after, receiving intelligence, that *Manlius* was ſet out for *Rome* with the beſt part of the troops, and had left *Regulas* with only forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, to carry on the war in *Africa*, began to recover from the terrible fright they were thrown into by the firſt news of this invaſion, and therefore inſtantly ſet about making the proper diſpoſitions for their defence. They appointed *Hanno*, the ſon of *Aſdrubal*, and *Boſtar* generals of their forces, and diſpatched an expreſs to *Hamilcar*, then at *Heraclea*, to return home with all expedition. *Hamilcar*, in a ſhort time, arrived at *Carthage*, with a reinforcement of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, and was joined with *Aſdrubal* d and *Boſtar* in the command of the army. The firſt object of their conſultations was, how to prevent the incurſions of the *Romans* at leaſt, if not to diſlodge them from the province, wherein the capital of *Africa* was ſeated. On the other hand, *Regulus*, who had taken up his winter-quarters at *Clypea*, committed great ravages along the ſea-coaſts, and even penetrated into the very heart of the country; but hearing that the *Carthaginian* army was in motion, he likewiſe made a movement with his forces, and encamped upon the *Bagrada*, in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. Here with his battering-engines he ſlew a ſerpent of a monſtrous ſize, which, if *Ælius Tubero* may be believed, found the whole *Roman* army for ſome time in employ. The *Roman* hiſtorians have undoubtedly given us an hyperbolic deſcription of this mon- e ſter, and the effects it produced; but conſidering that [q] *Livy*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Ælius Tubero*, *Pliny*, *Zonaras*, and others, agree in the main in their accounts of it, we cannot help thinking, that a ſerpent of an enormous ſize the *Romans* really killed at the place where they were now encamped, eſpecially ſince dragons or ſerpents immenſely large were pretty common in *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, *Libya*, *Ethiopia*, &c. and (T) ſince it appears from *Megaſthenes* [r] and others, that various inſtances of ſurpriſingly huge animals of the ſerpentine kind might be drawn from antiquity.

Regulus *advances towards* Carthage.

Hamilcar

[p] Idem ibid. & Eutrop. ubi ſup. Appian. in Libyc. ſub init. Paul. Oros. l. iv. [q] Liv. epit. l. xviii. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. Æl. Tuber. apud Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 3. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. viii. c. 14. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 13. Senec. de clement. l. i. c. 25. Flor. ubi ſup. [r] Megasth. apud Plin. in loc. jam citat. Plut. in parallel. Propert. eleg. viii. ver. 4. Onesicrit. Astyp. apud Strab. l. xv. Agath. Cnid. de mar. Rubr. l. v. apud Phot. in biblioth. c. 250. p. 583. ed. Rothom. 1653. Georg. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 153.

(T) In proof of what is here advanced, many authors might be produced. *Megaſthenes* ſays, that in *India* there were ſerpents or dragons, which could ſwallow at once a ſtag, or a bull. *Metrodorus* affirms, that near the river *Rhyndacus* in *Pontus*, they were ſo large, that they could ſeize upon birds flying at a great height over their heads, and devour them. *Pliny* relates, that a certain ſpecies of this animal, called *boæ* or *boiæ*, were of ſuch a magnitude, that a whole child had been found in the ſtomach of one of them, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*; and that at firſt they lived upon cows milk, from whence they derived their name. *Seneca*, a very grave author, intimates, that the ſerpent here mentioned infected the river for a vaſt diſtance, deſtroyed the country all round, and burnt many of the ſoldiers to death with his breath. *Plutarch* tells us of a monſtrous ſerpent or dragon, which

And defeats the Carthaginians.

Hamilcar and his collegues, receiving advice of the *Roman* general's approach, a and of his having formed the ſiege of *Adis*, or *Adda*, a fortreſs of great conſequence to *Carthage*, advanced at the head of their forces to attack him. Upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of *Adda*, they encamped upon ſome heights covered with woods, which was a capital error, and occaſioned the defeat of their army; for by neglecting the plains, and taking poſt in rough and inacceſſible places, they rendered their elephants and cavalry, in which their principal ſtrength conſiſted, incapable of acting. The *Romans*, taking advantage of this miſtake, did not give them time to rectify it, but immediately fell upon them with the utmoſt fury. The attack, which happened in the night, was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that many of the *Carthaginians* had their throats cut in bed, and others loſt their lives before they could b lay hold of their arms to defend themſelves. However, the mercenaries in the *Carthaginian* ſervice behaved with great bravery, and not only repulſed the firſt legion, but forced them to fly to their camp. But *Regulus* having, at the beginning of the action, ordered a detachment to wheel about, and attack the enemy's rear, they were hereby thrown into confuſion, and at laſt forced to abandon their camp. A great part of the infantry periſhed, the *Romans* very cloſely purſuing them, and having guarded many of the defiles through which they muſt paſs; but moſt of the elephants and cavalry made their eſcape. The *Carthaginians* loſt ſeventeen thouſand, or, according to *Eutropius*, eighteen thouſand, men in the battle and purſuit; eighteen elephants were taken; five thouſand men made priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed. *Regulus*, after c this action, continued his devaſtations as before, burnt all the open places, and reduced the fortified towns. Some authors aſſure us, that he took above two hundred cities; but as this account ſeems rather to refer to the whole number of places plundered or reduced ſince the firſt deſcent, we ſhall chuſe to follow *Eutropius*, who tells us, that the conſul conquered ſeventy-three cities. *Utica*, amongſt the reſt, was forced to ſubmit, and *Tunis*, within nine miles of *Carthage*, ſoon met with the ſame fate. In ſhort, nothing now remained but to lay ſiege to *Carthage* itſelf [s].

The Numidians *declare againſt the* Carthaginians.

To complete the misfortunes of the *Carthaginians*, the *Numidians*, a ſort of *Tartars*, or at leaſt in their manners and way of life ſomething reſembling that people, entered the territories of *Carthage*, where they committed dreadful devaſtations. This drove d moſt of the *Carthaginian* ſubjects into *Carthage*, which, by this means, was filled with ſuch numbers of people, that a famine ſeemed inevitable, eſpecially as the produce of the earth had been, in a great meaſure, deſtroyed, partly by *Regulus*, and partly by the aforeſaid *Numidians* [t].

Regulus *makes propoſals for a peace to the* Carthaginians; *but they are rejected.*

The *African* nations likewiſe, more immediately ſubject to *Carthage*, being weary of the *Carthaginian* yoke, declared for the *Romans*, who now carried every thing before them. This induced *Regulus* to imagine, that the *Carthaginians* would conclude a peace with him upon any, even the moſt diſhonourable, terms. He therefore, according to *Polybius*, offered to treat with them about a peace, being afraid, that his ſucceſſor would rob him of the glory he had acquired, by putting an end to e the preſent war, though *Zonaras* tells us, that the *Carthaginians* themſelves made the firſt

[s] Polyb. Appian. Zonar. Eutrop. Flor. Aurel. Vict. Oros. ubi ſup. [t] Polyb. & Oros. ubi ſup.

which was brought up by a virgin at *Lanuvium*; and on ſome old *Roman* denarii, we find this virgin repreſented as bringing him meat, with a baſket hanging by her ſide. *Agatharchides Cnidius*, in *Photius*, mentions ſerpents of various kinds of an enormous ſize common in *Ethiopia*, and aſſerts, that he himſelf ſaw one thirty cubits long. *Oneſicritus Aſtypalæus*, in *Strabo*, informs us, that *Abiſarus*, an *Indian* prince, kept two dragons or ſerpents, one of which was an hundred and forty cubits long, and the other eighty; which *Alexander* greatly deſired to ſee. *Herodotus* tells us, that ſerpents of a ſize exceeding all belief, were found upon the banks of the *Triton*, a river bordering on the territory of *Carthage*. *Iſidore*, *Avicenna*, *Philoſtratus*, *Solinus*, *Nicephorus Calliſtus*, *Lucian*, *Arrian*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ætius*, *Leo Africanus*, and others, affirm, that ſerpents of an immenſe ſize were produced in *Mauritania*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*. Our *philoſophical tranſactions* ſupply us with inſtances of rattle-ſnakes prodigiouſly large, which countenances, in ſome meaſure, what the *Roman* hiſtorians have related about the ſerpent we are diſcourſing of. *Ludolphus* and father *Lobo* likewiſe, in their accounts of *Ethiopia*, add ſome weight to what is here advanced, as we ſhall ſee, when we come to the hiſtory of that country. It has been imagined by ſome, that the animal *Regulus* killed was a crocodile; but the manner in which this was ſlain, which has been minutely deſcribed by *Oroſius*, as well as the expreſs teſtimony of many *Roman* authors to the contrary, will not permit us to come into this opinion. Beſides, it does not appear from antient hiſtory, that the river *Bagrada*, or indeed any part of *Africa Propria*, was formerly infeſted by crocodiles; nor, from the relations of modern travellers, that they are obſerved in the kingdom of *Tunis* at this day (20).

(20) *Vide auctor jam citat. & Herodot. l.* iv. *c.* 191. *Ælian. in hiſt. anim. paſſ. Iſidor. Avicen. Philoſtr. Solin. Nicephor. Calliſt. Strab. Arrian. in peripl. Lucian, Ætium, Oroſ. Leon. African. Auguſtin. tom.* viii. *enarrat. in pſal.* cxlviii. *alioſq; plurim.*

a first overtures. Be that as it will, the terms *Regulus* prescribed them seemed so intolerable, and incompatible with their honour, that they were resolved to suffer all extremities, rather than submit to them. As *Regulus* had met with an uninterrupted course of prosperity from the beginning of his consulship, he set no bounds to his arrogance; and the *Romans* in general being then of the same disposition, by reason of the great success their arms were attended with both by sea and land, it is no wonder, that the *Carthaginians* should have been treated in so imperious a manner. *Regulus* wrote to the senate, that the *Carthaginians* were upon the brink of ruin, and that he had taken care to *seal up their gates with fear*. All hopes therefore of an accommodation vanishing into smoke, both sides seemed resolved to refer the decision of the
b points at present in dispute betwixt them to the sword. A certain author tells us, that the whole number of prisoners taken by the *Romans*, from their first arrival in *Africa* to this time, including those who fell into their hands in the late battle, amounted to two hundred thousand. All the riches and valuable effects found in the *Carthaginian* camp after the last action, *Regulus* sent on board some transports to *Rome*; and having laid waste all the adjacent country, advanced at the head of his victorious troops to the *stagnum* or great morass, on which *Carthage* stood. Here, immediately after the rejection of his above-mentioned proposals, he encamped, resolving without delay to attack the capital of the *African* republic [u].

Whilst matters remained in this melancholy situation, a *Carthaginian* officer,
c who had been sent to *Greece*, to levy soldiers there, returned home with a body of *Greek* mercenaries, consisting chiefly of *Lacedæmonians*. This body was commanded by *Xantippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, a person of great bravery and military skill, who had learned the art of war in the school of *Sparta*, then the most renowned of any in the world, for the famous generals it produced. As soon as he had informed himself wherein the main strength of the *Carthaginian* forces lay, and of the circumstances of the late defeat, he openly declared, that it was owing to the false step taken by their generals in encamping upon hills, where their cavalry and elephants could not act; and that, by an opposite conduct, they might still retrieve their affairs, and drive the enemy out of their dominions. Being prevailed upon by the *Carthaginian*
d senate, people, *Hamilcar*, and all the other officers, to take upon him the command of their forces, he first trained them up in the discipline of his country: exercising them near the city, he drew them up in order of battle; made them advance or retreat upon the first signal; file off with order and swiftness; in a word, to form all the evolutions and movements of the military art, according to the *Lacedæmonian* manner. As nothing inspires soldiers with a greater degree of courage, than a persuasion of their general's abilities, the *Carthaginian* troops, who were before so greatly dispirited, now thought themselves invincible, under the conduct of *Xantippus*, observing how vastly he excelled their own generals in the military art. As he judged it highly improper to permit their ardor to cool, he drew them up in battalia in a large
e plain before the city, and boldly advanced towards the *Romans*. We have already, in a former part of this work, described the disposition of both armies, and given an account of the principal things that passed betwixt them previous to the engagement, and therefore shall not here repeat what was there said; but only observe, that *Xantippus*, being within twelve hundred and fifty paces of the enemy, thought proper to call a council of war, in order to shew a respect and deference to the *Carthaginian* commanders, by consulting them; and that, all joining unanimously in opinion with him, it was resolved to give the enemy battle the day following [w].

Xantippus, *with a body of* Greek *mercenaries, arrives at* Carthage.

The *Romans* were not a little surprised at the motions of the *Carthaginian* army, *And defeats the* Romans.
f and the new form of discipline introduced amongst them; notwithstanding which, they affected to hold them both and their new general *Xantippus* in great contempt, not doubting, but they should soon be able to give a good account of them. One capital error, according to *Polybius*, the *Roman* general committed in the arrangement of his forces. Though he took a proper precaution to sustain the shock of the enemy's elephants, he did not provide for the inequality of his cavalry, which was vastly inferior in number to the *Carthaginian*, but disposed them in such a manner, that they were broken almost upon the first onset. To which we may add from *Appian*, that the same general ought to have been deemed guilty of a great and complicated mistake, when, elated with his former success, through his great ardour, he over-

fatigued

u Appian. Polyb. Oros. Eutrop. Zonar. Diod. Sic. Aur. Vict. Flor. ubi sup. w Appian. in Libyc. sub init. Polyb. Liv. Zonar. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. &c. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. iv. p. 665.

fatigued his ſoldiers, led them through ſuch places as expoſed them to the enemy's a
parties, poſted on eminencies to annoy them with miſſive weapons in their march;
and, to crown all, paſſed a river parting the two armies, by which means he cut off
a retreat, in caſe of any misfortune. This bad conduct of *Regulus* proved the total
ruin of his army; for *Xantippus* had thereby ſuch an advantage over the enemy
thrown into his hands, that he intirely defeated them, and either put to the ſword,
or took priſoners, all of them, except two thouſand, who, after having broken his
right wing, had drawn themſelves out of the engagement, and made their eſcape to
Clypea. Of the *Carthaginians* eight hundred were ſlain in this action; but on the *Ro-*
man ſide near thirteen thouſand muſt have fallen in the battle and purſuit, if *Polybius*
has given us a juſt account of the number of forces *Manlius*, at his departure for b
Rome, left with *Regulus*. *Xantippus* took *Regulus* himſelf, and five hundred of his
men, priſoners in the purſuit, and immediately carried them to *Carthage*. Accord-
ing to *Eutropius*, thirty thouſand *Romans* loſt their lives in this battle, and fifteen
thouſand their liberty; but this cannot be admitted, except we ſuppoſe, that *Regulus*
had either received a ſtrong reinforcement from *Rome*, ſince the departure of his
collegue, or been joined by a good body of *Africans* in the interval betwixt that event
and the battle; neither of which ſuppoſitions receives the leaſt countenance from
Polybius, whom, in the main, we chuſe to follow [x].

The Carthaginians *treat all the* Roman *priſoners with great humanity, except* Regulus.

THE *Carthaginians* treated all the *Roman* priſoners, except *Regulus*, with great
humanity, hoping by this conduct to engage the *Romans* to behave with lenity and c
moderation to the *Carthaginian* captives, who were very numerous, in their hands.
But as for *Regulus*, he had inſulted them in ſo outrageous a manner, in the height of
his proſperity, that they could not forbear ſhewing him the greateſt marks of their
reſentment on this occaſion. According to *Zonaras* and others, he was thrown into
a dungeon, where he had only ſuſtenance allowed him barely ſufficient to keep him
alive; nay, his cruel maſters, to heighten his other torments, ordered an huge ele-
phant, at the ſight of which animal, it ſeems, he was greatly terrified, to be conſtantly
placed near him; which prevented him from enjoying any tranquillity or repoſe,
and rendered his life a burden to him. When he would have preſcribed diſhonour-
able terms of peace to the *Carthaginians*, he pretended, with unparallelled haughti- d
neſs, that every thing he ſuffered them to poſſeſs ought to be eſteemed a favour,
with this further inſult, *that they ought either to overcome like brave men, or learn to*
ſubmit to the victor. No wonder therefore that ſo harſh and diſdainful a treatment
ſhould incenſe to the higheſt degree a nation naturally proud, as well as cruel and
implacable, and even, in the point before us, force their intereſt itſelf to give way
to their reſentment. *Zonaras* intimates, that *Regulus* ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed
by *Xantippus*, not believing that he would have the courage to attack him. How-
ever this may be, as the *Carthaginian* army did not conſiſt of above ſixteen thouſand
men, beſides the elephants, this ought to be looked upon as a moſt wonderful
victory, eſpecially conſidering the heroic valour of the *Roman* legions; and, as e
Frontinus rightly inſinuates, muſt be almoſt intirely attributed to the conduct and
bravery of *Xantippus* [y].

Great rejoicings at Carthage, *on account of this victory.*

THE *Carthaginians* remained on the field of battle till they had ſtripped the ſlain,
and then entered their metropolis, which was almoſt the only place left them, in great
triumph. The citizens immediately repaired to the temples in crouds, to return
thanks to the immortal gods for ſo ſignal a victory, and hung up in theſe temples (U),
as ſo many trophies, the arms taken from the enemy. Several days were devoted
wholly to feſtivities and rejoicings, a ſpirit of joy and gladneſs diffuſing itſelf over the
whole city. However, according to ſome authors, they not only ſoon forgot the
vaſt obligation they were under to *Xantippus*, but even ſhewed themſelves guilty of f
moſt ſhocking ingratitude to him, as well as to the whole body of mercenaries, who
had delivered them at the critical moment. If theſe writers may be credited, they
either

[x] Idem ibid. Vide AUREL. VICT. in At. reg. 40. [y] ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 13. p. 391, 392. CIC. de offic. l. iii. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 2. ex. 11. & l. ii. c. 3. ex. 10. DIOD. SIC. l. xxiii. ubi ſup. VALER. MAX. l. i. c. 1.

(U) Other nations, as well as the *Carthaginians*, hung up the arms taken from the enemy in the temples of their gods. The *Gauls*, and even the *Romans* themſelves, may be ranked amongſt theſe, as we learn from *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, and others (21).

(21) *Plut. in Cæſ. Tacit. l.* XV. *de Nerm. Strabo, l.* IV. *aliiq;*

a either actually destroyed *Xantippus*, or attempted his destruction; and not only refused paying the mercenaries the arrears due to them, but ordered the captains of the vessels, who were to carry them home, to leave them exposed on a desolate island. These horrid instances of *Carthaginian* ingratitude, we say, are attested by some authors; yet at the same time we think it our duty, as impartial historians, to observe, that their authority, in the point before us, is not to be intirely depended upon; for although we should allow, that the *Carthaginians* were frequently both cruel and ungrateful, nay, that they had a natural propensity to the odious vices of cruelty and ingratitude; yet, in the present case, what advantage or emolument could accrue to them from so execrable a fact? It could never have buried in obli-
b vion so illustrious an action as the victory *Xantippus* acquired for them, since that could not fail of being transmitted to posterity by their enemies, in order to deprive them, to whom they bore so implacable a hatred, of the merit of it; and indeed through this canal it has been conveyed down to us, and yet the authors, who stigmatize the *Carthaginians*, by accusing them of so enormous a crime, assign this as their motive to it; nor can any other motive be conceived, except we will suppose, that they did it purely to gratify a barbarous and inhuman disposition; which, wicked as the world is, can scarce be imagined possible. Besides, *Polybius*, the best author extant who has treated of this particular branch of history, says not a word of it. *Livy* also, if we may judge of him from his epitomizer, passes it over in silence,
c as do *Florus*, *Eutropius*, &c. who, being *Roman* historians, would most certainly have taken the greatest pleasure in relating such a story, if founded on good authority, as reflecting an eternal shame and dishonour upon their most avowed and mortal enemies, whom they never failed to treat with the utmost freedom on all occasions. We think it therefore but equitable to suspend our belief of what *Appian* and *Zonaras* have affirmed with regard to the departure of *Xantippus*, especially as the scheme these authors have made the *Carthaginians* form for the destruction of the *Lacedæmonian* mercenaries, is, in point of policy, so defective and incredible that no stress can be laid upon it; for, according to them, all these mercenaries, as well as their general, were to be exposed to inevitable destruction, without the loss of a single *Car-*
d *thaginian*, or pretence of even a storm, to colour the perpetration of so horrid a crime. This certainly seems incompatible with that genius for refined policy and intrigues, the *Carthaginians* were in history so famous for; and therefore will, with great difficulty, be admitted for fact by our impartial and intelligent readers z.

As for *Regulus*, he was a lively instance of the great instability of fortune and human affairs. Had he been either influenced by the maxims of sound policy, or touched with the least sense of compassion for the misfortunes and sufferings of his fellow-creatures, he would have abated something of the rigour he shewed the *Carthaginians* after the last defeat given them, and might have concluded a most advan-
tagious peace for the *Romans*; but, giddy with success, nothing less would satisfy
e him than the total ruin of that people, or at least a reduction of them to a state of servitude, which they thought equivalent to it. This Providence did not permit him to accomplish; but, on the contrary, by a swift revolution, he fell from the height of prosperity to the lowest degree of contempt, nay, into the extremest misery and despair, his exalted station serving only to render his fall the more precipitate, and the less pitied by those he had before insulted. Many, and even recent, examples might be produced of princes, who, by pursuing the same conduct, have met with the same fate, would the limits of our history permit; but, as they will not, we must beg leave to refer our readers to their own observations on this head, and to
f those fine reflections of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, which we could not avoid glancing at here a.

We have, in a former part of this work, given a full account of what happened to *Regulus* in the subsequent part of his life, and censured *Hoffman* for differing from a great number of *Roman* authors in this particular. But our high regard to impartiality, a quality essentially necessary in an historian, obliges us now to lay before our readers the reasons, that may possibly have induced some learned men to believe the whole relation of *Regulus*'s death, as handed down to us by the aforesaid authors, to be an absolute fiction b.

I. All

z Appian. & Zonar. ubi sup. Horat. carm. l. iii. od. 5. Vide etiam Polyb. Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. &c. ubi sup. & Univers. hist. vol. iv. p. 666.
a Polyb. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Vales.
b Univers. hist. ubi supra.

1. All the *Roman* hiſtorians, as *Romans*, bore an implacable hatred to the very memory of the *Carthaginians*, and did their utmoſt to make it appear odious in the eyes of all mankind. They were intirely void of impartiality when they ſpoke of that nation, as manifeſtly appears from what *Polybius* relates of *Fabius Pictor*, one of their moſt celebrated writers, and the moſt antient of their hiſtorians. 2. All the ſubſequent *Roman* hiſtorians muſt have followed *Fabius Pictor* in this particular, ſince neither *Diodorus Siculus* nor *Polybius* have taken the leaſt notice of *Regulus*'s being ſent to *Rome*, and ſuffering death afterwards at *Carthage* upon his return; though, had this been true, they would undoubtedly have related it, the *Greeks* bearing as great an averſion to the *Carthaginians*, as did the *Romans*. 3. From a fragment of *Diodorus Siculus* in the *excerpta* (W) of *Valeſius*, it appears, that *Regulus*'s ſons, at the inſtigation of their mother, treated *Hamilcar* and *Boſtar*, two *Carthaginian* generals, taken priſoners, and delivered into her hands to exchange for her huſband, with the utmoſt cruelty; inſomuch, that one of them died. She was prompted to this, according to the ſame fragment, by a perſuaſion, that her huſband died at *Carthage* for want of a proper care being taken of him, upon the news ſhe received of his death there. This evidently ſuppoſes *Regulus* to have died in that city, without any otther torture than what the want of neceſſaries occaſioned. 4. *Palmerius* has accounted for the whole ſtory, as related by the *Roman* writers, and the *Greeks* attached to the *Roman* intereſt, in ſuch a manner, as to give ſome reaſon to believe, that they are neither of them to be intirely relied upon in their accounts of the ſufferings and death of *Regulus*, Beſides the authors cited in the fourth volume of this work, it will be neceſſary to conſult thoſe referred to in the margin, in order to have an adequate idea, according to the *Roman* tradition, of the point we are now upon [c].

Both the Carthaginians *and the* Romans *meet with many diſaſters.*

The *Carthaginians*, now forgetting all former misfortunes, began to talk in a very high ſtrain, threatening even *Italy* itſelf with an invaſion. The *Romans*, being informed of this, placed ſtrong gariſons in all the maritime towns, that lay moſt expoſed, and fitted out a new fleet, with a ſtrong body of land-forces on board, not only to divert the enemy from executing the deſign they pretended to have formed, but alſo to retrieve their broken affairs in *Africa*. In the mean time, the *Carthaginians* beſieged *Clypea* and *Utica* in vain, being obliged to riſe from before thoſe places by the approach of the *Roman* ſquadron, which had already plundered the iſland of *Corſura*, and left a gariſon there. Having equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, they put to ſea, in order to prevent the enemy from making a ſecond deſcent; and coming up with them off cape *Hermea*, engaged them; but being routed, the *Romans* landed

[c] Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Valeſ. Vide & Palmer. apud Gronov. in Appian. Libyc. p. 5, 6. Cic. orat. in Piſon. de fin. l. v. ſub fin. & alib. Aul. Gel. noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 4. Plut. in lib. de Herodot. malign. Horat. ubi ſup. & carm. l. i. od. 12. Liv. epit. l. xviii. Suid. in Ρήγυλος. Flor. l. ii. c. 2. Dio Cass. Sil. Ital. l. vi. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. Tertul. ad martyr. c. 4. Aur. Vict. de vir. illuſtr. ubi ſup. Senec. de tranquil. anim. l. i. c. 15. Æl. Tuber. apud. Gell. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. ii. Tuditanus apud Gell. ubi ſup. August. de civ. Dei, l. i. c. 15. & c. 24. Appian. in Libyc. ſub init. & Dominic. Machan. in auctor. vit. viror. illuſtr. &c.

(W) The paſſage referred to imports in ſubſtance, that *Regulus*'s widow, hearing of his death at *Carthage*, and ſuppoſing him to have died through want of neceſſaries, inſtigated her ſons to uſe *Hamilcar* and *Boſtar*, two *Carthaginian* generals, taken priſoners, and delivered into their hands by the ſenate, in order to exchange for their father, with the utmoſt inhumanity. They were confined in ſo ſtreight a room, that they could not move, and kept without meat for five days together; inſomuch that *Boſtar* died of grief and hunger. *Hamilcar*, in order to move her compaſſion, told her, that he had taken all poſſible care of her huſband, who was committed to his cuſtody at *Carthage*. But this not availing, ſhe extended her barbarity ſo far, as to cauſe him to be ſhut up five days with the dead body of *Boſtar*, allowing him all that time only ſuſtenance barely ſufficient to keep him alive. Being ready to expire through the ſtench of the dead body, and the other miſeries he laboured under, this barbarous treatment was rumoured abroad by the meaner ſervants; which reaching the ears of the tribunes of the people, they had like to have cauſed the young men to be put to death for ſo execrable a fact, which diſgraced the *Roman* name. They were therefore obliged, by way of atonement for the perpetration of ſo heinous a crime, to burn the body of *Boſtar*, and ſend his aſhes to *Carthage*, as likewiſe to treat *Hamilcar* with lenity during the remainder of his confinement. *Tuditanus* in *Gellius*, in order to take off the odium of this barbarous action, and ſuit it more to the *Roman* taſte, tells us, that *Regulus* died for want of ſleep, which the *Carthaginians*, by various methods, deprived him of; and that this reaching *Rome*, his ſons uſed ſome noble *Carthaginian* captives, delivered to them by the ſenate, in the ſame manner. This relation, partial and diſguiſed as it is, gives great weight to the valuable fragment of *Diodorus* referred to, and at the ſame time renders *Palmerius*'s notion of this affair not a little probable (22).

(22) *Diod. Sic. in loc. citat. Tuditan. apud Gell. ubi ſup. ut & Dominic. Machan. & Palmer. ubi ſup. laudat.*

a landed without oppoſition at *Clypea*, defeated the *Carthaginians* in a pitched battle near that place; and carrying off the remains of *Regulus*'s army, ſteered for *Sicily*. However, notwithſtanding theſe victories, the *Romans* were greatly weakened. In the naval engagement they had been worſted, had not the two thouſand men left at *Clypea*, attacked the enemy's rear unexpectedly, which obliged them to give way. In their paſſage to *Sicily*, they met with ſo dreadful a tempeſt, that out of three hundred and ſeventy odd veſſels, of which their fleet was compoſed, eighty only eſcaped. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, they loſt three hundred and forty galleys, beſides about three hundred tranſports. *Eutropius* affirms only eighty galleys to have remained out of four hundred and ſixty-four; inſomuch, that all the ſea-coaſts, from *Camarina* to b *Pachynum*, were ſtrewed with the dead bodies of men and horſes, as well as the wrecks of ſhips. Immediately after this diſaſter, *Carthalo*, a *Carthaginian* commander, advancing to *Agrigentum*, laid ſiege to it, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of it. The town he laid in aſhes, and demoliſhed the walls, obliging the inhabitants to fly to *Olympieum*. The *Carthaginians*, appriſed of this, immediately ſent *Aſdrubal* to *Sicily*, with a large reinforcement of troops and an hundred and fifty elephants. They likewiſe fitted out a ſquadron, with which they retook the iſland of *Corſura*; and though they had loſt nine thouſand men in the laſt action, beſides five thouſand in the naval engagement, they marched a ſtrong body of forces, under the command of *Hamilcar*, into *Mauritania* and *Numidia*, to puniſh the people of thoſe countries for ſhewing a diſpoſition to join the *Romans*. *Hamilcar* treated them with the utmoſt c rigour and ſeverity, cauſing all their chiefs to be crucified, putting great numbers of the poorer ſort to the ſword, and exacting from the reſt a thouſand talents of ſilver, beſides twenty thouſand head of cattle. In *Sicily*, the conſuls poſſeſſed themſelves of *Cephalædium* by treachery; but *Carthalo* forced them to raiſe the ſiege of *Drepanum*, and retire with great loſs. The *Carthaginians*, however, ſoon after found themſelves obliged to abandon *Ieta*, as likewiſe the territories of the *Selinuntines*, *Petrinians*, *Enatterinians*, and *Tyndarites*. The *Romans*, landing afterwards an army in *Sicily*, laid ſiege (X) to *Panormus*, the capital of the *Carthaginian* dominions there; and making themſelves maſters of a fort or tower by the ſea-ſide, carried that part of the d city called the *New Town*; but the inhabitants defending themſelves with great bravery, they could not immediately reduce the other. However, forming the blockade of the place, they at laſt forced both it and the citadel to ſurrender for want of proviſions. The *Carthaginian* fleet, poſted to obſerve the enemy's motions, fell in with one of their ſquadrons, and carried off many of their ſhips laden with money and other valuable effects. Both parties ſoon after put an end to the operations of the campaign, the conſuls returning to *Rome*, and the *Carthaginians* retiring into winter-qnarters; ſo that we hear of no hoſtilities betwixt them till the following ſpring [d].

THE *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding all their diſaſters, ſuffered leſs at ſea than the *Romans*. The prodigious loſſes the laſt nation had ſuſtained on that element, made e them entertain thoughts of declining all preparations for the future againſt the *Carthaginians* there. The next year, loſing above an hundred and fifty galleys more on the coaſts

The Carthaginians *become once more maſters at ſea.*

d DIOD. SIC. l. xxiii. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hœſchel. POLYB. ubi ſup. ZONAR. ubi ſupra, c. 14. OROS. l. iv. c. 9. EUTROP. l. ii.

(X) *Panormus*, according to *Diodorus*, derived its name from its port or haven, which was the fineſt in *Sicily*. The *Phœnicians* probably called it *Labtin*, or *Leptin*, from *labt* an *harbour* or *ſtation for ſhips*. *Polybius* tells us, that it was the capital of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Sicily*; and, if we may credit *Thucydides*, it was either of *Punic* or *Phœnician* extraction, being built in very early times either by the *Phœnicians*, who traded with the *Aborigines* of *Sicily*, or their poſterity, the moſt antient *Carthaginians*. That it was the moſt eminent city the *Carthaginians* poſſeſſed in *Sicily*, at leaſt for a conſiderable period of time, and the moſt reſorted to, if not for the moſt part inhabited, by that nation, is evident from the great number of coins belonging to it, with *Punic* legends upon them. *Paruta* and others exhibit many of theſe to our view, which ſerve to confirm the authorities above-mentioned. Some *Sicilian* writers will have the *Phœnicians* and *Damaſcenes* to have founded it in the time of *Iſaac*. In ſupport of which notion they produce two *Hebrew* inſcriptions, found at that place in the reign of *William* the ſecond king of *Sicily*, importing, that ſome colonies of thoſe nations ſettled there at that time, and called the place *Panormus*. But as few, if any, *Hebrew* inſcriptions of that date are genuine, and as *Panormus* is a *Greek*, not a *Hebrew* name, we muſt be excuſed from ſubſcribing to their opinion (23).

(23) *Thucyd. l.* vi. *Polyb.* l. i. *Diod. Sic. l.* xxii. *in excerpt. Rhodoman. Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24, 27. *Vide etiam Tho. Fazel. de reb. Sic. & Ranzanum in lib. de Panorm. l.* vi.

coasts of *Sicily*, they came to a resolution to lay aside all naval operations, and consequently left the *Carthaginians* masters of the sea. This was not their only misfortune; for, in the late battle with *Regulus*, the elephants had made such havock amongst them, that, for the two succeeding years, the *Roman* soldiers in *Sicily* durst not approach these furious animals within five or six stadia. This prevented the war from being carried on with any vigour during that term. The *Romans*, however, wrested *Lipara*, *Himera*, and *Thermæ*, out of the hands of the *Carthaginians*; but were obliged to raise the siege of *Ercta*. So slow a progress induced them to attempt makeing a figure once more by sea, hoping by this means to compensate for the terror, with which the elephants had struck their legions e. a

Asdrubal *overthrown by* Cæcilius.

Asdrubal, the *Carthaginian* general in *Sicily*, perceiving how much afraid the *Romans* were of his elephants, marched out of *Lilybæum*, and advanced into the neighbourhood of *Panormus*, in order to draw the enemy to a battle. *Cæcilius*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in the town, seemed to be afraid of him, till he had passed the river running close by the city, when, having a great advantage over him, he attacked him with incredible fury. The fight was very obstinate for some time, and the *Romans* were even repulsed by the violence of the elephants; but at last the dart-men wounded these boisterous animals in such a manner, that they fell foul upon their own troops, and threw them into confusion. This being observed by the *Roman* general, he sallied with a body of fresh forces out of the town, and attacking the enemy in flank, gave them a total defeat. The *Carthaginians* lost a vast number of men in this action, it being one of the greatest overthrows they ever received in *Sicily*, besides many elephants, which were either killed or taken, and amongst the rest ten with their (Y) *Indian* leaders. The *Carthaginian* elephants could never after this battle make any impression upon the *Roman* troops; on which account the victory might justly have been looked upon as of vast consequence to them. According to *Zonaras*, the *Carthaginian* fleet, by being then in port, completed the ruin of the land-forces; for vast numbers of *Asdrubal*'s soldiers, endeavouring to make their escape on board the galleys, fell into the sea and were drowned. *Diodorus* intimates, that *Asdrubal* was, in a manner, compelled by his own troops to venture an engagement with the enemy; that advancing to *Panormus*, he passed the river above-mentioned with great temerity, not taking the least precaution to secure himself against any attempts of the *Romans*; and that some merchants having brought a large quantity b c d

e Liv. Zonar. Diod. Sic. Polyb. & Oros. ubi sup.

(Y) From the passage of *Polybius* here referred to, it is evident, that the *Carthaginians*, before the thirteenth year of the first *Punic* war, had an intercourse with *India*, as receiving elephants, and persons to manage and train them up, from thence. This greatly strengthens what *Pliny* intimates, *viz.* that the *Carthaginians* carried on a trade with the *Indians*, and imported from *India* many *carbuncles* of an inestimable value. This they must either have done by means of caravans going through the interior parts of *Africa* to the *Arabic* gulf, if not through *Egypt* to *Persia* and *India*, or by their own vessels trading to those parts, or lastly, by their communication with *Tyre*. The passage we are now considering seems likewise clearly to prove, that the *Carthaginians* trafficked with the *Persians*, since all caravans coming intirely by land from *India* to *Carthage* must necessarily pass through part of *Persia*; and we know, that the *Persians* dealt much in these animals. But that the *Carthaginians* were well known to the *Persians* in very early times, which we cannot well conceive to have been in any other manner than by trading with them, is evident from *Cambyses*'s intention to attack them, and from the embassy *Darius* sent them towards the close of his reign, already mentioned. Besides, that they were acquainted with the *Persian* gulf, is probable from what *Pliny* relates of one of their sea-commanders, who steered his course that way, in order to make discoveries in very early times. If they traded with these remote nations by caravans, they might likewise have gone through part of the country of the *Garamantes* and *Ethiopia*; which that they did, appears probable from *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who tell us, that the *Indian*, *Garamantican*, and *Ethiopian* carbuncles, by reason of their great plenty at *Carthage*, were called *Carchedonian* carbuncles; and that the *Carthaginians* received them from the *Garamantes*. After having weighed all these particulars, we cannot help thinking, that the *Carthaginians* sent caravans to the country of the *Garamantes*, *Ethiopia*, and *Persia*, as well as ships to the *Red-sea*, rather than that they had a communication with those parts of the world by means of the *Tyrians*. As a further proof of this, it may be considered, that *Hanno*, who is supposed to have written the *periplus* going under his name, one of their admirals, sailed to the remotest coasts of *Arabia* from *Cadiz*, long before the age we are now treating of; and that *Pliny* intimates their commerce to have been so much more extensive than that of any other nation, that merchandize was said to be the invention of the *Pæni*, not of the *Phœnicians*. *Dalecampius*, in his notes on *Pliny*, receives a great accession of strength from this passage of *Polybius*, and on his part illustrates this last-mentioned author, as well as *Pliny*. We shall reserve what we have to say of elephants, and those nations, who first used them in war, for a future note (24).

(24) *Polyb. in loc. citat. Plin. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 7. *& Dalecamp. in loc. Strab. l.* xvii. *Herodot. l.* iii. *Just. l.* xix. *Plin. l.* ii. *c.* 67.

a tity of wine into the camp, the *Celtes* got drunk, filling all parts with noiſe, diſorder, and confuſion; which *Cæcilius* obſerving, ſallied out of the town, put the *Carthaginian* army to the rout, and either killed or took priſoners a vaſt number of men. Sixty elephants, according to the ſame author, that fell into the hands of the *Romans*, were ſent to *Rome* as a great curioſity. It may not be improper to remark, that this exploit concluded the thirteenth year of the firſt *Punic* war [f].

The Romans *beſiege* Lilybæum.

THE beginning of the following year, the *Carthaginians* received intelligence, that the *Romans* intended to form the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, imagining, that the reduction of that place would put an end to this tedious and bloody war. As they looked upon the preſervation of *Lilybæum*, which was the only city they now poſſeſſed in *Sicily*,
b except *Depranum*, to be of the utmoſt conſequence to them, they reinforced the gariſon with a large body of choſen troops, and finiſhed the fortifications in ſuch a manner, as to render the place almoſt impregnable. Notwithſtanding which, the two conſuls, *Manlius* and *Attilius*, inveſted the place; and, after having opened trenches before it, carried on the ſiege with great vigour. The *Carthaginians*, ſome time before the beginning of this ſiege, had razed the city of *Selinus*, and tranſplanted the inhabitants to *Lilybæum*; ſo that this laſt place was very populous when the *Roman* army appeared before it. The gariſon was alſo very numerous, conſiſting of ten thouſand mercenary *Gauls* and *Greeks*, beſides a large detachment of *Carthaginian* forces, commanded by *Hamilcar*, an officer of great experience and bravery. Though
c the *Romans* ſoon demoliſhed ſeveral of the outworks, and even made their approaches cloſe to the body of the place, yet *Hamilcar* defended it with an intrepidity and reſolution worthy of himſelf. He rebuilt, as it were in a moment, many forts, which the enemy had deſtroyed with their battering-engines; poſted to every part of the town to give the neceſſary orders, prevent confuſion, and animate the troops, as well as the citizens, by his preſence; and laſtly, made frequent, as well as vigorous, ſallies, upon the beſiegers. According to *Diodorus*, in one of theſe ſallies he killed ten thouſand *Romans* upon the ſpot, put a great part of their army to flight, burnt many of their rams, baliſtæ, and catapults, and then entered triumphantly into the town. The *Carthaginians* in the mean time, finding their cavalry of no ſervice in
d the defence of the place, ſent them to *Drepanum*. Soon after the laſt diſtaſter, a famine began to rage in the *Roman* camp, which in a ſhort time introduced the plague there, of which, in a very few days, above ten thouſand men were carried off. In fine, the beſiegers, by ſuch a train of calamities, coming, as it were, one upon the neck of another, loſt more men than they could well have done in ſeveral pitched battles. This ſo greatly weakened, and at the ſame time diſpirited them, that had they not received an immediate ſupply both of troops and proviſions from king *Hiero*, they muſt have been infallibly obliged to raiſe the ſiege [g].

The mercenaries enter into a conſpiracy to deliver the place into the hands of the Romans.

BUT what the *Romans* could not effect by force, they attempted to accompliſh by treachery. In order to which, they ſo far corrupted ſome of the leaders of the
c mercenaries, that they decoyed them into their camp, to concert with them the proper meaſures for having the place delivered into their hands. This might have proved fatal to the *Carthaginians*, had not one *Alexon*, an *Achaian*, diſcovered the whole conſpiracy to *Hamilcar*; who, aſſembling all the remaining mercenary officers, acquainted them with the particulars of the horrid deſign, and, by his ſingular addreſs, engaged them to perſevere in their fidelity to the *Carthaginians*. Having ſecured this point, he prevailed upon them next to endeavour at inſpiring the ſoldiers under their command with the ſame ſentiments. He likewiſe ſent one *Hannibal*, the ſon of the admiral of that name, who was crucified by his own men at *Sulci* in *Sardinia*, to keep the *Gauls*, with whom he was very popular, firm in the *Carthaginian* intereſt; whilſt *Alexon* went to hinder the *Greeks*, amongſt whom he was extremely beloved, from entering into the enemy's meaſures. Theſe ſalutary precautions had the deſired effect; for the mercenary chiefs, returning ſoon after from the *Roman* camp, found their men ſo far from liſtening to their ſuggeſtions, that they drove them out of the place with the utmoſt fury (Z). *Zonaras* ſays, that the length
f of

[f] POLYB. ZONAR. EUTROP. & OROS. ibid. LIV. epit. l. xix. PLIN. l. viii. c. 6. S. JUL. FRONTIN. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 5. ex. 4. [g] DIOD. SIC. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Rhodoman. POLYB. l. i. LIV. epit. l. xix. OROS. ubi ſup. c. 10. ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 15. Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 671, 672, &c.

(Z) *Zonaras* inſinuates, that tho' *Hamilcar* was appriſed of the conſpiracy, he did not judge it expedient to take any notice of it, for fear of an open and public defection of the mercenaries; but that having

of the ſiege, and a want of pay, induced the mercenaries to entertain thoughts of betraying the city to the *Romans*; of which *Hamilcar* being appriſed, he paid the officers their arrears, and appeaſed the minds of the ſoldiery by large promiſes; by which means all the ſparks of diſcontent and ſedition were extinguiſhed. This impending ſtorm being blown over, *Hamilcar* rewarded *Alexon* for his fidelity, and continued his ſallies upon the *Romans* with the uſual ſucceſs [h]. a

The garriſon receives a reinforcement of ten thouſand men from Carthage.

The *Carthaginians* being informed, that the *Romans* had received a reinforcement from *Hiero*, though they could have no intelligence from the gariſon, concluded, that the *Romans* puſhed on the ſiege with vigour, and that conſequently *Hamilcar* wanted ſome relief. They therefore ſent one *Hannibal* with a ſupply of ten thouſand men, who putting in at the iſland of *Eguſa*, was obliged to ſtay there ſome time, in expectation of a fair wind. He was not detained long here, but ſoon happily made his way into the town. Having landed his troops, he paſſed in the night by the enemy's camp to *Drepanum*, where he had a conference with his friend *Adherbal*, who commanded in that place. The ſubject of this conference undoubtedly was, how to open a communication betwixt *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*. In conſequence, as it is probable, of the meaſures there concerted, *Hannibal*, ſurnamed the *Rhodian*, was pitched upon to execute the plan formed by the two commanders above-mentioned. This he very luckily did for ſome time, and thereby greatly contributed to the ſupport of the gariſon of *Lilybæum*, as well as the ſervice of the *Carthaginian* ſtate in general; but was at laſt taken by ſome galleys detached from the *Roman* fleet, in the manner by us already related [i]. b c

And burn in a ſally the beſiegers battering-engines.

All communication betwixt *Lilybæum* and the other *Carthaginian* territories being thus cut off, the gariſon was reduced to ſome extremities. However, at laſt a ſtorm aroſe, which broke and rendered uſeleſs all the *Roman* battering-engines, and overturned many of the towers they had erected to facilitate the reduction of the town. This unexpected event prompted the *Greek* troops in gariſon to attempt the deſtruction of the machines, which eſcaped the fury of the tempeſt; which they eaſily effected, and put a great number of *Romans* to the ſword. The conſuls, upon this unexpected blow, deſiſted from the attack of the town, turning the ſiege into a blockade, and drawing a line round the place, to prevent any ſuccours being thrown into it. The beſieged, on the other hand, repaired all the breaches made by the enemy, ſtrengthened the fortifications with ſome new works, and receiving a freſh flow of ſpirits from the great ſucceſs they had met with, were determined to defend the town to the laſt drop of blood [k]. d

Claudius *totally routed by* Aſdrubal *in a ſea-fight.*

Soon after this diſaſter, which greatly alarmed the *Romans*, *Claudius* the conſul put to ſea with a powerful fleet, having a deſign of ſurpriſing *Drepanum*. Upon his approach to that place, *Adherbal*, the commander there, was not a little amazed to ſee a formidable ſquadron entering the port, eſpecially conſidering the blow the *Romans* had lately received. However, he ſoon reſumed his uſual preſence of mind, and, aſſembling his troops, made a pathetic ſpeech to them, expatiating upon the hardſhips of a ſiege, which they muſt inevitably undergo, if they ſuffered the enemy to enter their harbour unattacked, and at the ſame time aſſuring them, that no doubt could be entertained of their vanquiſhing the *Romans*, conſidering the many advantages they had over them in point of ſituation, provided they fell upon them immediately, and did their duty. The ſoldiers and ſeamen, greatly animated by this ſpeech, required to be led inſtantly againſt the enemy. Upon which *Adherbal*, drawing up his ſquadron in line of battle near the rocks that lay on the coaſt, boldly advanced againſt *Claudius*, who was now entering the port. The engage- e

[h] Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſup. [i] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Oros. ubi ſup. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup.
[k] Polyb. & Diodor. ibid. Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup.

ment having ſecured the fidelity of the officers, by paying them their arrears, and calmed the minds of the ſoldiery, by promiſing them ſpeedy payment, which the *Carthaginians* enabled him to do, by ſending him immediately a large ſum of money for that purpoſe, he, by this means, avoided the danger that threatened him. The ſame author moreover relates, that the *Romans* received the commanders of the mercenaries, who were expelled the city by their own troops, with great kindneſs, gave them lands in *Sicily*, and other valuable effects, to compenſate the loſs they had ſuſtained for their affection to them. This laſt particular is likely enough to be true; but as to the firſt, ſince it contradicts *Polybius*, we think no degree of credit is due to it (25).

(25) *Zonar. ubi ſup. c.* 15.

a ment immediately began, and the fight was, for ſome time, obſtinate and dubious; but at laſt the *Carthaginians*, by the lightneſs and activity of their veſſels, by the diſadvantagious ſituation of the *Romans*, who, through *Claudius*'s imprudence, were poſted near the ſhore, and laſtly, by reaſon of the *Roman* galleys being incapable, on account of their clumſy make, of charging the enemy in flank or rear, as occaſion ſhould require, obtained a complete victory. Ninety-three of the *Roman* galleys, if we may give credit to *Polybius*, with the greateſt part of their crews, fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, who, it is ſaid, did not loſe a ſingle man or galley in this glorious action. According to *Diodorus*, *Claudius* loſt an hundred and ſeventeen ſhips, and twenty thouſand men. *Eutropius* affirms ninety galleys to have been b taken, and ninety, with all the troops on board, ſunk in this fatal battle. And laſtly, *Oroſius* relates eight thouſand men to have been killed or drowned, and twenty thouſand taken priſoners. *Claudius*, with thirty veſſels, made his eſcape (A) out of the fight to the camp at *Lilybæum*, bringing thither to the conſuls the news (B) of his defeat; which was the greateſt blow the *Romans* had received by ſea ſince the commencement of this war [1].

Nothing was now celebrated at *Carthage* but the praiſes of *Adherbal*, who, at this juncture, was eſteemed, both on account of his conſummate prudence and perſonal valour, as one of the greateſt heroes *Carthage* had ever produced: and indeed ſuch an intire overthrow, given to a moſt proud and inſulting enemy, could not but c be in the higheſt degree grateful to all orders of men in that metropolis, and conſequently render the general, to whom it was chiefly owing, greatly acceptable to all his fellow-citizens. As the *Romans* had amaſſed a vaſt quantity of proviſions on board their fleet, *Adherbal* furniſhed *Lilybæum* with a moſt plentiful ſupply, and filled all his magazines at *Drepanum*. In the mean time, *Hamilcar* found himſelf inſpired with new vigour, not only by the unexpected ſucceſs of *Adherbal*, but by his having deſtroyed all the enemy's works and military engines, in the ſally abovementioned, wherein he was not a little favoured by the violent guſt of wind, which rendered unquenchable the flames his *Greek* mercenaries had kindled amongſt them. The *Carthaginians* likewiſe at this juncture, by ravaging the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, d reduced the natives to the extremeſt poverty. Soon after, *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* officer, in a quinquereme, fell into the hands of *Junius* the conſul, as he was ſteering with a new fleet for *Lilybæum*. However, this loſs was ſoon repaired; for *Adherbal*, detaching *Carthalo* with an hundred galleys to obſerve the *Roman* ſquadrons and convoys ſent to the relief of the camp before *Lilybæum*, gained ſeveral advantages over them, and at laſt had the pleaſure of ſeeing them totally deſtroyed by a ſtorm. Beſides many other places, *Carthalo* reduced *Ægythalus*, a ſtrong caſtle the *Romans* had poſſeſſed themſelves of. *Diodorus* tells us, that in the firſt ſea-fight with *Carthalo*, the *Romans* had thirty-five thouſand men killed, and as many taken priſoners; but this is ſcarce credible. Notwithſtanding all the loſſes the e *Romans* had ſuſtained, they continued the blockade of *Lilybæum* with great firmneſs, cantoning all their troops in the neighbourhood, being determined, if poſſible, to carry the place. *Carthalo*, by ſome indiſcreet actions, became ſo unpopular amongſt the troops, that he had like to have occaſioned an univerſal defection; which obliged the ſenate to recal him to *Carthage*. The *Romans*, being greatly dejected by their late frequent misfortunes at ſea, reſolved once more to lay aſide all thoughts of oppoſing their rival upon the watery element. This revived the drooping ſpirits of the *Carthaginians*, and encouraged them to entertain hopes of coping with their formidable enemy once more by land. In order to which, they appointed *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, the head of the *Barcan* faction in *Carthage*, general of their forces. f This extraordinary perſon, by his future conduct both in *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Spain*, demon-

Cathalo, *by his conduct, occaſions a mutiny in the* Carthaginian *army, and is therefore recalled to* Carthage.

[1] Idem ibid. Oros. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. ii. Flor. l. ii. c 2. ſub fin. S. Jul. Frontin. ſtrat. l. ii. c. 13. ex. 9. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. ex. 3. & l. viii. c. 1. ex. 4.

(A) *Frontinus* tells us, that *Claudius* made his eſcape with twenty ſhips, which he adorned in a triumphal manner, and by that means paſſed by ſome of the enemy's guard-ſhips without hurt, the *Carthaginians* on board believing him to have been victorious (26).

(B) We think it not improper to acquaint our readers here, that they will find this raſh man's character drawn at full length by *Diodorus Siculus*, in one of his fragments publiſhed by *Valeſius* (27).

(26) *S. Jul. Frontin. in loc. citat.*

(27) *Diod. Sic. l.* xxiv. *ſub init. in excerpt. Valeſii.*

demonstrated himself to be the greatest general, excepting his son *Hannibal*, who indeed outshined him, that ever appeared at the head of the *Carthaginian* armies [m]. a

Hamilcar *lands in* Sicily, *and makes several motions.*

Hamilcar (C), receiving a *charte blanche* from the senate, to act as he should think proper for service of the republic of *Carthage*, set sail from *Carthage* in the eighteenth year of this war. According to *Cornelius Nepos*, he was a perfect youth, when he took upon him the command of the army; which, considering the bad situation of the *Carthaginian* affairs, adds no small lustre to his first gallant atchievements. Having put to death all the ringleaders and most guilty of the mutineers, he ravaged the coasts of the *Locrians* and *Brutians*, and then made a descent near *Panormus* with all his forces. Upon his landing, he marked out a camp betwixt *Panormus* and *Eryx*; which was of itself a sufficient proof of his great military capacity, since the spot of ground pitched upon seems, from the description given us of it by *Polybius*, to have been the most commodious for the end proposed, that could possibly be conceived. Soon after his encampment here, he detached some galleys, with a body of land-forces on board, to pillage the *Roman* allies. These executed their orders with great severity, making excursions as far as *Cumæ*, and laying the country waste where-ever they moved. Upon their return, he marched with his army to the very walls of *Panormus*, though the enemy lay encamped but eight hundred paces from that city, and afterwards returned to his former camp. For some time the generals on both sides made it their whole business to observe each others motions. In short, by marches and counter-marches, by rencounters and ambuscades, by military falsifications, and stratagems of all kinds, *Hamilcar* and the consuls strove who should shew the greatest skill and dexterity; which, though it greatly fatigued the soldiers, trained them up in military discipline, and formed them for action in the most perfect manner. But such a variety of motions, as was the result of this conduct, being too tedious for an historian to describe, *Polybius* has, in a great measure, omitted it [n]. b c

Neither side could force the other to a battle.

Both the *Carthaginian* and *Roman* camps were, by art and nature, rendered impregnable; so that neither side could force the other to a battle. The military operations therefore, for a considerable period of time, consisted in rencounters betwixt parties, who, on both sides, behaved with very great bravery. The success of these skirmishes was dubious, sometimes one party being victorious, and sometimes the other. The *Carthaginians*, however, in general, from what we find in *Polybius*, seem rather to have had the advantage, especially as *Diodorus* intimates, that *Hamilcar* took a castle of considerable strength in the territory of *Catana*, before he advanced to *Eryx*. If so, this ought undoubtedly to be ascribed to the incomparable conduct of *Hamilcar*; since, from the time he became their general, they performed feats, of which before they might justly have been thought incapable [o]. d

The Romans *equip a privateer-squadron.*

The *Romans* had, for some time past, desisted from all naval preparations, being deterred from them by the terrible disasters they had met with at sea; and confined themselves wholly to a land-war, thinking their land-forces much more than a match for those of *Carthage*. But finding themselves greatly mistaken in their views, by the excellent conduct of *Hamilcar*, and that, instead of carrying their point in *Sicily*, they were even themselves reduced to some extremities there by the enemy, they began to think of annoying them again by sea. In order to this, a fleet was first equipped by private persons. This privateer-squadron of galleys was of consi- e
derable

[m] Polyb. Diod. Sic Liv. Flor. Eutrop. Oros. Zonar. ubi sup. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4. ex 3. Vide & Univers. hist. ubi sup. & p. 673, 674, 675, &c. [n] Diod. Sic. l. xxiv. in excerpt. Hœsch. Polyb. l. i. ubi sup. Corn. Nep. in vit. Hamilc. sub init. [o] Idem ibid.

(C) The surname of this famous general the *Greek* authors write *Barcas*; but the *Latin*, *Barca*. It was common for the *Greeks* to terminate the same proper name in *as*, that the *Latins* did in *a*, and even such proper names as were of *African* extraction; witness *Micipsas*, *Micipsa*, &c. According to *Silius* and others, this was the surname of a family, which was the noblest in *Carthage*, being lineally descended from the antient kings of *Tyre*. The party in *Carthage*, that adhered to this *Hamilcar*, was, from him, called the *Barchine* or *Barcan* faction, of which *Livy* takes particular notice. *Servius* in direct terms asserts this name to appertain to a family; and *Plutarch* mentions one *Maherbal*, or *Adherbal*, (who intimated to *Hannibal*, that he did not know so well how to make a proper use of a victory, as to get one) as a member of it. We may possibly have occasion to speak further of this family in the next section (28).

(28) *Sil. Ital. l.* vi. *Serv. in Æn* iv. *ver.* 632. *Liv. l.* xxi. *c.* 2, 3. *Plut. in Fab. p.* 184. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Hamilc. Appian. Iberic. p. m.* 428. *Vide Reinec. hist. Jul. vol.* ii. *& Bentleium in dissert. ad Malelam, p.* 88, 89, *&c. edit. Oxon.* 1691.

a derable force, and fitted out chiefly with a view of plundering the enemy's territories, and inuring the *Romans* to the ſea, to which they were now, in a manner, ſtrangers. They committed great depredations on the coaſts of *Africa*; and entering the port of *Hippo*, notwithſtanding the citizens had endeavoured to hinder their entrance, by ſhutting up the mouth of the harbour with a large and ſtrong chain thrown acroſs it, they laid the greateſt part of the town, together with the ſhipping, in aſhes. Having filled their veſſels with ſpoils, they returned to *Panormus*, near which place they gave a conſiderable defeat to the enemy. In the mean time, one of the conſuls puſhed on the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and the other that of *Drepanum*. The *Romans* likewiſe diſlodged the *Carthaginians* from the iſland of *Columbria*; which *Hamilcar* in vain
b attempted to retake. *Fabius*, who carried on the ſiege of *Drepanum*, afterwards, with incredible labour, joined this iſland to the continent, which greatly facilitated his approaches. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the brave *Hamilcar* terribly haraſſed the enemy, not only making incurſions into the very heart of the iſland, but plundered frequently the coaſts of *Italy*, that lay oppoſite to *Sicily*. Nothing conſiderable, for ſome time, happened after this, except that a cartel was ſettled betwixt both parties for an exchange of priſoners. They were exchanged man for man; but the *Carthaginian* priſoners being by far moſt numerous, many of them were redeemed by money out of the hands of the *Romans* [p].

About three years after *Hamilcar*'s arrival in *Sicily*, he made himſelf maſter of Hamilcar
c *Eryx* by ſurprize. The town was ſituate on the declivity of a mountain of the *takes* Eryx. ſame name, and had fallen again to the *Romans* ſince the reduction of it by *Carthalo* above-mentioned. What rendered this action the more remarkable was, that the *Romans* had not only a body of troops in the town, whom they might eaſily have ſupported, and the ſupport of whom was of the higheſt conſequence to them, but were likewiſe in poſſeſſion both of the top and foot of the mountain, where they had forts defended by ſtrong gariſons. By the poſſeſſion of this poſt, the *Romans* on the ſummit of the mountain laboured under all the hardſhips and inconveniencies of a place cloſely beſieged; notwithſtanding which, they bore all their calamities with wonderful patience, as well as behaved with incredible bravery and reſolution. *Ha-*
d *milcar* maintained himſelf in the advantagious poſt he had gained with equal bravery. However, as the *Romans* were maſters of the open country, he found himſelf ſometimes ſtreightened for want of proviſions, and with no ſmall difficulty preſerved the avenue, keeping open a communication with the ſea, by means of which he, from time to time, received ſupplies. *Fabius* repreſents both parties as ſinking under the miſeries they then endured; but *Polybius*, with greater juſtice, and more agreeable to the faith of hiſtory, as triumphing over them. Both ſides continued in this melancholy ſituation for the ſpace of two years. The *Romans*, notwithſtanding the difficulties they were reduced to, ſtill continued the blockade of *Lilybæum* [q].

As the privateer-ſquadron was only a prelude to the figure the *Romans* intended to *The* Romans
e make by ſea, in the conſulate of *C. Lutatius Catulus* and *A. Poſthumius*, they fitted *fit out a new* out another fleet of two hundred ſail, which was likewiſe, in a great meaſure, equipped at the expence of private perſons. *fleet.* The command of this armament was given to *C. Lutatius*, with an intention to ſtrike a home-ſtroke, and force fortune to give a *coup de grace* to the *Carthaginians*. In the firſt place the conſul poſſeſſed himſelf of the port of *Drepanum* and all the other harbours in the neighbourhood of *Lilybæum*. Afterwards he took care to exerciſe his ſoldiers and ſeamen with the utmoſt diligence, that they might be able to look the enemy in the face, as firmly believing, that a deciſive action by ſea muſt put an end to this long and burdenſome war. Soon after their entrance into the haven of *Drepanum*, the *Romans* attempted to ſtorm the town,
f and might have ſucceeded in their attempt, had not the conſul been wounded; which occaſioned ſome confuſion, and gave the enemy an opportunity of repulſing them. *Zonaras* obſerves, that when the troops on both ſides were drawn up in order of battle before the fight off the iſlands called *Ægates*, the place of rendezvous for the *Carthaginian* fleet, a blazing ſtar or comet appeared, to the great terror of both parties; but ſeemed to point directly at the *Carthaginians*. Though the wind proved unfavourable to *Lutatius* when he came in ſight of the enemy's fleet, yet he reſolved to attack them, ſince they expected every moment to be joined by *Hamilcar*, whoſe name was become terrible to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians*, intending now to make

[p] Flor. l. ii. c. 2. ſub fin. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 16. [q] Polyb. Diod. Sic. Corn. Nepos. ubi ſup.

make their laſt effort by ſea, had collected their whole naval power, conſiſting of four hundred ſail. The *Romans* on this occaſion, according to *Polybius*, fitted out two hundred gallies, as above obſerved; but *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* make them to have been three hundred. Both fleets, coming in ſight of each other, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an engagement, which was to determine the fate of *Sicily*[r].

Which intirely defeats that of the Carthaginians *near the iſlands* Ægates.

Though the galleys, of which the *Carthaginian* armament was compoſed, in number greatly exceeded thoſe of the *Romans*, yet, in many reſpects, the *Roman* ſquadron was vaſtly ſuperior to the *Carthaginian*; for whereas the forces on board the latter conſiſted, for the moſt part, of new levies, intirely raw and undiſciplined, *Lutatius* had taken care to man the former with choice troops and able ſeamen, trained up in the moſt perfect manner. Beſides, as his veſſels were built after the model of the galley taken from *Hannibal* the *Rhodian*, in lightneſs and activity they far excelled thoſe of the enemy. To which we may add, that the *Carthaginians* had the naval power of the *Romans* in the higheſt contempt, as having themſelves, for ſome years, been maſters at ſea; and therefore, upon the firſt advice of the enemy's motions, they, being vaſtly ſurpriſed, put to ſea a fleet fitted out in haſte, manned only with mercenaries, who had neither courage, experience, nor zeal for the ſtate, in whoſe ſervice they were engaged. *Hanno* therefore made but a faint reſiſtance, his forces being routed at the firſt onſet. *Florus* ſays, that the *Carthaginian* fleet was ſo heavy laden with troops, baggage, arms, proviſions, *&c.* that the whole city of *Carthage* ſeemed to have been on board, and that the veſſels could not move with any freedom; which greatly contributed to *Hanno*'s defeat. The loſs of the *Carthaginians* on this melancholy occaſion ſeems greatly to be exaggerated by *Eutropius*, who tells us, that they had ſeventy-three ſhips taken, an hundred twenty-five ſunk, thirty-two thouſand men made priſoners, thirteen thouſand killed or drowned, and that an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver fell into the victors hands. *Oroſius* differs not much from him. But *Polybius*, who undoubtedly comes nearer the truth, affirms, that the *Romans* (D) ſunk only fifty of the *Carthaginian* veſſels, and took ſeventy with their crews, the reſt making off in great confuſion to the iſle of *Hiera*, *Lutatius*, following his blow, advanced to the city of *Eryx*; where engaging the *Carthaginians*, he cut off two thouſand men. This laſt action concluded the operations of the firſt *Punic* war[s].

Which is followed by a peace.

The *Romans*, naturally inſolent in proſperity, were ſo elated with their victory, that *Lutatius* inſiſted upon *Hamilcar*'s delivering up his arms to him; but this haughty demand was rejected with the ſcorn and indignation it deſerved, that great captain proteſting, *That he would ſuffer all extremities, rather than give up thoſe arms to his country's enemies, with which he had been entruſted for its preſervation.* The conſul, however, underſtanding, that *Hamilcar* was inveſted with full powers to ſign a treaty with him, and being deſirous of having the honour of putting an end to a war, which had coſt both republics ſuch an immenſe quantity of blood and treaſure, before the expiration of his office, he concluded a peace with that general, provided the ſenate and people of *Rome* would ratify it, upon the following terms: *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould imediately evacuate* Sicily; *that they ſhould never for the future make war upon* Hiero, *or any other ally of the* Romans; *that they ſhould reſtore all the* Roman *priſoners in their cuſtody without ranſom, but redeem their own with money*; *and* laſtly, *that, within twenty years, they ſhould pay the* Romans *two thouſand two hundred* Euboic *talents of the pureſt ſilver*[t]. *Zonaras* intimates, that the ſenate of *Carthage* ſent a deputation directly to *Lutatius* to ſue for peace; but he muſt give way to the ſuperior authority of *Polybius* and *Cornelius Nepos*, who affirm, that *Hamilcar Barcas* had the management of the whole tranſaction. The people of *Rome*, greatly puffed up with their

[r] Polyb. Liv. Flor. Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 17. Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. l. iv. c. 10. [s] Idem ibid. ut & Lucius Ampel. in lib. memorial. c. 46. [t] Polyb. Corn. Nep. Zon. ubi ſup. Alfenus. Varus. in lib. digeſt. 34. & conjectan. 2. apud Aul. Gell. in noct. Attic. l. vi. c. 5. & Oros. ubi ſup. c. 11.

(D) According to *Diodorus*, the *Roman* fleet, ſhips of war and tranſports, amounted to a thouſand ſail, and the *Carthaginian* only to two hundred and fifty. But this contradicts all other authors, and is highly improbable. The leſs credit is to be given to *Diodorus* in this particular, as he depends intirely upon *Philinus*, a writer of ſuch partiality, that his authority is not to be regarded. The ſame author affirms, that the *Romans* loſt eighty ſhips, and had ſix thouſand men taken priſoners in this action; which, conſidering the relation of it given us by other hiſtorians, ſeems abſolutely impoſſible (28).

(28) *Diod. Sic. l.* xxiv. *in excerpt. Rhodoman.*

a their unexpected ſucceſs, and looking upon the republic of *Carthage* as now lying at their mercy, refuſed to ratify the treaty, till they had ſent ten deputies to *Sicily*, to inform themſelves thoroughly of the ſituation of affairs there, who, in conjunction with the conſul, agreed to the ratification of it, upon condition the four following additional articles were inſerted in it: *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould increaſe the above-ſtipulated ſum with two hundred talents; that a thouſand talents ſhould be paid immediately, and the remaining ſum in ten years time; that the* Carthaginians *ſhould not approach with their long ſhips either the coaſts of* Italy, *or any territories belonging to the allies of the* Romans; *that they ſhould not make levies either in the dominions of the* Romans, *or thoſe of their allies; and* laſtly, *that they ſhould abandon all the little iſlands betwixt* Sicily
b *and the coaſt of* Italy. As theſe hard conditions were extorted from *Hamilcar* by the *Romans*, becauſe they ſaw him not in a ſituation to refuſe them, he, from this moment, conceived an implacable hatred to that nation. In fine, he was determined to conclude a peace with them upon any terms, to give his country time to breath, that he might have an opportunity of hereafter chaſtiſing them for the unparallelled inſolence they had been guilty of through the whole courſe, and more particularly at the concluſion, of this war. Authors are not intirely agreed about the preciſe duration of the firſt *Punic* war. *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Livy*, and *Zonaras*, ſay, it continued twenty-four years; whereas *Oroſius*, *Eutropius*, *Syncellus*, and others, affirm it to have laſted twenty-three years only, with whom *Gellius*, as he makes it to have
c commenced *A. U. C.* 490. ſeems to agree. Be this as it will, both ſides ſuffered extremely by it, the *Romans* having loſt, ſince their firſt putting to ſea, ſeven hundred ſhips, and the *Carthaginians* five hundred. We ſhall not here tranſcribe the reflections *Polybius* makes upon the power of both ſtates in this war, ſince our readers may ſo eaſily have recourſe to that excellent hiſtorian; but content ourſelves with obſerving, that though, in his opinion, the *Roman* ſoldiers were far ſuperior to the *Carthaginian* in valour and reſolution, yet he allows *Hamilcar*, for his conduct and bravery, to have been the greateſt captain of the age [u].

THE *Carthaginians* were no ſooner got out of this bloody and expenſive war, than they found themſelve engaged in another, which had like to have proved fatal *The* Lybian *war.*
d to them. The mercenary troops, that had ſerved under *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly on all occaſions, upon their return to *Africa*, found the ſtate of *Carthage* ſo drained, that, far from being able to give them the largeſſes and rewards promiſed by *Hamilcar*, it could not pay them their arrears. This, with ſome other concurring cauſes, occaſioned a war (E), which, for three years and an half, preyed upon the very vitals of the republic, and was attended with ſuch inſtances of cruelty and barbarity, as are ſcarce to be parallelled in hiſtory. The antient hiſtorians call it the *Libyan* or *African* war, and ſometimes *the war with the mercenaries*. As many ſalutary inſtructions may be drawn from thence, of great ſervice to ſome ſtates in all ages, for the better regulation of their conduct in ſeveral important particulars, which is one of the great ends of hiſtory, *Polybius* has tranſ-
e mitted to poſterity a full and minute account of it. For the ſame reaſon we think it incumbent upon us, in this part of our work, to inſert the ſubſtance of what has been laid down by that noble author relating to ſo remarkable a tranſaction, aſſureing our readers at the ſame time, that nothing of moment ſhall be omitted, that we can be ſupplied with from other antient hiſtorians [w].

As ſoon as *Hamilcar* had put the laſt hand to the treaty-abovementioned, he *The mercenary troops of the* Carthaginians *greatly diſguſted, on account of not receiving their full pay.*
retired, with the forces which were in *Eryx*, to *Lilybæum*, and there reſigned his commiſſion, leaving to *Giſco*, the commandant of that place, the care of tranſporting them to *Africa*. *Giſco*, being an officer of great penetration, as though he had foreſeen what would happen, did not ſhip them off all at once, but in ſmall and
f ſeparate parties, that thoſe who came firſt might be paid off, and ſent home, before the

[u] POLYB. DIOD. SIC. LIV. CORN. NEP. ZON. OROS. EUTROP. ubi ſup SYNCEL. in chronograph. p. 275. AUL. GELL. in noct. Attic. l. xvii. c. 21. ſub fin. [w] Vide POLYB. i. p. 65—89. DIOD. SIC. l. xxv. in excerp. Rhodoman.

(E) *Diodorus Siculus* in this point differs from *Polybius*; for he tells us, that this bloody war continued four years and four months. But as this is aſſerted in one of his fragments, all of which are greatly corrupted, and conſequently ſtand in need of many emendations, we ſhall not ſcruple giving the preference to *Polybius*, who affirms, that this war laſted three years and an half (30).

(30) *Diod. Sic. l.* XXV. *ſub. init. in excerpt. Rhodoman. & Hæſchel.*

the arrival of the reſt. The *Carthaginians* at home, however, did not act with the ſame forecaſt and precaution. As they were almoſt intirely exhauſted by the laſt war, and the immenſe ſum of money, in conſequence of peace, paid to the *Romans*, they judged it would be a laudable action to ſave ſomething to the public, not conſidering the injuſtice, as well as imprudence, of the meaſure they were going to purſue in order to this. They therefore did not pay the mercenaries in proportion as they arrived, thinking it more proper to wait till they all came together, with a view of obtaining from the whole body a remiſſion of ſome part of their arrears; but being ſoon made ſenſible of their wrong conduct on this occaſion, by the frequent diſorders theſe barbarians committed in the city, they, with ſome difficulty, prevailed upon the officers to take up their quarters at *Sicca*, and canton their troops in that neighbourhood, giving them a ſum of money for their preſent ſubſiſtence, and promiſing to adjuſt their pretenſions, when the reſt of their comrades came from *Sicily*. For ſome time they refuſed to begin their march, becauſe the *Carthaginians* were not diſpoſed to permit their wives and children to ſtay in *Carthage*, as they deſired, believeing, that this would be an inducement to the ſoldiers to return often to *Carthage*, and conſequently deprive them of the benefits they had propoſed to themſelves from their departure. However, this difficulty was at laſt got over; and all the mercenaries already arrived in *Africa*, with their wives, children, and baggage, marched to *Sicca*. *Polybius* looks upon this ſtep as an overſight in the *Carthaginians*, ſince, had the women and children remained in *Carthage*, they would have been as ſo many hoſtages for the future good behaviour of the ſoldiers: and indeed that ſuch an advantage would have more than counterbalanced the inconvenience ariſing from an oppoſite conduct, hinted at by the ſame author, notwithſtanding the fierceneſs of the *African* troops, required no uncommon degree of ſagacity to apprehend [x].

Hanno increaſes their diſguſt.

Being now wholly immerſed in idleneſs, to which they had long been ſtrangers, a neglect of diſcipine enſued, and of courſe a petulant and licentious ſpirit immediately took place. They were now determined not to acquieſce in receiving their bare pay, but to inſiſt upon the rewards *Hamilcar* had promiſed them, and even to compel the ſtate of *Carthage* to comply with their demands by force of arms. The ſenate, being appriſed of the mutinous diſpoſition of the ſoldiery, diſpatched *Hanno*, one of the ſuffetes, to pacify them. Upon his arrival at *Sicca*, he behaved in a very preposterous and imprudent manner. He expatiated largely upon the poverty of the ſtate, and the heavy taxes with which the citizens of *Carthage* were loaded; and therefore, inſtead of anſwering their high expectations, he deſired them to be ſatisfied with receiving part of their pay, and remit the remainder to ſerve the preſſing exigencies of the republic [y].

Upon which they advance in a body to Tunes.

Nothing could have been more impolitic than this conduct of *Hanno*, excepting that of the *Carthaginians*, in employing a perſon ſo unqualified for the buſineſs he went upon. In the firſt place, he expoſed his country's weakneſs to the contempt of the mercenaries, and then farther inflamed them againſt it, by refuſing to comply with their juſt pretenſions, when they ſeemed determined to inſiſt upon a compliance with the moſt extravagant. But this perſon's conduct was all of a piece, both in his civil and military capacity, as will appear in the courſe of this war: ſo that *Carthage* muſt have been ruined, had ſhe not had ſo able a captain as *Hamilcar* to ſupport her in the time of this her great diſtreſs. In fine, the mercenaries being highly exaſperated, that neither *Hamilcar*, nor any other of the principal officers, who commanded them in *Sicily*, and who were the beſt judges of their merit, appeared on this occaſion, but only this *Hanno*, a perſon utterly unknown, and above all others diſagreeable to them, had immediately recourſe to arms. Aſſembling therefore in a body, to the number of twenty thouſand men, they advanced to *Tunes*, and immediately encamped before that city [z].

As *Polybius*'s hiſtory is interſperſed throughout with the fineſt political maxims and reflections, ſo ſcarce any part of it abounds more with them than that deſcribing the beginning of the *Libyan* war. It is ſuperfluous to give theſe at large, becauſe the author is in every one's hands; and therefore we ſhall only obſerve, that though, in ſome reſpects, he approves of the *Carthaginian* practice of making up their armies chiefly of mercenaries, yet in the main he condemns that practice, and demonſtrates

[x] Polyb. ubi ſup. [y] Idem ibid. & Appian. in Libyc. p. 7. edit. Tollii. Amſt. 1670. [z] Polyb. ubi ſup.

a ſtrates, from the breaking out of this war, as well as from the nature of the thing, that an obſervance of the fundamental axiom on which they proceeded, might ſometimes produce diſmal effects. They imagined, that by drawing their forces from different nations, who did not underſtand one another, they ſhould prevent all conſpiracies, intrigues, and combinations againſt the ſtate; and undoubtedly this had a tendency to the end propoſed. But what *Ariſtotle* has obſerved of their conſtitution in general, *viz.* that it was more wiſely framed to prevent inconveniencies than remedy them, may be applied to this particular cuſtom; for though the evil guarded againſt by it was frequently by this means prevented, yet when it happened, the conſequence could ſcarce fail of being deplorable, ſince it was next to impoſſible for any officers
b to perſuade a ſoldiery, compoſed of ſo many nations, in any tongue, to liſten to the dictates of reaſon. As *Polybius* has ſet this point in a ſtrong light, we ſhall refer our readers to him, and now return to the hiſtory [a].

THE *Carthaginians*, being greatly alarmed at the approach of ſo formidable a body to *Tunes*, made large conceſſions to the mercenaries, in order to bring them back to their duty. They ordered them ſupplies of proviſions at their own prices, and ſent a deputation of even ſenators themſelves to confer with their chiefs, and, if poſſible, to ſatisfy them. Far from being ſoftened, they grew more inſolent upon theſe conceſſions, taking them for the effects of fear and weakneſs in the *Carthaginians*. As this powerful corps conſiſted of *Iberians*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, natives of the *Balearic* iſlands, *Greeks*, and *Africans*, who were ſtrangers to one another's language, the
c *Carthaginians* found it next to impoſſible to treat with them. Many of them likewiſe being ſlaves and deſerters, and conſequently expecting capital puniſhment, either for this rebellion, or ſome other enormous crime, did their utmoſt to prevent all friendly intercourſe with the ſtate of *Carthage*. They moreover conſidered that republic as deſtitute of troops, and themſelves as the beſt ſoldiers in the world, having performed many notable exploits in *Sicily*, and been trained up there in the art of war by the moſt celebrated captain of the age. Theſe conſiderations, for ſome time, made them intirely averſe to all thoughts of an accommodation. They roſe in their demands, without the leaſt regard to reaſon, juſtice, or moderation. They practiſed
d every knaviſh art that could be thought of to extort money from their maſters. When one point was gained, they immediately had recourſe to a new artifice, on which to ground ſome freſh pretenſion. Was their pay ſettled beyond the agreement made with them; they ſtill would be reimburſed for the loſſes, which they pretended to have ſuſtained, either (E) by the death of horſes, the exceſſive price they had, at certain times, paid for their bread-corn, or their ſhort allowance of proviſions at thoſe ſeaſons. They inſiſted alſo upon the recompence due to their merit, ſo often promiſed; and that, in all theſe points, they ſhould have immediate ſatisfaction given them. The *Carthaginians*, finding themſelves obliged to make a virtue of neceſſity, ſhewed a diſpoſition to ſatisfy them in all points, how unreaſonable ſoever, and agreed to refer themſelves to the opinion of ſome general in *Sicily*, who had com-
e manded them there, as they all along deſired, leaving the choice of ſuch commander intirely to them. Accordingly they pitched upon *Giſco*, a perſon greatly beloved by them, to mediate this affair, believing *Hamilcar* to have been a principal cauſe of the ill treatment they had met with, ſince he never appeared amongſt them, and, according to the general opinion, had voluntarily reſigned his commiſſion. *Giſco* ſoon arrived at *Tunes* with money to pay the troops; and after conferring with the officers, and the ſeveral nations apart, he harangued them in a mild and inſinuating manner, put them in mind of the long time they had been in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, the conſiderable ſums they had received from the republic; and, in ſhort,
f gave them to underſtand, that their reaſonable demands would be complied with; at the ſame time deſiring them to recede from all exorbitant claims, and reſt ſatisfied with their pay. This made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the ſoldiery, that a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when *Spendius* and *Mathos*, two of the

The mercenaries break out into an open rebellion.

a Idem ibid. ARIST. de rep. l. ii. c 11.

(E) According to *Diodorus Siculus*, the mercenaries inſiſted upon being paid for every one of their body who fell in *Sicily*, as well as for the loſs of their horſes here mentioned; which that hiſtorian looked upon as a very unjuſt and unreaſonable demand (30).

(30) *Diod. Sic. in loc. jam laudat.*

the principal mutineers, occaſioned a tumult in every part of the camp. *Spendius* a was by nation a *Campanian*, who had been a ſlave at *Rome*, and fled to the *Carthaginians*. He was a ſtrong, luſty, and extremely bold fellow. The apprehenſions he was under of being delivered into the hands of his old maſter, by whom he was ſure to be hanged or crucified, his crime meriting capital puniſhment by the *Roman* laws, if a pacification took place, prompted him to break off the accommodation. *Mathos* was an *African*, and free-born; but as he had been active in raiſing the rebellion, and was well acquainted with the implacable diſpoſition of the *Carthaginians*, he knew, that a peace muſt infallibly prove his ruin. He therefore very warmly eſpouſed the intereſts of *Spendius*, and inſinuated to the *Africans* the danger of concluding a treaty at that juncture, as this could not but leave them ſingly expoſed to the rage of the b *Carthaginians*. *The* Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, *and* Greeks, ſaid he, *after having received their arrears, will be diſmiſſed, and from thenceforth enjoy an uninterrupted repoſe amongſt their countrymen at home; whereas you, being left alone, will have the whole guilt of the rebellion imputed to you, and, deſtitute of ſupport, fall an eaſy ſacrifice to the reſentment of your imperious maſters.* This gave a new turn to affairs, and ſo incenſed the *Africans*, who were much more numerous than the troops of any other nation, that they immediately aſſembled in a tumultuous manner. The foreigners ſoon joined them, being inſpired by *Spendius* with an equal degree of fury. Nothing now was heard amongſt them, but the moſt bitter oaths and horrid imprecations uttered againſt *Giſco* and the *Carthaginians*. Whoever offered to make any c remonſtrance, or lend an ear to temperate counſels, was ſtoned to death by the enraged multitude; nay, many perſons loſt their lives, barely for preſuming to ſpeak, before the purport of their diſcourſe could be known, or any one could from thence with certainty infer, whether they were in the intereſt of the *Carthaginians* or *Spendius*. As the ſtate of *Carthage* had very impoliticly ſupplied the malecontents with plenty of wine, and all kinds of proviſions, they indulged themſelves with great freedom; and being at this very juncture heated (F) with wine, which they had drank to great exceſs, they gave a full vent to their rage and inſolence, threatening the *African* republic with utter deſtruction. In fine, no one having the courage to open his mouth in favour of peace, the troops made choice of *Spendius* and *Mathos* d to head them in the intended expedition [b].

And advance towards Utica.

In the midſt of theſe commotions, *Giſco* behaved with great firmneſs and intrepidity. That general had too much courage, and too great a regard for his country's welfare, to deſiſt from all poſſible attempts to reduce the mutineers to reaſon, notwithſtanding his preſent dangerous ſituation. He left no methods untried to ſoften the officers, and calm the minds of the ſoldiery, though at the ſame time he kept up an air of dignity and command, giving them to underſtand, that *Carthage* was not in ſuch low circumſtances as they imagined. But the many falſe ſteps the *Carthaginians* had been guilty of ſince the commencement of theſe troubles, as well as before, defeated his good intentions, and rendered ineffectual all his endeavours. The e torrent of ſedition was now become ſo ſtrong and rapid, that there was no poſſibility of ſtemming it, or keeping it within any bounds. A ſcarcity of proviſions ſucceeding their late plenty and profuſion, the troops, in an inſolent manner, demanded of *Giſco* an immediate ſupply, who, to reprove their inſolence, bade them go to *Mathos* their captain for it. Such an accident as this, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the malecontents, could not but ſet the whole camp in a flame. *Shall he with impunity*, ſaid they, *not only refuſe redreſſing our juſt grievances and complaints, but turn even our wants and neceſſities into ridicule?* In a moment therefore they ſeized upon the military

[b] Polyb. & Appian. ubi ſup. Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Valeſ. f

(F) We learn from *Polyænus*, that the *Libyans* or *Africans* were much addicted to drunkenneſs; which *Himilco*, a *Carthaginian* general, being appriſed of, found an opportunity of intoxicating their troops in a war the *Carthaginians* had with that people, and, by this ſtratagem, gained a ſignal advantage over them. Poſſibly the *Carthaginians* might have ſomething of that kind in view at this time, when they ſupplied the mercenaries with ſuch quantities of wine. If they had not, they were in the higheſt degree impolitic to furniſh their enemies with wine at this juncture, as well as all ſorts of proviſions. Be this as it will, they ſeem to have been infatuated, their conduct, from the concluſion of the firſt *Punic* war, having been nothing but a ſeries of blunders and miſtakes. We ſhall not, however, here expatiate upon this topic, but refer our curious readers to *Polybius*, whoſe judicious reflections and obſervations cannot fail of giving them ample ſatisfaction (31).

(31) *Polyæn. ſtrat. l.* v. *c.* 10. *ex.* 1.

a military cheſt, dividing the money amongſt themſelves in part of their arrears, put the perſon of *Giſco* under arreſt, and treated him, as well as his attendants, with the utmoſt indignities. *Mathos* and *Spendius*, to deſtroy the remoteſt hopes of a reconciliation with *Carthage*, applauded the courage and reſolution of their men, loaded the unhappy *Giſco*, and his followers, with irons, and formally declared war againſt the *Carthaginians*. All the cities of *Africa*, to whom they had ſent deputies, to exhort them to recover their liberty, ſoon came over to them, except *Utica* and *Hippo Dyarrhytus*, or, as *Polybius* calls it, *Hippacra*. By this means their army being greatly increaſed, they divided it into two bodies; with one of which they moved towards *Utica*, whilſt the other marched to *Hippo*, in order to beſiege both thoſe places. The *Carthaginians* in the mean time found themſelves ready to ſink
b under the preſſure of their misfortunes, their city having never before been expoſed to ſuch imminent danger. Every thing at preſent ſeemed to conſpire to their ruin. After they had been haraſſed four-and-twenty years by a moſt cruel and deſtructive foreign war, they entertained hopes of enjoying ſome repoſe, and re-eſtabliſhing their affairs; inſtead of which, a numerous army ariſes out of their own bowels, threatening them with immediate deſtruction. All the citizens of *Carthage* drew their particular ſubſiſtance from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expences from the tribute paid from *Africa*; all which they were not only deprived of at once, but, what is much worſe, had it turned intirely againſt them. They were deſtitute of arms and forces either for ſea or land; of all neceſſary preparations for
c the ſuſtaining of a ſiege, or the equipping of a fleet. They ſuffered all the calamities incident to the moſt ruinous civil war, and, to complete their miſery, had not the leaſt proſpect of receiving aſſiſtance from any foreign friend or ally [c].

The true cauſes of this rebellion.

Such was the preſent melancholy ſituation of affairs at *Carthage*, which the *Carthaginians* had, in a great meaſure, themſelves occaſioned, by their numerous inſtances of cruelty, injuſtice, and ill conduct. During the laſt war, they had moſt tyrannically oppreſſed all the *African* nations ſubject to them, by impoſing exceſſive tributes upon them, in the exaction of which no allowance was made for poverty, or the extremes of miſery. They never ſent ſuch governors into the provinces as were likely to win the affections of the people by their lenity and moderation, but ſuch
d only as would moſt fleece them, in order to fit out fleets, and raiſe armies, and by that means the moſt adminiſter to the ambition of the republic, where *Hanno* at that time governed with almoſt an abſolute ſway. This being conſidered, it cannot certainly appear ſtrange, that the *Africans* were ſo eaſily prevailed upon to engage in this rebellion. At the very firſt ſignal that was made, it broke out, and in a moment became general. The women, who had often, with the deepeſt affliction, ſeen their huſbands and fathers dragged to priſon for non-payment of the moſt unreaſonable taxes and impoſts, as likewiſe ſuffering cruel deaths for the ſlighteſt crimes, ſhewed themſelves every-where extremely active in forwarding a revolt. They not only entered into an aſſociation to annoy, by all poſſible methods, ſo barbarous and
e inhuman an enemy, but likewiſe with pleaſure gave up all their ornaments to contribute towards the expences of the war. *Mathos* and *Spendius* therefore, by ſuch ſeaſonable and large ſupplies, found themſelves enabled, not only to animate their ſoldiers by a prompt payment of the ſums promiſed them, but likewiſe to ſettle a ſufficient fund for all the future exigencies of the army; in which, ſays *Polybius*, they acted like wiſe men, who do not only look to the preſent occaſion, but likewiſe extend their views to futurity [d].

The Carthaginians *make preparations to reduce the mercenaries to reaſon.*

The *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding their deplorable circumſtances, did not deſpond, but purſued all the meaſures neceſſary to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, As *Hanno* had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in their ſervice, by conquering
f a territory of good extent on the confines of *Hecatompolis*, they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces. Troops they levied both for land and ſea-ſervice, horſe as well as foot. All citizens, capable of bearing arms, were muſtered; the horſe exerciſed with great diligence and application; mercenaries invited from all parts; many new galleys built, and all the old ones refitted. In ſhort, the moſt extraordinary efforts were made, not only to repel all the attempts of the mutineers, but even to reduce them to reaſon by force of arms [e].

In the mean time, *Mathos* and *Spendius*, having an army of ſeventy thouſand men at their devotion, began the military operations. They laid ſiege to *Utica* and *Hippacra*

[c] Polyb. & Diodor. ubi ſup. [d] Polyb. ubi ſup. [e] Idem ibid.

Mathos *and* Spendius *besiege* Utica *and* Hippacra *at the same time.*

pacra at one and the same time, and pushed on both those sieges with the utmost vigour. a
But as they were carried on by detachments drawn from the army for that purpose, they remained with the main body of their forces at *Tunes*, and thereby cut off all communication betwixt *Carthage* and the continent of *Africa*. This greatly straitened the *Carthaginians*, whose capital was thereby held in a kind of blockade. The *Africans* likewise harassed them by perpetual alarms, advancing to the very walls of *Carthage* by day, as well as by night, and treating with the utmost cruelty every *Carthaginian* that fell into their hands [f].

Hanno *sent against them, who behaves very imprudently.*

Hanno, a general more to be esteemed for his diligence in making military preparations, than his conduct in time of action, notwithstanding the reputation he had acquired by the conquest above-mentioned, marched to the relief of *Utica* with a b
good body of forces, an hundred elephants, and a large train of battering-engines. Having taken a view of the enemy, he immediately attacked their entrenchments, and, after an obstinate dispute, by the help of his elephants, forced them, and made himself master of their camp. As the (G) elephants did great execution, the mercenaries

[f] Polyb. ubi sup.

(G) If we remember right, no mention is made by the antient historians of the *Carthaginians* using elephants in war, till the time of the first *Punic* war. It is certain *Plutarch* takes no notice of them, when he gives us a description of the arrangement of the *Carthaginian* forces just before the battle on the banks of the *Crimesus*; nor *Diodorus*, when he describes the dispositions of the *Carthaginian* armies before their various engagements with *Dionysius* and *Agathocles*. This countenances *Gisbertus Cuperus*'s opinion, who asserts, that elephants never formed part of an army in *Europe*, till after the time of *Alexander the Great*, who took many of those animals from *Porus* an *Indian* king; which occasioned their being known and used by his successors afterwards in *Greece*; for if their military use had been known by the *Sicilians* before, or even at that period of time, that people would most certainly have joined them with their other forces in some of the earliest wars they were engaged in; which, from the silence of all historians mentioning the *Sicilian* wars, it is plain they never did. It follows therefore, that they were not used in *Sicily* before the interval above mentioned, which was the most likely part of *Europe* for them to be known in, by reason of its vicinity to *Lybia*, which produced them. It seems to follow likewise, that the *Carthaginians* did not intermix them with their troops before that period, since history could not have omitted taking notice of so formidable a part of their armies, had they been a part of them; especially as we find afterwards, that almost in all battles wherein they were concerned, they were, in a manner, the sole cause of victory. We cannot help further remarking, that, unless we are greatly deceived, no mention is made of armed chariots after the introduction of elephants into military engagements, nor of elephants before the last time armed chariots are mentioned in any battles the *Carthaginians* had with their enemies. This, if true, as we persuade ourselves it is, will point out to us the interval, in which chariots were first disused, and elephants introduced amongst the *Carthaginians, viz.* betwixt the year before Christ 309. when *Agathocles* defeated *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, the last time we hear of chariots in the *Carthaginian* armies, and the year 262. before the christian æra, when the *Romans* routed *Hanno* before *Agrigentum*, the first time we find elephants mentioned in them; and not only so, but likewise fully prove, that the custom of fighting with elephants was adopted by the people under consideration in the room of that which before prevailed of engaging with chariots. What strengthens this is, that those nations, who, it is probable, knew nothing of elephants, as the *Britons*, *Gauls*, &c. had chariots in use amongst them, till they were conquered by the *Romans*, as is evident from *Diodorus*, *Cæsar*, and *Dio*. *Pyrrhus* was the first who brought them into *Italy*; and that the *Romans* had little or no knowledge of them for a considerable time after that prince's death, appears from the defeat *Regulus* received from *Xantippus*, occasioned, in a great measure, by the *Carthaginian* elephants, of which the *Romans* were so much afraid, that, for two years afterwards, they durst not look the enemy in the face in *Sicily*. It likewise further appears from the overthrow *Cæcilius* gave *Asdrubal* near *Panormus*, when he took most of the enemy's elephants, and sent them to *Rome*, as a great curiosity. According to *Pausanias*, the *Indians* in *Asia*, and the *Libyans* in *Africa*, were the first nations that used elephants in battles, others only esteeming them on account of the ivory they produced. The *Persians*, *Lydians*, and neighbouring nations, antiently intermixed camels with their troops, as in after-ages they did elephants. Though from *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and others, it is sufficiently evident, that *Egypt* produced elephants, particularly that part of it bordering upon *Ethiopia*; yet they were not known in that country as military animals, till the time of the *Ptolemies*. From *Egypt*, it is probable, the practice of fighting with them spread into *Cyrenaica*, the people of which region, in all likelihood, might communicate it to their neighbours the *Carthaginians*. Neither the *Jews*, *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabs*, *Ethiopians*, nor even the *Medes* and *Persians*, ever brought elephants into the field before the reign of *Alexander the Great*. King *Juba* in *Philostratus* intimates, that the *Moors* and *Libyans*, in very early times, fought with elephants; which notion seems likewise to be countenanced by *Ælian*. *Lucretius* affirms the *Carthaginians* to have invented this method of fighting; but as such an opinion runs counter to the whole stream of antiquity, we shall pay no regard to it (32).

According

(32) *Univers. hist. vol.* vi *p.* 783, 784. *in not.* (B). *Diod. Sic. l.* iv *p.* 209. *Cæs. de bell. Gal. l.* iv. *Dio Cass. l.* lxii. *p.* 706. *in Ner. & alib. ed. Hanov.* 1616. *Polyb. l.* i. *Pausan. l.* i. *S. Jul. Frontin. strat. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *ex.* 12. *Xenoph. in Cyropæd. l.* vii. *Polyæn. strat. l.* vii. *c.* 2. *Herodot. l.* ii. *Plat. in crit. Xenoph. ubi sup. l.* vi. *pass. Ælian. de animal l.* xvii. *c.* 36. *Ezech. c.* xxv. *ver.* 5. *Rex Juba apud Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. l.* ii. *c.* 6. *Ælian. var. hist. l.* xii. *c.* 55. *Lucret. l.* v. *Vide Bochart. Phal. l.* iv. *c.* 26. *& Gisbert. Cuper. de elephantis, in num. obv. exercitat. edit. ab Albert. Henric. de Sallengre, in nov. thesaur. antiquitat. Romanar. tom.* iii. *Hagæ-Comit.* 1719.

a naries loſt a vaſt number of men in the action, and conſequently the advantage gained was ſo conſiderable, that it might have proved deciſive, had *Hanno* made a proper uſe of it. But not entertaining a right idea of thoſe veteran troops, who had learned, under the conduct of *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, to fly before an enemy, face about, and attack their purſuers, in one and the ſame day, as occaſion ſhould require, he imagined himſelf to have routed a body of raw, undiſciplined *Africans* and *Numidians*, who, upon any defeat, generally retired into the heart of the country; and therefore entering the town, lay there in great ſecurity, his troops in the mean time, ordered to guard the camp, being every-where off their duty. The mercenaries, who, after *Hanno*'s victory, had rallied their ſhattered forces upon a neighbouring eminence,
b ſtrong by its ſituation, and covered with a wood, where they had poſted themſelves, being

According to Dr. *Hyde*, the moſt uſual name of the elephant in *India* is *barî* or *brî*; from whence, it is probable, the *Latin* words *barrus*, *barritus*, *ebur*, &c. were derived. *Iſidore* adds ſome weight to this, when he tells us, that, in the *Indian* language, an elephant is called *barro*. *Martinius* makes the elephant to be named in the *Chaldee beira*; which probably was likewiſe the *Ethiopic* name, or nearly related to it, ſince there is a great affinity betwixt the *Ethiopic* and the *Chaldee*; and, in confirmation of this ſentiment, *Horace*'s ſcholiaſt interprets the word *barri* of the elephants of *Ethiopia*. The animal under conſideration went likewiſe almoſt all over the eaſt by the appellation *phil* or *pil*, and even in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; though, in the laſt country, that animal is now called *nage*, and by the *Copts delphinos*. In ſome parts of *India* the elephants were named *boſare*, according to *Arrian*; in others, if *Ælian* may be credited, *praſii* and *taxilæ*, from the names of the places where they were produced. The *Moors* and *Carthaginians* ſtyled an elephant *cæſar*, as we learn from *Spartian* and *Servius*. Some derive the word *elephas* or ἐλέφας from *phil*, with the *Arabic* article *al* prefixed; others from the *Hebrew* verb *alaph*, *he learned*, the elephant, according to *Pliny*, *Arrian*, and others, being an animal of ſurpriſing docility; and laſtly, others from the *Hebrew aleph* or *eleph*, ſignifying *an ox*, *a leader*, or indeed any large quadruped. *Heſychius* uſes the words *piriſſas* and *elephas* as ſynonymous terms. So much for the name (33).

The *Carthaginians* generally poſted theſe animals in front, in order to ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, as we learn from the manner in which *Xantippus*, *Hannibal*, *Mago*, &c. drew up their armies. This ſeems a farther proof, that they immediately ſucceeded armed chariots, which had the ſame ſituation aſſigned them in the *Carthaginian* armies. Sometimes, however, they were diſtributed in both wings, as appears from *Livy*. The elephants made uſe of by the *Carthaginians* in battles were generally, if not always, *Indian* elephants, which much exceeded the *Libyan* in ſtrength and magnitude. Each of theſe had a wooden tower faſtened to his back, with twenty-two warriors in it, and an *Indian* to manage the beaſt, which he did with the utmoſt dexterity. The *Libyan* elephants were not able to carry above ſix or ſeven men, as *Geſner* and *Aldrovandus* have proved from *Livy*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*. In the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, *Antiochus Eupator* is ſaid to have brought againſt the *Jews* ſeveral *Indian* elephants, with towers on their backs, containing thirty-two men a-piece, with an *Indian* guide. *Philoſtratus* ſays, that an *Indian* elephant as much exceeded in ſize one of *Libya*, as this laſt did a *Nyſæan* horſe; and *Pliny* tells us, that the *African* elephants were ſo much afraid of the *Indian*, that they could not bear the ſight of them; which is confirmed by *Livy* and *Polybius*, who intimate, that the *Libyan* elephants could neither bear the noiſe nor ſmell of the *Indian*. Theſe laſt animals, according to *Ælian*, were nine cubits high, and five broad. The *Romans* called the elephant *bos Luca*, or *bos Lucana*, becauſe they firſt ſaw that creature in *Lucania*, and uſed the word *bos* to denote any great animal. That nation firſt placed elephants in their armies in the year of *Rome* 555. in the conſulate of *P. Sulpicius Galba* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. As the *Carthaginian* ſoldiers were exerciſed by their officers, ſo their elephants were trained up and exerciſed by the *Indian* guides. By their monſtrous ſize, filthy ſmell, terrible noiſe, and prodigious ſtrength, as well as the efforts of the gariſons on their backs, they generally threw the enemy into confuſion, and made great havock amongſt them. The *Indians*, that managed them, appeared in a dreſs the moſt proper to heighten the conſternation of the enemy, and began the fight with the utmoſt fury. No horſes but the *Numidian*, which were accuſtomed to them, could approach the *Indian* elephants; and therefore the enemy's cavalry was ſoon put to the rout by them. Sometimes, by being pierced with darts, they became ſo enraged, as to turn upon their own men, treading vaſt numbers of the ſoldiers to death, which was their common method of deſtroying thoſe they attacked; though ſometimes with their trunk or *proboſcis* they diſpatched them. The *Romans* alſo ſometimes, by firing the caſtles on their backs, forced them to recoil upon their own troops, which, in ſuch a caſe, they did not fail of putting into diſorder. When this happened, the *Carthaginians* themſelves were obliged to kill them; which they did very expeditiouſly, by a method *Aſdrubal* diſcovered, and which we find deſcribed by *Livy*. Theſe are the principal points relating to the manner of fighting with elephants, particularly amongſt the *Carthaginians*, as far as we can collect from the authors, who have been the moſt explicit on this ſubject. The natural hiſtory of the elephant our readers may expect from us in another note (34).

(33) *Thom. Hyde in lib. de ludis orientalib. p.* 93. *Iſidor. in orig. l.* xii. *Matth. Martin. lex philolog. in voce* Elephas. *Schol. in Hor. epod.* xii. *Sidon. Apollinar. carm.* 23. *Pomp. Feſt. in voc.* Barrire. *Arrian. de reb. Indic. Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 7. *Cic. epiſt. fam.* 1. *l.* vii. *Schind. pentaglot. p.* 1428. *Ælian. in hiſt. animal. l.* xiii. *c.* 12. *Spartian. in Æl. Ver. Serv. in Æn.* 1. *Vide etiam Arrian. in peripl. mar. Erythr. Bochart. hierozoic. part. prior. c.* 23, 24, &c. & *Giſbert. Cuper. ubi ſup.* (34) *Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv.* &c. *paſſ. Veget. de re militar. l.* iii. *c.* 24. 1 *Maccab. c.* viii. *ver.* 6. *Hornius ad Sulpit. Sever. l.* ii. *Geſner.* & *Aldrovand. de eleph. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. l.* ii. *c.* 6. *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 9. *Liv. l.* xxxvii *Polyb. l.* v. *c.* 85. *Ælian. de animal. l.* xiii. *c.* 8. *Verginius apud Varron. l.* vi. *Veget. ubi ſup. c.* 24. *Modeſtus in lib. de vocab. rei militar. Enn. fragment. ed. Amſt.* 1707. *p.* 305. *Sil. Ital. l.* ix. & *alib. Appian. in Libyc. Curt. l.* viii. *Hirt. in bell. Afric. Plut. in Pyr. Marcel* & *Hannib.*

being informed of this, poured down upon them, cut many of them off, forced the a
reſt to fly into the town, retook and plundered the camp, and ſeized upon all the proviſions, military ſtores, &c. brought from *Carthage* to the relief of the beſieged. Nor was this the only error committed by *Hanno*; another inſtance of his military incapacity ſoon diſcovered itſelf. Notwithſtanding he lay encamped in the moſt advantagious manner near a town called *Gorza* (H), at which place he twice overthrew the enemy, and had it in his power to have totally ruined them, he yet neglected to improve thoſe advantages, and even ſuffered the mercenaries to poſſeſs themſelves of the iſthmus, which joined the peninſula, on which *Carthage* ſtood, to the continent of *Africa*[d].

Hamilcar *commands the* Carthaginians *in his room.*

Such repeated miſtakes, which had almoſt proved fatal to the republic, highly b
diſpleaſed the *Carthaginians*, and induced them once more to place *Hamilcar Barcas* at the head of the forces. This could not but be extremely mortifying to *Hanno*, who had always been an inveterate enemy to the *Barchine* faction, and of courſe infuſe new life into *Hamilcar* and his adherents, who undoubtedly, during *Hanno*'s influence, were excluded from all poſts in the adminiſtration. *Hamilcar*, in all reſpects, anſwered the high idea his countrymen had entertained of him. He marched againſt the enemy with an army of about ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, and ſeventy elephants, all the troops the *Carthaginians* could at that time aſſemble for their defence; which is a full proof of the great extremities to which they were then reduced. As *Mathos*, after he had made himſelf maſter of the iſthmus, had poſted proper detachments in two paſſes on two hills facing the continent, and guarded the bridge over c
the *Bagrada*, which, through *Hanno*'s neglect, he had taken, *Hamilcar* ſaw little probability of engaging him upon equal terms, or indeed of coming at him. He was therefore obliged to have recourſe to a ſtratagem at this critical conjuncture, eſpecially as *Mathos* lay encamped with his army at a village near the bridge, and watched the enemy's motions with the utmoſt vigilance. Obſerving, that, upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the river was choaked up with ſand, which formed a kind of bar, and rendered the river paſſable, though with no ſmall difficulty, as long as thoſe winds continued, he halted for ſome time at the river's mouth, without communicating to any perſon his deſign. As ſoon as the wind favoured his d
intended project, he paſſed the river privately by night, without the leaſt oppoſition, neither his own men, nor the mercenaries, dreaming of any ſuch attempt. Immediately after his paſſage, he drew up the troops in order of battle, and advancing into the plain, where his elephants were capable of acting, moved towards *Mathos*, who was poſted at the village near the bridge. This action greatly redounded to *Hamilcar*'s glory, being of ſo daring a nature, that it equally ſurpriſed the malecontents and the *Carthaginians*[e].

And defeats the mercenaries.

The *Africans* being informed, that *Hamilcar* ſucceeded *Hanno* in the command of the *Carthaginian* army, that he had already paſſed the *Bagrada*, and was marching at the head of his forces to attack their camp, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. e
They very well knew, that they had now to deal not with a man of *Hanno*'s genius, but with the greateſt captain of the age; a captain, from whom they themſelves had learned the art of war, and who was infinitely ſuperior to all their generals in every branch of it. However, *Spendius*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's motions, drew a body of ten thouſand men out of *Matho*'s camp, with which he attended *Hamilcar* on one ſide, and ordered fifteen thouſand from *Utica* to obſerve him on the other, think-

[d] Polyb. ubi ſup. [e] Idem ibid.

(H) It may be collected from *Polybius*, that the town of *Gorza* was ſituated in the neighbourhood of *Utica*, and not far from the iſthmus or neck of land joining the peninſula, on which *Carthage* ſtood, to the continent of *Africa*, though the ſituation of it cannot be preciſely determined. It is probable the *Punic* name was *Goza* or *Gaza*, ſince the *Greeks* frequently inſerted the letter R or P in ſuch proper names, as appears from *Bochart*; and *Gaza* or *Goza* (a permutation of vowels eſpecially O and A, being very common in the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* proper names, when written and pronounced by the *Greeks*) was the *Carthaginian* name of a town in *Sicily*, as well as the *Phœnician* name of a fortreſs in *Paleſtine*, or, as the prophet calls it, *Peleſeth*. Be this as it will, that not only *Gaza* or *Goza*, but likewiſe *Chorſa* or *Gorza*, is the *Punic* proper name of a place, cannot be denied, after a peruſal of *Bochart*. No author, either antient or modern, if we remember right, except *Polybius* in this paſſage, has ſo much as mentioned it (35).

(35) *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 29, 31. & *l.* ii. 12. *Steph. de urb. in* Τάζα. *Arrian. l.* ii. *Q. Curt. l.* iv. *Iſai. c.* xiv. *ver.* 29, 31. 1 *Sam. c.* vi. *ver.* 17, & *alib. Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 44. *ſub. init.*

a thinking by this means to ſurround the *Carthaginians*, and cut off both their army and general at one ſingle ſtroke. *Hamilcar* in the mean time advanced with great intrepidity, his troops being ranged in the following manner: the elephants were poſted in front, then came the cavalry, and after them the light-armed infantry, being ſupported by the targeteers, who brought up the rear. But obſerving the mercenaries to approach him with great temerity, though at the ſame time with reſolution, and as much confidence as if they had been ſure of victory, he changed his order of battle in a precipitate manner, ſtill retiring before the enemy, as though he was afraid of them. This motion anſwered the end propoſed; for the mercenaries, looking upon it as the effect of fear, and conſequently as a tacit acknowledgment of their
b valour and ſuperiority, fell upon him with great fury, but without any diſcipline or order. *Hamilcar* therefore facing about in an inſtant, and his horſe behaving with extraordinary bravery, the enemy were ſoon put to flight; when meeting a body of their own men coming to their relief, and miſtaking them for the *Carthaginians*, they engaged them; upon which a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. In fine, *Hamilcar* gave the malecontents a total overthrow, in which they had ſix thouſand men killed, and two thouſand taken priſoners. The reſt fled, ſome to the town at the bridge, and others to the camp at *Utica*. *Hamilcar* did not give the enemy time to recover from their defeat, as *Hanno* before had done, but purſued them with great ardour to the village near the bridge before-mentioned; which he entered without oppoſition,
c the mercenaries flying in great confuſion to *Tunes*. Many towns, which had revolted to the enemy, terrified by this defeat, ſubmitted to the *Carthaginians*; others *Hamilcar* reduced by force. In ſhort, the *Carthaginians*, finding that *Hamilcar* had ſeized many of the enemy's advantagious poſts, were greatly animated by his conduct, and doubted not but he would ſoon put a happy concluſion to this deſtructive war [f].

Hamilcar *aſſiſted by* Naravaſus.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe diſaſters, *Mathos* puſhed on the ſiege of *Hippo* with great vigour, and appointed *Spendius* and *Autaritus*, commander of the *Gauls*, with a ſtrong body of troops, to obſerve the motions of *Hamilcar*, adviſing them above all things to guard againſt a ſurprize; which, conſidering the abilities of that general,
d as well as his ſuperiority in horſe and elephants, was a very wholſome admonition. At the ſame time, he ſolicited the *Numidians* and neighbouring *Africans* to ſend him a proper number of recruits, exhorting them to make their utmoſt efforts at the preſent juncture, which ſeemed to be the only opportunity left them of recovering their liberty, to aſſert their independency, and throw off the yoke of the *Carthaginians*. *Spendius* and *Autaritus* therefore, at the head of a choice detachment of ſix thouſand men, drawn out of the camp at *Tunes*, and two thouſand *Gallic* horſe, attended *Hamilcar*, approaching him as near as they could with ſafety, and keeping cloſe to the ſkirts of the mountains, as they had been adviſed. At laſt *Spendius*, having received a ſtrong reinforcement of *Africans* and *Numidians*, and poſſeſſing himſelf of all the
e heights ſurrounding the plain, in which *Hamilcar* lay encamped, reſolved not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking him. Accordingly he placed the *Numidians* in the rear and the *Africans* in front, whilſt he himſelf, with his firſt detachment, was reſolved to charge the enemy in flank; and having made this diſpoſition, boldly advanced towards the *Carthaginians*. Had a battle enſued, *Hamilcar* and his whole army muſt, in all human probability, have been totally ruined; but here his good fortune interpoſing, ſaved them both. It happened, that at that time one *Naravaſus*, a young *Numidian* nobleman, eminent for his perſonal merit, commanded a body of *Numidians* in the enemy's army. This nobleman, before the breaking out of the preſent war, had been a great promoter of the *Carthaginian* intereſt, on account
f of the friendſhip, that had ſubſiſted many years betwixt his father and that nation; and, being now charmed with the great worth of *Hamilcar*, was determined to renew his former good underſtanding with *Carthage*, and not ſuffer ſo brave a man to be ſacrificed. He therefore, with an hundred *Numidian* horſe, approached the *Carthaginian* lines, acquainting one of their advanced guards, that he had ſomething of importance to communicate to the general. As the *Carthaginians* ſhewed themſelves a little diffident of him, he immediately diſmounted, and, leaving his horſe and arms with the guard that eſcorted him, went directly to *Hamilcar*'s tent, without the leaſt diſtruſt or ſuſpicion. He then informed *Hamilcar*, that he was well diſpoſed towards the *Carthaginian*

[f] Idem ibid. & CORN. NEP. ubi ſup.

ginian nation in general, but that to contract a friendſhip with him, for whom he a
had the moſt profound veneration and eſteem, was the height of his ambition. *Hamilcar*, greatly admiring ſo generous, polite, and gallant an action, made him an equal return of gallantry, politeneſs, and generoſity. He made him his abſolute confident in all points whatſoever. He took him for his companion, imparting to him his moſt ſecret deſigns; and, to crown all, afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage. Upon the fame of this event, two thouſand *Numidians* came over in a body to *Hamilcar*, who, ſtrengthened by ſuch a ſeaſonable reinforcement, found himſelf in a condition to give *Spendius* and *Autaritus* battle. The fight was obſtinate and bloody, and the victory for a long time in ſuſpenſe; but, the young *Numidian* moſt eminently diſtinguiſhing himſelf and the *Carthaginian* elephants bearing down b
all before them, the mercenaries were at laſt intirely overthrown. *Spendius* and *Autaritus* eſcaped by flight, but left ten thouſand of their men dead upon the ſpot, beſides four thouſand taken priſoners. All the priſoners, who were willing to take on in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, *Hamilcar* received amongſt his troops, ſupplying them with the arms of the ſoldiers, who had fallen in the engagement. To the reſt he gave free liberty to go where-ever they pleaſed, on condition that they ſhould never for the future bear arms againſt the *Carthaginians*. However, he thought proper to acquaint them, that as many violators of this agreement as ſhould hereafter fall into his hands, muſt expect to ſuffer death without mercy[g].

The chiefs of the mercenaries guilty of great cruelty.

Mathos, *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, the chiefs of the malecontents, fearing that this c
affected lenity of *Hamilcar* might occaſion a defection among their troops, thought the only expedient left them to prevent it would be, to put them upon ſome action ſo execrable and ſhocking in its own nature, as ſhould deprive them of all hopes of ever being reconciled to the enemy. Accordingly, having aſſembled them in a formal manner, as though ſomething of moment was to have been imparted to them, a meſſenger, as had been before concerted, appeared with fictitious letters from the mercenaries in *Sardinia*, who had followed the example of the *Africans*, giving them advice of a ſecret deſign formed by ſome of their comrades, in conjunction with *Giſco*, to reſcue that general, and all his attendants, out of priſon at *Tunes*, where they had been ſo long detained. *Spendius* on this occaſion made a ſpeech to the ſoldiers, d
wherein he exhorted them not to be impoſed upon by *Hamilcar*'s pretended clemency, ſince this was only intended for a bait to decoy their whole body into his hands, that he might take vengeance of them all at once. He further adviſed them to have a narrow eye upon *Giſco*, inſinuating, that the eſcape of an officer of ſuch influence and capacity might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. He had ſcarce finiſhed, when another courier arrived, as was given out, from *Tunes*, intimating, that the plot was upon the point of being carried into execution. Hereupon *Autaritus*, addreſſing himſelf to the ſoldiery, moved, in ſupport of what *Spendius* had advanced, that whoever ſhould ſhew any diſpoſition to repoſe the leaſt confidence in the *Carthaginian* promiſes or inſinuations, ſhould be deemed a traitor; and in fine gave it as e
his opinion, that *Giſco*, and all the *Carthaginians* with him, ought immediately to be put to death. *Autaritus*, being very popular in the army, and ſuppoſed to have a perfect knowledge of the *Carthaginians*, as having reſided long amongſt them, and being a perfect maſter of their language, was liſtened to with great attention. His ſpeech in fine made ſuch an impreſſion, that the whole aſſembly expreſſed themſelves of the ſame ſentiments, though ſome of every nation joined in a petition, that as *Giſco* had been a common friend and benefactor to them all, he might be diſpatched without any torture; but the groſs of the army being compoſed of ſuch a variety of nations, and not underſtanding the matter of the petition, no regard was paid to it. In conformity therefore to that ſavage brutality ſo natural to them, the mercenaries f
firſt ſtoned to death all the priſoners they had taken from the *Carthaginians* in the late engagements, who were ſoon after interred by their relations; and then, at the command of *Spendius*, executed *Giſco*, and ſeven hundred *Carthaginians* with him, as the vileſt malefactors. Their heads were cut off, their bodies diſmembered, and afterwards thrown breathing into a hole prepared for them. The *Carthaginians*, being appriſed of theſe inhuman cruelties, were moſt ſenſibly touched with them, and ordered their generals to retaliate them upon the murderers with the utmoſt ſeverity. In the mean time, *Hamilcar*, ſending an herald to demand the remains of his countrymen,

[g] Polyb. ubi ſup.

a men, in order to pay them the laſt ſad office, received for anſwer, that whoever preſumed hereafter to come upon that errand, ſhould meet with *Giſco*'s fate. They moreover came to an immediate reſolution to treat all ſuch *Carthaginians* as ſhould fall into their hands with the ſame barbarity. As for their countrymen in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, who ſhould happen to be taken priſoners, they paſſed a decree, firſt to cut off their hands, and then ſend them to *Carthage*; which bloody reſolution they executed with great rigour and punctuality. Such infernal practices as theſe, ſo contrary to the laws of nature and all nations, can never be ſufficiently deteſted. However, as they are on one ſide ſufficient proofs of the more than ferine diſpoſition of the *Africans*, they may on the other likewiſe be conſidered as ſtrong intimations of
b *Carthaginian* oppreſſion, ſince human nature, wicked as it is, ſeems ſcarce capable of ſuch cruelties, except it be in the higheſt degree irritated and inflamed. This reflection, ſo naturally occurring to us from what has been juſt related, we could not avoid. As for others, a large field for which muſt neceſſarily open itſelf to all our curious and intelligent readers, we are obliged to paſs them by untouched; at the ſame time obſerving, that a peruſal of *Polybius*, in the point before us, will in a good meaſure ſupply our deficiency in this particular [h].

Hamilcar, being determined to revenge the barbarous treatment of his countrymen, ordered *Hanno*, who, it ſeems, at that time commanded a ſeparate body, to join him, that they might act with the greater vigour againſt the enemy. In order to deter
c the malecontents from ſuch enormous proceedings for the future, he threw all the priſoners, that fell into his hands, to wild beaſts, to be devoured by them, being convinced, that compaſſion ſerved only to render them more fierce and untractable. And now, when the *Carthaginians* were juſt beginning, as it were, to breath, and recover their ſpirits, ſeveral unlucky accidents concurred again to depreſs them. By reaſon of a miſunderſtanding betwixt the generals, nothing could be undertaken againſt the enemy; a great ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores, of which they were in extreme neceſſity, coming to them from *Emporium* by ſea, were all caſt away in a ſtorm; *Sardinia*, which had always ſerved them as a magazine in their greateſt ſtreights, was totally loſt, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to obſerve; and, to
d complete all their other misfortunes, they received intelligence of the defection of *Utica* and *Hippacra*, the two only cities which, till then, had preſerved their allegiance, and always adhered inviolably to the republic, even when *Agathocles* and the *Romans* made their deſcents in *Africa*. The citizens, not ſatisfied with entering into an alliance with *Mathos* and *Spendius*, maſſacred the *Carthaginian* garriſon, conſiſting of five hundred men, throwing their bodies over the walls; nay, to imitate their good allies in all their amiable qualities, they refuſed them burial, though the *Carthaginians*, by their embaſſadors, in moſt preſſing terms deſired this favour of them. The mercenaries, animated by ſuch ſucceſs, advanced to the very walls of *Carthage*, with an intention to lay ſiege to that city [i].

Utica *and* Hippacra *revolt to the mercenaries.*

e THE *Carthaginians*, being appriſed of the diviſion betwixt their generals, and ſeeing the fatal effects of it, reſolved to ſeparate them, but left the determination of this point intirely to the army, who having had long experience of the great merit of *Hamilcar*, continued him in his command; upon which *Hanno* was recalled a ſecond time to *Carthage*, and *Hannibal*, an officer more agreeable to *Hamilcar*, ſent to ſupply his place. Upon *Hannibal*'s arrival in the camp, affairs ſoon began to take a happy turn. There being now a perfect harmony betwixt the commanders, the operations were not clogged as formerly; they ſent out detachments to plunder and lay waſte the country, in order to cut off all ſubſiſtence from the enemy; which they happily effected, deſtroying or carrying off all the forage and proviſions. This, how-
f ever, did not intirely relieve the garriſon of *Carthage*, which was reduced to great extremities. The *Carthaginians* therefore were obliged to have recourſe to their friends, and particularly to *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*; who granted what was demanded of him, both now and throughout the whole courſe of this war. That prince, as *Polybius* obſerves, acted according to the maxims of true policy on this occaſion; ſince, if *Carthage* had been now deſtroyed, *Rome* would have had no rival to contend with in any future times, and therefore he himſelf might ſoon have lain at the mercy of the *Romans*, without a poſſibility of being relieved by any neighbouring power [k].

Hiero *aſſiſts the* Carthaginians.

THEY

[h] Idem ibid. & DIOD. SIC. in excerpt. Valeſ.

[i] POLYB. ubi ſup.

[k] Idem ibid. & ZONAR. ubi ſup.

THEY also applied to the *Romans* for assistance at this critical juncture, though they a
had, since the conclusion of the last treaty, disobliged them. At the beginning of
this war, they seized upon several *Roman* vessels trading to the coasts of *Africa*, for
supplying the enemy with military stores and provisions, and detained the crews,
consisting of five hundred men, in custody. The *Romans*, being incensed at this
treatment, threatened the *Carthaginians* with their resentment, if they did not release
the prisoners, and restore them their ships. The *Carthaginians*, either out of a prin-
ciple of fear or generosity, immediately sent both the men and ships to *Rome*, and
that in so handsome a manner, as gave the *Romans* intire satisfaction. The *Romans*
therefore, not to be behind-hand with them in point of politeness, at this time sent
them all the prisoners, that still remained in their hands since the late war, without b
ransom, ordered their merchants to assist *Carthage* with what it wanted, and pro-
hibited all manner of commerce with the *Africans*. At the same time both the male-
contents of *Africa* and *Sardinia* offered to submit to them, and to put them into the
immediate possession both of *Sardinia* and the town of *Utica*; which overture they
refused. These instances of success animating the *Carthaginians*, they bore the
fatigues of the siege with great alacrity. In fine, *Mathos* and *Spendius*, being extremely
harassed by *Hamilcar*, who, by stratagems and rencounters, daily cut off great num-
bers of their men, and so streightened for want of provisions, that they apprehended
a speedy famine, found themselves obliged to abandon the siege [1].

Strange vicissitudes of fortune.

NOTWITHSTANDING this disgrace, the generals of the malecontents took the c
field with an army of fifty thousand effective men, having been joined by one *Zar-
xas*, the head of an *African* hord or canton, with all his people capable of bearing
arms. They watched *Hamilcar*'s motions, but kept on the hills, carefully avoiding
coming down into the plains, on account of *Naravasus*'s *Numidian* horse and the
Carthaginian elephants. *Hamilcar*, being much superior to any of their generals in
every branch of the military art, frequently outwitted them; sometimes dispossessing
them of their advantagious posts; at other times drawing them into ambuscades;
and often defeating them in rencounters, by which means he cut off abundance of
their men. If any of their soldiers straggled ever so little from the main body of the
army, they certainly fell into his hands, and were thrown by him to wild beasts, d
that he might, in some measure, retaliate the inhuman cruelty of *Spendius*. In short,
he harassed them a thousand ways; which as it greatly dejected them, so it inspired
his own troops with fresh courage and vigour. At last, he surprised them when they
least expected it, and shut them up in a post, which was so situated, that it was
impossible for them to get out of it. Here he kept them streightly besieged, lying at
ease in his camp, and being plentifully supplied with all kinds of necessaries. The
mercenaries, not daring to venture a battle, and finding themselves not able to get
off, began to fortify their camp, and surround it with ditches and entrenchments.
Conscious of their enormous guilt, they despaired of mercy, and therefore concluded
it would be to no purpose to make any overtures to *Hamilcar*. They were soon so e
sorely pressed by famine, that they were obliged to eat one another; Divine Provi-
dence, says *Polybius*, thus avenging upon themselves the inhumanity they had exer-
cised on others. As they could not entertain the least thought of peace, or of coming
to an accommodation, after having been so deeply concerned in such bloody scenes,
and knew what punishments would be inflicted upon them, in case they fell alive into
the hands of the enemy, they saw they had no resource left, and therefore prepared
themselves for the measures despair should dictate to them. The forces they looked
for from *Tunes* came not to their aid as was expected, and the famine made daily
large strides amongst them. They first found themselves under the necessity of eat-
ing their prisoners, then their slaves, and last of all their comrades. Prompted f
therefore to it by the extremity of misery they suffered, they insisted, that *Spendius*.
Autaritus, and *Zarxas*, their leaders, should in person make proposals to *Hamilcar*, and
to that end have a conference with him. Accordingly, having obtained a safe conduct
from him, a treaty was agreed upon, and peace concluded, upon the following terms:
That ten of the ringleaders of the malecontents should be left intirely to the mercy of
the *Carthaginians*; and that the troops should all be disarmed, every man retiring only
in a single coat. The treaty was no sooner concluded, than *Hamilcar* seized upon the
negotiators themselves, by virtue of the first article, which favoured not a little of
Punic

[1] POLYB. ubi sup. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 17. APPIAN. in Iberic.

a *Punic* ſubtlety. The army being informed, that their chiefs were under arreſt, and at the ſame time ignorant of the articles of the treaty, had immediately recourſe to arms, ſuſpecting that they were betrayed; but *Hamilcar*, drawing out his army in order of battle, immediately ſurrounded them, and either cut them to pieces, or trod them to death with his elephants. The place, where this bloody tragedy was acted, was called *Prion* (I). The number of the wretches, who periſhed, amounted to above forty thouſand [m].

AFTER this complete victory, *Hamilcar*, *Hannibal*, and *Naravaſus*, ſcoured the country, and many of the revolted towns returned to their obedience. According to the plan of operations, *Hamilcar* immediately inveſted *Tunes*, into which place b *Mathos* (K) retired with all his remaining forces. *Hannibal*'s quarter was on the road leading to *Carthage*, and *Hamilcar*'s on the oppoſite ſide. The army was no ſooner encamped, than *Hamilcar* cauſed *Spendius* and the reſt of the priſoners, to be led out in view of the beſieged, and crucified near the walls. *Mathos*, by this, was appriſed of the fate he muſt expect to meet with, and therefore undoubtedly rendered much more attentive to his own defence. Obſerving, that *Hannibal* did not keep ſo good a guard as he ought, he made a ſally, attacked his quarters, killed many of his men, took ſeveral priſoners, among whom was *Hannibal* himſelf, and plundered his camp. Taking the body of *Spendius* from the croſs on which it was fixed, he ſubſtituted *Hannibal* there in its place; and thirty *Carthaginian* priſoners of diſtinc- c tion, who all expired in exquiſite torture, were crucified round him; fortune, as *Polybius* expreſſes it, giving both ſides an opportunity of vying with each other in point of cruelty. *Hamilcar* being at ſome diſtance from his collegue, it was ſome time before his misfortune reached him, and the road betwixt them being impaſſable, had he received earlier intelligence of the ſituation of affairs on that ſide, he could not have moved with any expedition to his aſſiſtance. He therefore immediately decamped, and poſted himſelf along the ſea-coaſt, near the mouth of the river *Bagrada* [n],

Mathos takes Hannibal priſoner, and crucifies him.

THE *Carthaginians* were greatly terrified at this laſt diſaſter; however, they omitted no means neceſſary for their preſervation. They ſent thirty ſenators, with d *Hanno* at the head of them, to conſult with *Hamilcar* about the proper meaſures to be taken for ſpeedily terminating this cruel and unnatural war, conjuring in the moſt preſſing manner *Hanno* to be reconciled to *Hamilcar*, and to ſacrifice his private reſentment to the public welfare. This, with ſome difficulty, was complied with, and the two generals came to a full reſolution to act in concert for the good of the republic. The ſenate at the ſame time ordered all the youth capable of bearing arms, to be preſſed into the ſervice, by which means a ſtrong reinforcement being ſent to *Hamilcar*, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to act offenſively; ſo that the *Carthaginian* affairs began to have a better aſpect. *Hamilcar* defeated the enemy in all his rencounters with them, drew *Mathos* into frequent ambuſcades, and gave him one notable overthrow near *Leptis*. This reduced him to the neceſſity of hazarding c a deciſive battle with the *Carthaginians*, which proved fatal to him. The leaders on both ſides animated their troops, as going to decide their reſpective fates; upon which an engagement immediately enſued. Victory was not long in ſuſpenſe, the mercenaries

The Libyan war happily concluded by Hamilcar.

[m] POLB. ubi ſup. [n] Idem ibid.

(I) *Polybius* ſays this place was called *Prion*, from the ſimilitude its figure bore to that of a ſaw, the *Greek* word πρίων *prion*, ſignifying that inſtrument. But this notion, at firſt ſight, appears highly improbable, not to ſay ridiculous; for, to omit the abſurdity of ſuppoſing this particular ſpot to reſemble a ſaw, how can it enter into any perſon's head, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould give *Greek* names to their towns and villages? All the other names of towns, this author mentions here, are apparently *Punic* or *Phœnician*; and therefore it is but reaſonable, nay natural, to conclude, that this muſt be ſo too. The word פְּרִי *peri* or *pri*, *fruit*, is undoubtedly the original from whence *Prion* is to be deduced, ſince *Bochart* has demonſtrated ſome names of places near *Carthage* to have been derived from thence, and ſince many antient authors conſpire to evince, that this country abounded with ſpots of ground ſurpriſingly fruitful. Add to this, that the *rabbinical* word פְּרִיוֹן *prion* ſignifies a garden; which, no doubt, is ſo called by the *rabbins*, on account of its fruitfulneſs or fertility. We cannot take upon us to affirm how near exactly this place was to *Carthage*; but, according to *Polybius*, it muſt have been in the neighbourhood of *Tunes* (36).

(K) Sir *Walter Raleigh*, M. *Rollin*, &c. call this *African* captain *Matho*; whereas his true name is *Mathos*, ſince the original word in *Polybius* is ΜΑΘΩΣ. So ΑΘΩΣ, the proper name of a mountain in *Macedonia*, in *Latin* and the modern languages is *Athos*. Many other examples might be produced to ſupport what is here advanced (37).

(36) *Bochart. Chan. l.* i. *c.* 24. *Val. Schind. pentaglot. p.* 1475, 1476. *Vide Polyb. l.* i. *c.* 82. *l.* iii. *c.* 23. *item in excerpt. legat.* 118. *& Liv. l.* xxxiv. *c.* 62. (37) *Polyb. in loc. citat.*

naries flying almoſt upon the firſt onſet. Moſt of their army fell upon the field of battle, and in the purſuit, *Mathos*, with a few, eſcaping to a neighbouring town, where he was taken, and carried alive to *Carthage*. All the revolted towns, except *Utica* and *Hippo*, which had behaved in ſuch a manner, as to exclude themſelves from all hopes of mercy, returned to their duty upon this defeat. *Hamilcar*, ſitting down before thoſe cities, ſoon reduced them, and thereby concluded this war. *Mathos*, having adorned the public triumph, was led to execution, and finiſhed, by a painful and ignominious death, a life, that had been polluted with the blackeſt treaſons and unparallelled barbarities. From the exceſſes of cruelty committed in it, *Polybius* tells us, that this war generally went amongſt the *Greeks* by the name of *the inexpiable war*. The ſame excellent author from hence remarks, that thoſe ſtates must be expoſed to the greateſt dangers, which hire for their defence a body of foreigners, who are not attached to them either by intereſt or affection [o].

The Romans *extort* Sardinia *and a vaſt ſum from the* Carthaginians.

During the *Libyan* war, the mercenaries in *Sardinia* declared againſt the *Carthaginians*, excited thereto by the example of *Mathos* and *Spendius* in *Africa*. They ſeized upon the perſon of *Boſtar*, who commanded in the citadel of *Olbia*, and maſſacred both him and the *Carthaginian* gariſon. The ſenate, appriſed of this, ſent one *Hanno*, with a ſtrong reinforcement of troops, to bring the mutineers to reaſon. *Hanno*, upon his arrival, was abandoned by his men, who joined the mercenaries, and ſoon after not only crucified him, but put to the ſword all the *Carthaginians* they could meet with in the iſland, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the ſtrong places there, though, in a ſhort time, they were expelled from thence by the natives, and forced to take ſhelter in *Italy*. The *Romans*, notwithſtanding the friendſhip they had lately expreſſed for the *Carthaginians*, gave countenance and protection to theſe fugitives, and thereby greatly deviated from thoſe maxims of juſtice and honour their own writers celebrate them ſo much for. In fine, they ſent the conſul *Sempronius*, on trifling pretences, with a fleet, to reinſtate thoſe malecontents, and take poſſeſſion of *Sardinia*; which the *Carthaginians*, being now in a manner exhauſted, were obliged to cede to them. Not content with this iniquitous act, they obliged the *Carthaginians* to defray the expence of their armament, and beſides extorted from them a ſum of twelve hundred talents. Such a perfidious conduct as this could not fail of heightening the averſion *Hamilcar* had already conceived to them, and did not a little contribute to the ſecond *Punic* war, and to thoſe dreadful devaſtations, which *Hannibal* afterwards committed in *Italy* [p].

The faithleſs dealings of Rome *with* Carthage.

Polybius tells us, that when the *Carthaginians* made preparations to reduce *Sardinia*, the *Romans* pretended to be under terrible apprehenſions of their power, as though theſe preparations had been intended to ſubvert their republic; and therefore from hence took occaſion to declare war againſt them. This plainly demonſtrates, that the *Romans* at that time were determined to ſtick at nothing, in order to gratify their ambition, and that they had then a refined genius for villainy. The motives that prompted them to act in a friendly manner towards *Carthage*, when that ſtate was in danger of being overturned by its rebellious ſubjects, were undoubtedly far different from the ſpecious pretext they offered to impoſe upon the world, *viz.* a principle of honour. They probably conſidered, that if the *Carthaginians* were reduced to the laſt gaſp by the barbarians, with whom they were then engaged in war, they would, by a little kindneſs, be induced to ſubmit to them at ſo critical a conjuncture. They likewiſe, in all probability, were afraid, that the mercenaries would find their way again into *Sicily*, where they had behaved with ſuch bravery, could they have made themſelves maſters of *Carthage*, and have diſlodged them from thence; both or either of which conſiderations were ſufficient to determine their conduct as above related. Be this as it will, that the friendly offices the *Romans* did the *Carthaginians* in the time of their great diſtreſs were the reſult of political views, and did not proceed from any noble or generous ſentiments, is abundantly evident, not only from their ſubſequent conduct, but even from ſeveral hints given us by their own prejudiced hiſtorians [q].

Some writers endeavour to palliate this, but in vain.

In order, no doubt, to palliate the conduct of the *Romans* on this occaſion, we are told by ſome of their writers, that, by the treaty concluded at the end of the firſt *Punic* war, the *Carthaginians* made a ceſſion of *Sardinia*, as well as *Sicily*, to the *Romans*.

[o] Idem ibid. Diod. Sic. l. xxv. in excerpt. Valeſ. [p] Polyb. ubi ſup. Liv. l. xxi. Oros. l. iv. c. 11. Zonar. ubi ſup. c. 19. Appian in Iberic. ſub init. [q] Polyb. Liv. &c. ubi ſup.

a *Romans*. But, notwithſtanding the authority of theſe writers, this is utterly improbable; for, if ſo, why did not the *Romans* take immediate poſſeſſion of it, ſince the *Carthaginians* were too weak to oppoſe them, otherwiſe they would not have made peace upon ſuch diſadvantagious terms? And that they did not take poſſeſſion of it, is evident from *Polybius*, an author infinitely ſuperior to thoſe here hinted at, when he aſſures us, that the mercenary troops in that iſland rebelled againſt their maſters the *Carthaginians*. But what ſerves ſufficiently to explain the diſpoſition of the *Romans* towards the *Carthaginians*, is an incident that happened ſoon after, *viz.* the rebellion of the *Corſi*, *Sardi*, and *Ligurians*, which the *Romans* pretended to have been fomented by the *Carthaginians*, in order to have an opportunity of picking a b quarrel with that nation, though *Hanno*, a young *Carthaginian* lord, by his great ſpirit and vivacity, parried the blow. However, ſome time after, without any tolerable colour or pretext, they aſſumed to themſelves the power of preſcribing limits to the *Carthaginian* conqueſts in *Spain*, obliging *Aſdrubal* to engage himſelf by treaty not to paſs the *Iberus*. Such points of conduct need no comment; they render moſt glaring the motives *the juſt and upright* Romans acted upon [r].

Hamilcar *marches into* Spain.

Hamilcar, by the happy concluſion of the *Libyan* war, did not only reſtore tranquillity to the republic, but greatly extended the *Carthaginian* conqueſts in *Africa*. Finding his country not in a condition to enter into an immediate war with *Rome*, he formed a ſcheme to put it upon a level with that imperious republic, which was, to make an intire conqueſt of *Spain*, that the *Carthaginians* might have troops capable of c coping with the *Romans*. In order to facilitate the execution of this ſcheme, he inſpired both his ſon-in-law *Aſdrubal* and his ſon *Hannibal* with an implacable averſion to the *Romans*, the great blaſters of his and his country's grandeur. *Aſdrubal* did not live to be a ſcourge to the *Romans*; but *Hannibal* brought that proud nation to the very brink of deſtruction. Immediately after the troubles in *Africa* were appeaſed, the ſenate ſent *Hamilcar* upon an expedition againſt the *Numidians*, notwithſtanding his ſon-in-law *Naravaſus* was of that nation; which renders it probable, that the *Carthaginians* had an intention to puniſh them for joining their diſcontented mercenaries. Be that as it will, *Hamilcar* gave freſh proofs of his courage and abilities in this expedition, ſince, by his valour and conduct, he finiſhed it ſo much to the d ſatisfaction of the republic, that the command of the army deſtined to act againſt *Spain* was given him. *Hannibal* his ſon, at that time but nine years of age, begged, with the utmoſt importunity, to attend him on this occaſion, for that purpoſe employing all the ſoothing arts ſo common to children of his age, and which have ſo much power over a loving father. *Hamilcar* therefore granted his requeſt; but ordered him to put his hand upon the altar, and ſwear, that he would be an irreconcileable enemy to the *Romans*, and act as ſuch as ſoon as his age would permit him. He likewiſe took with him *Aſdrubal*, after he had beſtowed his daughter in marriage upon him. *Nepos* intimates, that he was obliged to this ſtep, becauſe the cenſor took *Aſdrubal* from him, upon a report, that he was more familiar with that youth e than was conſiſtent with modeſty. However, that biographer at the ſame time inſinuates this report to have been a calumny, and tells us, that, by the *Carthaginian* laws, it was not permitted any perſon to ſeparate the ſon-in-law from the father-in-law. The military preparations being completed, *Hamilcar* advanced with a powerful army to *Abyla* (L), and croſſing the ſtreights of *Hercules*, landed in *Spain* without oppoſition. He began the operations by incurſions into the enemy's country, fixing his head-quarters at *Gades*, now *Cadiz*, the capital of the *Carthaginian* acquiſitions in *Spain*. According to *Appian* and *Polybius*, he had two views in this war: firſt, to put *Carthage* in a ſituation to revenge the indignities received from the *Romans*; and ſecondly, to have an opportunity of being abſent from home, the *Carthaginian* ſtate f being at that time miſerably diſtracted by two potent factions, over one of which pre-

r Liv. & Oros. ubi ſup. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 2. Polyb. & Zonar. ubi ſup. Appian. in Iberic. Aurel. Vict. in C. Lutat. Cat. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 687.

(L) *Abyla*, the pillar of *Hercules* on the *African* ſide, is oppoſite to the other in *Spain* called *Calpe*. They are both conſiderable mountains, and have a narrow ſea betwixt them, called antiently *Fretum Herculeum*, *the ſtreights of* Hercules, but, by the moderns, *the ſtreights of* Gibraltar. *Marcianus Heracleota*, *Silius Italicus*, and others, take particular notice of them (38).

(38) *Marcian. Heracleot. p.* 36. *Sil. Ital. l.* i. *ver.* 199. *Vide & Cellar. geogr. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 7. *p.* 930. *edit. Lipſ.* 1732.

preſided *Hanno*, *Hamilcar*'s inveterate enemy. However, by the great ſucceſs he met with, and the vaſt reputation he had already required, he animated his friends at home, enabling them to carry every point there, and would undoubtedly have come ſoon to blows with the *Romans*, had not death prevented his deſign from taking effect [s] (M). a

And, after many gallant actions, is killed there.

Our hero commanded in *Spain* nine years, and, during that interval, ſubdued many warlike nations there. In the courſe of ſo long a war, conſidering how rich a country *Spain* was, an immenſe quantity of treaſure muſt neceſſarily fall into his hands. This he diſtributed in the moſt politic manner, partly amongſt the troops, and partly amongſt the great men at *Carthage*; by which means he ſecured his intereſt with both thoſe powerful bodies. We have received no particular detail of b the actions he was concerned in, during the term above-mentioned, to be depended upon, only an account of that wherein he fell. The *Vettones* or *Vectones*, a nation of *Luſitania*, being incenſed at the devaſtations committed in their country by the *Carthaginians*, drew out all their forces, with an intention to give *Hamilcar* battle. They were joined by many other petty nations, with their *reguli* at the head of them, who had been plundered and laid under contribution in the ſame manner. To compaſs their end, they made uſe of the following ſtratagem: they ſent before them a vaſt number of waggons filled with faſcines, pitch, ſulphur, and other ſuch-like combuſtible materials, and drawn by oxen, their troops following under arms, and marching in battle-array. The *Carthaginians* at firſt ridiculed this ſeemingly coarſe c ſtratagem? but at laſt the *Spaniards*, upon their approaching *Hamilcar*, ſet fire to theſe vehicles, driving the beaſts amongſt the enemy, who ſoon found themſelves obliged to quit their ranks. The *Vettones* and their allies, obſerving this, charged them

[s] Appian. in Iberic. Polyb. l. iii. & Liv. ubi ſup. Vide Corn. Nep. Aurel. Vict. Eutrop. &c. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 3. Flor. l. ii. c. 6.

(M) According to *Diodorus Siculus*, after his landing in *Spain*, he reduced the city of *Tarteſſus*, and gave a memorable defeat to *Iſtolatius*, general of the *Celtes* and *Iberians*, putting a great number of his men, together with himſelf and his brother, to the ſword. Many of the *Celtic* nobility likewiſe periſhed in the action. Out of the priſoners *Hamilcar* ſelected three thouſand, whom he incorporated with his own troops. But *Indortes*, one of the *Celtic* or *Iberian* general officers, collecting the remains of the army, and receiving a conſiderable reinforcement, aſſembled a body of fifty thouſand men, with which he intended to give *Hamilcar* battle. However, his men, conſiſting partly of veterans terrified by the laſt overthrow, and partly of new-raiſed levies, fled, upon the firſt appearance of the enemy, to a neighbouring eminence, where the *Carthaginians* ſurrounded them, and for ſome time cloſely beſieged them. *Indortes*, by a ſtratagem, and by the favour of the night, found means to make his eſcape; but the greateſt part of his army was either cut off, or obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. At laſt *Indortes* himſelf fell into *Hamilcar*'s hands, who, according to the ſame author, firſt put out his eyes, and then, after many inſults, crucified him. But this we can ſcarcely give credit to, ſince it is ſo inconſiſtent with the character of that general, as given us by *Polybius*, except we will ſuppoſe, that this *Indortes* had been guilty of ſome monſtrous piece of cruelty towards the *Carthaginians*. Ten thouſand *Celtic* and *Iberian* priſoners, that would not take on in the *Carthaginian* ſervice, *Diodorus* likewiſe tells us, *Hamilcar* ſet at liberty without ranſom; which countenances the ſuppoſition juſt hinted at. Many cities he alſo reduced, partly by force, and partly by compoſition; and had probably made a vaſt progreſs, had he not received an expreſs from *Carthage*, with advice, that a part of *Numidia* had rebelled againſt the *Carthaginians*. This obliged him to weaken his army, by ſending a ſtrong detachment, under his ſon-in-law *Aſdrubal*, to reduce the rebels. *Aſdrubal* ſoon obliged them to return to their duty, after having put eight thouſand of them to the ſword, and taken two thouſand priſoners. In the mean time, *Hamilcar* made himſelf maſter of ſeveral towns, and built a large city, from its ſituation called by the *Greeks Acra Leuca*, or *the White citadel*. Some time afterwards he laid ſiege to *Helice* with part of his army, putting the reſt into winter-quarters at *Acra Leuca*. *Oriſſon*, prince of the country, being informed, that *Hamilcar* had ſent the beſt part of his army, and all his elephants, to *Acra Leuca*, advanced with his forces towards the *Carthaginians*, pretending, that he came with a deſign to join them, and thereby facilitate the conqueſt of the remaining part of the country. *Hamilcar*, giving too much credit to him, was ſurpriſed, his body of troops before the town utterly ruined, himſelf obliged to fly one way, and his ſons *Aſdrubal* and *Hannibal* another, that they might not all fall into the enemy's hands. The two laſt arrived at *Acra Leuca*, *Hamilcar* only being purſued by *Oriſſon*; but the purſuit was ſo hot, that he was obliged to attempt paſſing a rapid river, in the midſt of which, by the violence of the ſtream, he was forced from his horſe, and drowned. This is the account given by *Diodorus Siculus*, which abounds with ſo many improbable particulars, and is ſo contradictory to the character of that excellent general, as given us even by that author himſelf, that no great ſtreſs is to be laid upon it. However, we muſt deſire our readers to obſerve, that the fragments of this uſeful and excellent author are not, for the moſt part, of equal authority with that part of the body of his hiſtory preſerved to us, being much more corrupted, and conſequently ſtanding in need of many more emendations. That this is true of the fragment we have here given our readers a tranſlation of, will appear from an attentive peruſal of it, ſince its parts do not hang together in a proper manner (39).

(39) *Diod. Sic. l.* xxv. *in excerpt. Rhodoman.*

a them with ſuch bravery, that they ſoon put them to flight, killing many upon the ſpot, amongſt whom was the general himſelf. This relation we have extracted from *Appian*, *Nepos*, *Frontinus*, and *Zonaras*; but muſt own, that moſt, if not all, the circumſtances of it are omitted by *Polybius*. That excellent hiſtorian only tells us in general, that *Hamilcar* came to an end worthy his exalted character, dying glorioufly in the field of battle at the head of his troops. And indeed was not *Polybius*'s authority ſufficient to ſupport him in the point before us, yet the nature of the thing plainly enough confutes the other writers; for is it poſſible to imagine, that ſo expert and famed a general as *Hamilcar*, a general who was ſo perfect a maſter of the military art, who, by an infinity of the moſt refined ſtratagems, had ſo frequently
b outwitted the greateſt captains of the age, ſhould at laſt be over-reached by ſo mean an artifice? This, we ſay, is incompatible with the character of that commander, as given us by *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and even theſe very authors themſelves; for which reaſon we muſt caution our readers not to be over-haſty in giving their aſſent to it. Upon *Hamilcar*'s death, the army elected his ſon-in-law *Aſdrubal*, then the *Carthaginian* admiral, to ſucceed him[t] (N).

Aſdrubal *choſen to ſucceed him.*

THE ſenate, being appriſed of the choice the army had made, after they had confirmed it, ſent a ſtrong reinforcement of troops to *Aſdrubal*, to enable him not only to preſerve, but to extend, their conqueſts. As the new general had been trained up in the art of war by *Hamilcar*, under whom he had ſerved ſo many cam-
t paigns, the people in general entertained a high idea of him, though *Hanno* and his adherents did their utmoſt to depreciate his merit. *Aſdrubal* anſwered their expectations, behaving with ſuch wiſdom and addreſs, as enabled him to ſupport *Hamilcar*'s friends both at *Carthage* and in the army. To ſecure his predeceſſor's acquiſitions, he built a city, which, by the advantage of its ſituation, the commodiouſneſs of its harbours, its fortifications, and flow of wealth, which its great commerce produced, became afterwards one of the moſt conſiderable cities in the world. Some people, at that time, called it *the New city*, others *Carthage*, nothing being more common in that age, as well as many of the preceding, than to denominate new-built cities after the names of thoſe to which their founders belonged. It is known at this day
d by the name of *Carthagena*, from whence one of the principal fortreſſes of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies* at preſent is ſo called[u].

The great progreſs of Aſdrubal *in* Spain *is checked by the* Romans.

THE *Romans*, receiving intelligence of the great progreſs the *Carthaginians* made in *Spain*, began to have a watchful eye over them. They could not but imagine, that both *Hamilcar* and *Aſdrubal* had ſomething more grand in view than the reduction of *Spain*, and had formed a remote deſign, vaſt in its nature, which they propoſed gradually putting in execution. They were not long at a loſs to find out whom this muſt be levelled at, as eaſily diſcovering, that their republic was, of all other ſtates, the moſt diametrically oppoſite in point of views and intereſt to that of the *Carthaginians*. As they took for granted, that their rivals never loſt ſight of their
e grand ſcheme, though the execution of it might be at a great diſtance, they began to reproach themſelves for their indolence and ſloth, which had thrown them into a kind of lethargy, eſpecially as the *Carthaginians* now, with the utmoſt rapidity, puſhed on their conqueſts in *Spain*, which might one day be turned againſt them. They however, at this juncture, ſeemed afraid of coming to an open rupture with them, on

t LIV. POLYB. DIOD. SIC. APPIAN. CORN. NEP. EUTROP. FRONTIN. OROS. & ZONAR. ubi ſup. LUCIUS AMPELIUS in lib. memor. c. 36. AUREL. CASSIOD. in chron. Vide & in eum JOAN. CUSPINIAN. comment. p. 217. edit. Baſ. 1553.

u LIV. POLYB. DIOD. SIC. & APPIAN. ubi ſup.

(N) *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that *Aſdrubal* built two cities in *Spain*, and endeavoured to make a greater figure than even his father-in-law *Hamilcar* had done. Upon the firſt advice of that general's death continues our author, he advanced with an army of fifty thouſand foot, all veteran troops, ſix thouſand horſe, and two hundred elephants, to attack *Oriſſon*, whom, after a bloody conteſt, he intirely defeated, cutting to pieces a great part of his forces. Twelve cities, in conſequence of this victory, immediately ſurrendered to him, and ſoon after all the others in *Spain*, that remained unſubdued. Having had ſuch a happy run of ſucceſs, to crown all, he married a *Spaniſh* prince's daughter; which ſecured his conqueſts to him. The ſame author adds, that, after he had commanded nine years in *Spain*, he was aſſaſſinated by one of his own ſervants; and intimates, that at, or near, the time of his death, the *Carthaginian* army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand foot, eight thouſand horſe, and two hundred elephants. As this fragment is a continuation of the preceding, ſome particulars in it are of a very dubious authority; and indeed our readers themſelves will eaſily perceive this, upon their peruſal of it, though others, that agree with the moſt approved authors, will, without any ſcruple, be admitted (40).

(40) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſup.*

on account of the apprehenſions they were under of an invaſion from the *Gauls*, who, according to common fame, were advancing with a formidable army to the very gates of *Rome*. At preſent therefore they judged it expedient to have recourſe to milder methods; and, in conformity to their plan, partly by menaces, and partly by perſuaſion, prevailed upon *Aſdrubal* to conclude a new treaty with them. The articles of it were, 1. That the *Carthaginians* ſhould not paſs the *Iberus*. 2. That *Saguntum*, a colony of *Zacynthians*, and a city between the *Iberus* and that part of *Spain* ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, as well as the other *Greek* colonies there, ſhould enjoy their antient rights and privileges. The *Saguntines* afforded the *Romans* ſomething of a pretext for this unjuſtifiable proceedure, ſince they implored the protection of *Rome*, which republic, they heard, was ſuperior in power to that of *Carthage*, and kept a curb upon it. *Zonaras* intimates, that about this time the *Carthaginians* had formed a deſign of attacking the *Romans*, but were by that people terrified into a pacific diſpoſition. *Aſdrubal* took care not to paſs beyond the limits ſtipulated by the treaty, though he ſtill puſhed on his conqueſts, and made himſelf maſter of all that part of *Spain* extending from the weſtern ocean to the *Iberus*, within five days journey of the *Pyrenees*. He made it his endeavour to render himſelf popular amongſt the *reguli* of *Spain*, by his engaging addreſs and affable deportment. His endeavours were not unſucceſsful; for, by his perſuaſive methods, he brought over more effectually thoſe *reguli* to the intereſt of *Carthage*, than he could have done by force of arms. He did not fail, however, exerting himſelf ſometimes in a military way, tho' the other was, in the main, the moſt effectual. Having governed the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Spain* eight years, he was treacherouſly murdered by a *Gaul*, whoſe maſter he had put to death. The murder was perpetrated in public; and the aſſaſſin, being ſeized by the guards, and put to the torture, expreſſed ſo ſtrong a ſatisfaction in the thoughts of his having executed his revenge ſo ſucceſsfully, that he ſeemed to inſult all the terror of his torments. This, however, notwithſtanding the youth of *Hannibal*, occaſioned no revolution in the ſtate of affairs [w].

Aſdrubal *ſends for* Hannibal.

Aſdrubal, three years before his death, had written to *Carthage*, to deſire, that *Hannibal*, then twenty-two years of age, might be ſent to him. *Hanno*, the inveterate enemy of the *Barchine* family, oppoſed this with all his might, repreſenting, in a moſt ill-natured ſpeech to the ſenate, handed down to us by *Livy*, that this was intirely improper. The ſubſtance of it was, that though *Aſdrubal*'s requeſt ſeemed in itſelf reaſonable, yet he could, by no means, give his conſent to it. *Aſdrubal*, ſaid he, accompanied *Hamilcar* in his expeditions, ſpent the flour of his youth with him, and was abuſed by him; and now he would have young *Hannibal* in the ſame manner ſubſervient to him. This ought not to be granted. Beſides, added he, this young man has all the pride and thirſt after abritrary power of the *Barchine* family transfuſed into him. Inſtead therefore of putting him at the head of the army, where he will be, in a manner, maſter of all our properties, he ought to be kept under the eye of the magiſtrates, and the power of the laws, that he may learn obedience, and a modeſty, which ſhould teach him to look upon himſelf as on a level with other men. He concluded with obſerving, that this ſpark might one day riſe to a conflagration, which would occaſion the ruin of the republic. However, the *Barchine* faction prevailed, and *Hannibal* was ſent to the army in *Spain* [x].

Hannibal *very popular amongſt the troops.*

Hannibal, upon his firſt arrival in the camp, diſcovered indications of an extraordinary courage and greatneſs of mind. He drew upon himſelf the eyes of the whole army, who fanſied they ſaw *Hamilcar* his father ſurvive in him. From his firſt appearance in the army, every one perceived, that he meditated a war againſt the *Romans*, which was conſidered as the effect of his father's diſpoſition. The great reſemblance he bore to *Hamilcar* rendered him extremely agreeable to the army; but his perſonal good qualities endeared him ſtill more to them. Every talent and qualification he ſeemed to poſſeſs, that can contribute towards conſtituting the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance ſurpriſing, his courage in the greateſt dangers intrepid, his preſence of mind in the heat of battle admirable, and his diſpoſition equally ſuited to command or obey. This could not but render him the darling both of the officers and ſoldiers. Under *Aſdrubal* he made three campaigns, that general always employing him in enterprizes of the greateſt importance, as thinking him the beſt qualified for the execution of them. The ſoldiers likewiſe repoſed

[w] Idem ibid. ut & ZONAR. ubi ſup. c. 19. [x] Idem ibid. CORN. NEP. in Hannib. c. 3.

a repoſed the utmoſt confidence in him, eſteeming him ſuperior to all the other commanders in conduct and perſonal bravery, though he was then but in the twenty-third year of his age. In ſhort, after *Aſdrubal*'s death, the army immediately ſaluted him general, with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy, and the ſincereſt attachment to his perſon; and the ſenate, as well as people of *Carthage*, confirmed this election, in a manner that ſhewed them to have been intirely at his devotion; though it muſt be owned, *Hanno* and his faction were ſecretly averſe to him. He had no ſooner taken upon him the command of the troops, being then in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, than he made the proper diſpoſitions to proſecute the war with vigour, having the pleaſure to find all the officers approve of the plan of operations he propoſed to
b them [y].

As the ſuffrages, both of the army and republic, concurred to raiſe *Hannibal* to the ſupreme command upon the death of *Aſdrubal*, he muſt, of courſe, have been extremely popular at *Carthage*. It is therefore probable, that about the time of his being elected general, or ſoon after, to heighten his credit and authority, he was advanced to the firſt dignity of the ſtate, that of one of the ſuffetes, which was ſometimes conferred upon generals. In ſupport of this notion, *Cornelius Nepos* informs us, that *Hannibal* was choſen prætor of *Carthage*, upon the concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* war, twenty-two years after he had been nominated king there; which brings that event pretty near the period we are now upon [z]. *Elected general after the death of* Aſdrubal.

c *Hannibal* had no ſooner taken upon him the command of the forces, than he put himſelf in motion. As though *Italy* had been the province allotted him, and he had been appointed to make war upon the *Romans*, he turned ſecretly his whole views to that country, and loſt no time, for fear of being prevented by death, as his father and brother-in-law had been. Though he was determined to attack *Saguntum*, he thought it at preſent more expedient not to ſeem to have an eye directly upon that place, but to reduce ſome provinces, that would facilitate the conqueſt of it, believing the *Romans* could not from thence penetrate his deſigns. Accordingly he marched againſt the *Olcades*, a nation not far diſtant from the *Iberus*, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Althæa*, their capital; upon which all their other towns immedi-
d ately ſubmitted. All the plunder taken in this expedition he diſtributed amongſt the troops, which greatly animated them, and then retired to new *Carthage*, where he put them into winter-quarters. Here he ſoon after paid the army all their arrears; by which the ſoldiers became in ſuch a manner attached to him, that they were abſolutely at his devotion. This firſt inſtance of ſucceſs rendered his name terrible to the neighbouring nations of *Spain*, who were not in a ſtate of amity with *Carthage* [a]. Hannibal *conquers the* Olcades.

The next campaign he opened with the ſiege of *Salmantica*, and ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of it. Then he advanced to *Arbucala*, which, being a place of great ſtrength, very populous, and defended by a numerous gariſon, made a vigorous reſiſtance; but was at laſt forced to ſurrender. Soon after this event, ſome fugitives, who
e had made their eſcape out of *Salmantica*, before it was obliged to capitulate, joining a body of the *Olcades*, excited the *Carpetani*, one of the moſt powerful nations in *Spain*, to declare againſt the *Carthaginians*. Their army amounted to an hundred thouſand fighting men, with which they propoſed to attack *Hannibal* in his return from the country of the *Vaccæi*, which, it ſeems, he ſubdued this campaign, drawing gradually nearer the point he had in view [b]. *And the* Vaccæi.

Hannibal, being informed of the enemies deſign, and knowing himſelf to be much inferior to them, was determined to avoid a battle, which he had great reaſon to imagine would prove fatal to him. In order to this, he moved with the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection, covering himſelf with the *Tagus* in ſuch a manner, that
f the *Spaniards* could not come at him. At laſt he paſſed it in the dead-time of the night with his whole army, the enemy not entertaining the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch an attempt. The *Spaniards* interpreted this as a flight, and therefore, looking upon themſelves as invincible, they immediately reſolved to purſue him, and, in conſequence of this reſolution, paſſed the river without any order or diſcipline. This was what *Hannibal* wanted; and, as he had foreſeen it, he diſpoſed his army in a proper manner to fall upon them when in the midſt of the river. Forty elephants he poſted on the bank, and ordered his horſe to charge the *Spaniſh* infantry, as ſoon as they were advanced *He gives the* Spaniards *a great overthrow, and ſubdues the* Carpetani.

[y] Liv. Polyb. Aurel. Vict. & Corn. Nep. ubi ſup. & Univerſ. hiſt. vol. iv. p. 690. [z] Idem ibid. Vide & Univerſ. hiſt. ubi ſup. p. 691. [a] Polyb. l. iii. Liv. l. xxi. ſub init. [b] Idem ibid.

advanced into the middle of the ſtream. The *Carthaginian* cavalry, being well mounted, kept their poſt firm, notwithſtanding the rapidity of the torrent; whereas the enemy's foot were born down by it, and beſides, entering the water in a ſtraggling diſorderly manner, they were incapable of making any reſiſtance. Great numbers of them therefore were cut to pieces in the water, without oppoſition, by *Hannibal*'s horſe, and others, that landed, trod to death by his elephants. Moſt of thoſe who collected themſelves into a body upon this diſaſter, and ſtrove to gain the oppoſite bank, were charged by *Hannibal* himſelf, at the head of his *Carthaginian* phalanx, with which he had entered the water for that purpoſe, and, for the moſt part, either cut to pieces, or drowned. *Hannibal*, after this, laid waſte the whole country of the *Carpetani*, who, terrified by ſo great a defeat, thought proper to ſubmit to the conqueror. Nothing now remained but *Saguntum* to give any obſtruction to the *Carthaginian* arms [c].

a b

And meditates the ſiege of Saguntum.

THE *Carthaginian* general, however, thought the ſeaſon was not yet come for him to lay ſiege to that city, and therefore did not, for ſome time, approach it, carefully avoiding every thing that might occaſion a rupture with the *Romans*. His intention was to furniſh himſelf with all things neceſſary for ſo important an enterprize before he entered upon it, according to the advice he had received from his brother-in-law *Aſdrubal*. In conſequence of which, he puſhed on his conqueſts, in a manner, to the very gates of *Saguntum*, and, by his ſingular addreſs, took care to ſecure theſe conqueſts, before he gave the *Romans* an opportunity of declaring war againſt the *Carthaginians* [d].

c

The Saguntines *apply to the* Romans *for relief.*

IN the mean time, the *Saguntines*, being greatly alarmed at the continued ſucceſſes of *Hannibal*, did not know how to avoid the impending ſtorm, any otherwiſe than by appriſing the *Romans* of what had happened in *Spain*, and applying to them for ſpeedy relief. They therefore diſpatched deputies in all haſte to *Rome*, to inform the ſenate of the great progreſs made by *Hannibal* in *Spain*, and to deſire immediate ſuccours againſt him. What induced them chiefly to take this ſtep was, an attempt *Hannibal* made to embroil them with their neighbours the *Turdetani*, or, according to *Appian*, the *Torboletæ*, that, by eſpouſing the intereſt of that people, he might be enabled to pick a quarrel with them. *Appian* intimates, that the *Torboletæ* made excurſions upon the *Saguntine* territories, where they committed great depredations. As ſoon as the *Saguntine* deputies arrived at *Rome*, and communicated their meſſage to the ſenate, all the members of that illuſtrious aſſembly expreſſed a prodigious concern for their *Spaniſh* allies, and came to a reſolution to ſend embaſſadors to *Hannibal*, to expoſtulate with him about his conduct, with orders, in caſe he did not give ear to their complaints, to proceed directly to *Carthage*, and inſiſt upon that republic's withdrawing its troops from the territories of their confederates in *Spain*. But this reſolution not being preſently executed, whilſt the *Romans* were amuſing themſelves with frivolous conſultations, advice was brought, that *Hannibal* had not only paſſed the *Iberus*, but actually inveſted *Saguntum*. The ſenators were divided in their ſentiments on this occaſion: ſome were for coming to a vigorous reſolution, and ſending one of the conſuls, with a powerful army, to *Africa*, and the other to *Spain*; others were for employing the whole force of the republic in driving *Hannibal* out of *Spain*; and laſtly, others gave it as their opinion, that nothing ſhould be undertaken againſt *Carthage*, till all pacific methods had been tried, and no redreſs could be had but by force of arms. This motion, being the moſt ſafe, as well as rational and equitable, prevailed; and accordingly *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *Q. Bœbius Tamphilus* were diſpatched with all poſſible expedition to the *Carthaginian* camp before *Saguntum* [e].

d e

Hannibal *beſieges* Saguntum.

IN the mean time, *Hannibal* puſhed on the ſiege of *Saguntum*, promiſing himſelf great advantages from the reduction of that place. He was convinced, that this would enable him to put his favourite ſcheme in execution, and even accompliſh it; that he ſhould deprive the *Romans* of all means of carrying the war into *Spain*; that this new conqueſt would ſerve as a barrier to the old ones; that no enemy would be left behind him, a circumſtance which would render him much more ſecure and unmoleſted; that he ſhould there find treaſure ſufficient to defray the expence of his projected war with the *Romans*; that the plunder of the city would inſpire his ſoldiers with greater ardour, and make them follow him with the utmoſt alacrity; and

f

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] LIV. ubi ſup. APPIAN. in Iberic. AUREL. VICT. in Hannib. 42.

a and that, laſtly, thereby he ſhould win the people of *Carthage* over to his intereſt. Theſe conſiderations had ſuch an effect upon him, that he was preſent at all the works, conducted every particular meaſure in the ſiege, and expoſed him to the greateſt dangers, as much as the meaneſt ſoldier. With the commencement of this ſiege we ſhall conclude this ſection and volume, and begin our next with an account of the reduction of *Saguntum*, which was the immediate cauſe of the ſecond *Punic* war [f].

[f] Liv. & Polyb. ubi ſup. Oros. ubi ſup. c. 14. Eutrop. l. iii. c. 7.

The end of the ſixth volume.

A N

A N

I N D E X

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